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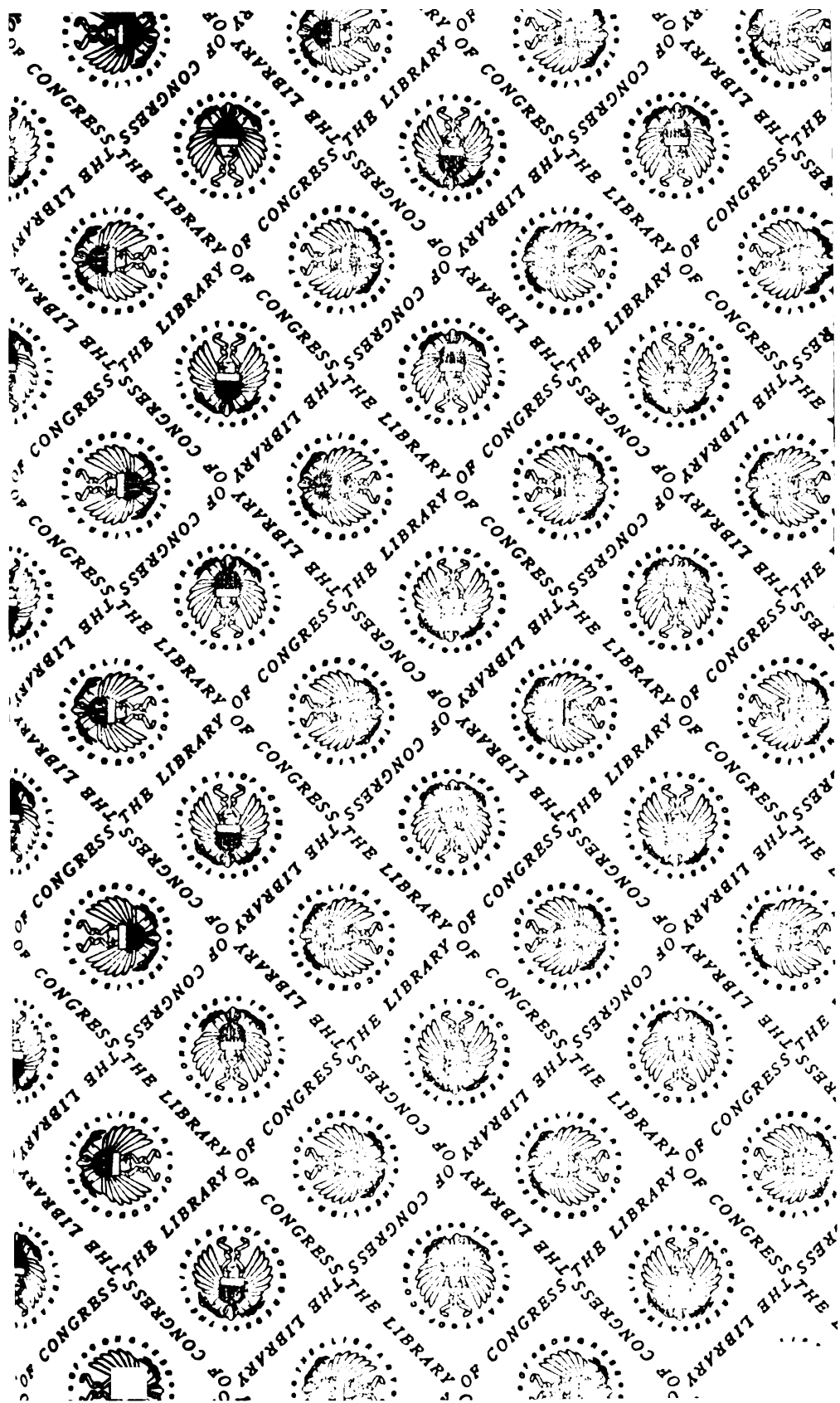
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**ATTORNEY GENERAL A. MITCHELL PALMER ON
CHARGES MADE AGAINST DEPARTMENT OF
JUSTICE BY LOUIS F. POST AND OTHERS**

HEARINGS

BEFORE

THE COMMITTEE ON RULES

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SIXTY-SIXTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

PART 1



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CHARGES AGAINST THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

COMMITTEE ON RULES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Tuesday, June 1, 1920.

The committee this day met, Hon. Philip P. Campbell (chairman), presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Attorney General, we will hear you.

STATEMENT OF HON. A. MITCHELL PALMER, THE ATTORNEY GENERAL.

Mr. PALMER. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I am very glad of the opportunity to present to this committee, and through the committee to the Congress, not only the answer of the Department of Justice to the several charges which have been made by Assistant Secretary of Labor Post and his attorney, Mr. Ralston, but also a full and comprehensive statement of the plans, purposes, and methods of the law-enforcing department of the Government with respect to deportation proceedings. I am here particularly in answer to a letter from the distinguished chairman of this committee, who, under date of May 11, 1920, wrote me stating that during the hearings on the resolution affecting Mr. Post much had been said with respect to the manner in which the Department of Justice was conducting affairs toward alien enemies and the Reds, and that these charges reflected both upon me personally and upon the department, and quoting from the testimony of Mr. Ralston and of Mr. Post the statements which constituted these reflections. In order that the record may show exactly to what I am addressing myself, I will ask that that letter be inserted in full at the opening of my remarks, but assuming that the committee is entirely familiar with these charges I shall not, of course, read the letter or repeat the testimony of Mr. Post and Mr. Ralston.

(The letter and testimony referred to follow.)

MAY 11, 1920.

HON. A. MITCHELL PALMER,
Attorney General of the United States,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. ATTORNEY GENERAL: During the hearings on the resolution affecting Mr. Post, the Assistant Secretary of Labor, much has been said with respect to the manner in which the Department of Justice is conducting affairs touching alien enemies and Reds. So much has been said that I do not feel like suggesting that the hearings be closed without giving you an opportunity to be heard, either in person or by a representative of the department. Charges have been made reflecting upon you personally as well as upon the department.

For your convenience and information I quote from the statement of Mr. Ralston, attorney of Mr. Post, on Friday, April 30, 1920:

"The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Ralston, now what do you mean by saying that the agents of the Department of Justice were stirring up this trouble?"

"Mr. RALSTON. I mean exactly that, if you please.

"The CHAIRMAN. Stirring up what trouble?

"Mr. RALSTON. Stirring the people and creating Communist branches.

"The CHAIRMAN. Agents?

"Mr. RALSTON. Yes, sir.

"Mr. RODENBERG. Do I understand you to say that the agents of the Department of Justice are engaged in creating Communist parties?

"Mr. RALSTON. Exactly that way.

"Mr. RODENBERG. In what way?

"Mr. RALSTON. They are charged with obtaining the confidence of the Communists; they are charged with that duty, of going to their places and organizing branches of the Communist parties and reporting the membership of the organizations that were formed to the department.

"Mr. RODENBERG. Agents of the Department of Justice organizing branches of the Communist Party?

"Mr. RALSTON. Exactly.

"Mr. RODENBERG. I would see a justification for an agent of the Department of Justice becoming connected with the alien for the purpose of finding out what they were doing, but if the statement of Mr. Ralston is true that the agents have gone out and organized branches of the Communist Party, and by reason of their superior knowledge had induced others to join, I say it is reprehensible in the extreme.

"Mr. RALSTON. We expect to be able to show it absolutely.

"Mr. RALSTON. I don't know why this Red agitation goes on. I don't know whose ambition is served by its being kept up, but these are instances, and minor instances, if you please, of the way in which this country has been terrified. The result of all these thousands of bogus and good faith arrests—the vast majority being bogus—all over the country, the result of this taking place was that the Bureau of Immigration was over whelmed with the cases that came before it, many of them containing examinations or supposed examinations of witnesses of the accused; and in cases which we will show to the committee if we have the opportunity, where some agent apparently of the Department of Justice has absolutely committed forgery in attaching without authority the alien's signature to the supposed examination—absolute forgery, straight-out—with all these cases before the Bureau of Immigration it was, if you please, as I said, overwhelmed, because there were not enough people to examine the cases.

* * * * *

"Mr. RALSTON. We have already sunk, Mr. Chairman, to the level of the police government that existed under the Czar of Russia. We can not sink to a lower level than that.

"The CHAIRMAN. I would not permit that statement to stand without challenging it. We have not sunk into such a level as that, Mr. Ralston.

"Mr. RALSTON. Well, perhaps you and I have not, and the members of this committee I am sure have not, but the administration of justice in the treatment of aliens is on an exact par, if it is not below that of the administration of justice under the Czar of Russia, only within 10 years.

"Mr. BOX. I want to ask the gentleman if he is expressing the views of his client when he speaks that way?

"Mr. RALSTON. The view of my client as applied to the things that have happened within the past six months under the instigation of the Department of Justice."

Mr. Post criticised severely the attitude of the Department of Justice in the treatment of aliens arrested as alleged radicals. Efforts had been made, he intimated, to get aliens out of the country regardless of their guilt. In raids last winter, he said, the Department of Justice had resorted to police inquisitions to force the men to make admissions of guilt. Excessive bail had also been demanded, he said, to keep men in jail when they had been arrested.

In Mr. Post's statement, made on May 7, was the following:

"Mr. POST. A good deal was said in public and otherwise about the tremendous danger that we are confronting: these men with bombs were preparing to kill right and left.

"The CHAIRMAN. In the course of the development of what?

"Mr. POST. In the course of the development of the newspaper publicity the newspaper drive that was made to create a great terroristic scare in the country. But in all these sweeping raids over the country, in which men were arrested at midnight, and taken out of their beds at 3 o'clock in the morning in their homes, without warrant, in which their houses and their persons were searched without warrant—not by the Department of Labor, I do not undertake to say by whom, but that is the fact. These were the people afterwards brought to us, great raids made upon meetings and men rounded up and taken to the police stations, and a large proportion of them discharged before morning because they could not have anything against them.

With all these sweeping raids all over the country, there have been three pistols, I think it is, brought to our attention in the scores of cases that have come to us. Three pistols, two of them .22 caliber. Now, I do not know whether a .22 caliber is a homeopathic pill for a bullet or a cannon ball."

I will add just one more extract from the statement of Mr. Ralston, made on Friday, April 30:

"Mr. RALSTON. But from the beginning to the end the Attorney General's office has projected itself into these affairs, has undertaken to run these things, having no legal right whatever in the premises; it has undertaken to dictate to the immigrant inspectors that some poor, friendless man should be put under a \$10,000 bail, and has kept up that procedure to this day. Now, I am going a step further, and I do it with perhaps some hesitation. The Attorney General has demanded that any man whom he designated for deportation should be, because of that designation, without any delay, deported from the United States. To that extent he has gone in his absolute ignorance of American principles or of the rights of the citizens or of American law."

These statements, made by Mr. Post and his attorney before the Rules Committee, have been given very wide publicity. Newspapers have carried them from one end of the country to the other. Should you desire at a public hearing before the committee to refute the charges that have been made, I shall be glad to arrange for such a hearing at your convenience.

Yours, very truly,

P. P. CAMPBELL, *Chairman.*

I think, Mr. Chairman, it will tend to dispose of the matter promptly—though I desire to cover a very large field in this discussion—if I may be permitted to proceed with a prepared statement covering this entire business without interruption, if possible, of course, submitting myself to such questions as the committee desires to present after I have concluded with the statement.

The statements made by Mr. Post and his attorney before the Rules Committee have been given very wide publicity and they have been carried from one end of the country to the other. This is the language of the chairman of the committee, which is the reason I am taking the liberty of presenting so fully not only the answers to those discussions but the entire matter involved in the deportation proceedings and the conduct of the Department of Justice with reference to them.

The statements of Louis F. Post, Assistant Secretary of Labor, and of Jackson H. Ralston, Esq., his attorney, as set out in this letter, constitute a serious reflection upon the official integrity of the Department of Justice and the Attorney General and contain charges of so sensational a character that, as your chairman has said, they have been given wide circulation in the country. I pass by the obvious impropriety of an official of our Government of the standing of an Assistant Secretary of a great department making public accusations of this character against the head of another department without first having called them to his attention. That is the least part of Mr. Post's offense. The greater part lies in the fact, which my investigation has demonstrated beyond doubt, that these charges are outrageously false, without real foundation in fact, and designed only for the purpose of obstructing the administration of the law and of bringing into public disrepute the officials of the Government charged with law enforcement.

Of course, it is obvious that I can not have personal knowledge of all the facts with reference to the conduct of the large body of agents and other subordinates of the Department of Justice in the work done under my general supervision and direction. I accept responsibility for such conduct of my subordinates as is in line with the general instructions issued under my direction; as to conduct of the

officers of the department evidently outside of those instructions, I have caused a complete investigation to be made and it is upon the basis of such investigation that I declare these charges are outrageous and unconscionable falsehoods. I had hoped that it might never be necessary for me to indulge in any criticism of another officer of the Government and I would not do so now had Mr. Post not seen fit to publicly present, by himself and his attorney, these false and slanderous charges against me and the department of which I am the head.

✓ It has become perfectly apparent that Mr. Post's course in all the deportation proceedings has been dictated by his own personal view that the deportation law is wrong, rather than by any desire or intention to carry out the law as enacted by the Congress. By his self-willed and autocratic substitution of his mistaken personal viewpoint for the obligation of public law; by his habitually tender solicitude for social revolutionists and perverted sympathy for the criminal anarchists of the country, he has consistently deprived the people of their day in court in the enforcement of a law of vital importance to their peace and safety. By his wholesale jail deliveries and his release of even self-confessed anarchists of the worst type he has utterly nullified the purpose of the Congress in passing the deportation statute and has set at large amongst the people the very public enemies whom it was the desire and intention of the Congress to be rid of. He has defied the rules of evidence as laid down by our most responsible courts, has canceled hundreds of legal warrants issued by his department, entirely without justification; and in face of the facts, has flouted the judgment of a committee of the Senate which has investigated one of the cases before him, has shown constant favors to violators of the law and their attorneys, refusing even common courtesy to the Department of Justice, which is charged with the duty of enforcing the laws, and in order to distract public attention from his obvious failure to perform his own duty has showered upon the Department of Justice a mass of charges of misconduct in the hope that he could put this law-enforcing department of the Government on the defensive in the place of those criminal enemies of the country from whose activities our department has sought to protect the Government and the people.

In all this it is, of course, impossible to distinguish between his own charges and those made by Mr. Ralston, his attorney, who has been speaking for him, and from the other gross misrepresentations and abuse directed against the department from radical circles, all of which has been inspired and supported by the two gentlemen I have named. Later on I shall take up all these charges one by one and answer them in detail, both as made by Post and his attorney and as published by other sympathizers of the alien "Reds," but it seems to me that it would be neither fair to this committee nor just to my department and the work which it has tried to do if I did not approach the matter with a more comprehensive purpose than the mere answering of these false charges. Therefore I propose, with your permission, to submit to you as briefly as the circumstances permit a review of the international revolutionary movement, with especial reference to its manifestations of force and violence in various countries, including our own, a description of its international character and its world-wide designs, and its growth and progress in this country when transplanted here by the agents and propagandists of revolution,

who have come from Europe for the purpose. Having done that, you will have the background, as indeed you will see the justification, not only for the act of Congress which we have been trying to enforce, but for the method adopted by the Department of Justice in its enforcement. Having done that, I shall answer these charges seriatim, placing at your disposal at the same time any and all officers and agents of the Department of Justice who have had to do with this work in order that you may make the fullest investigation into the truth of such statements I shall make. I shall desire also to submit to you, as a part of the entire case, statements of the activities of the so-called radical division of the Department of Justice, which will indicate what the department has done during the past year or more and how it has been done in a way that has kept the peace and maintained the good order of the country to a degree that was hardly hoped for when the early forcible manifestations of the revolutionary spirit first appeared in this country in the spring and summer of 1919.

In a general way, the friends of the anarchists who have criticized the Department of Justice have sought to instill in the public mind several utterly false impressions: First, that there has been no "Red" menace in the country against which the Government ought to proceed; second, that the methods adopted by the Department of Justice have been high-handed and even unlawful and unconstitutional; and, third, that in the enforcement of this law and in its efforts to keep the peace in the country, the Department of Justice has attacked American labor. These things are so palpably false that I can not believe they have obtained lodgment in the public mind to any wide extent. A year ago, or thereabouts, when the country was ringing with reports of actual violence directed against officials of the Government in many parts of the country, and on every hand appeared the unmistakable evidence of serious plottings against our peace and safety by enemies of the Government, the public demand for prompt counteraction on the part of the Government was reflected in the action of the Congress in making generous appropriation to the Department of Justice to support the thorough reorganization of our Bureau of Investigation, which was then inaugurated, and to proceed with all the diligence and thoroughness to cope with the apparent evil. I shall further on enlarge upon the facts of the revolutionary design in this country in a way that must convince you that the fears of the Congress and of the public at that time were well founded. As to the methods adopted by the department, as I have already indicated, these will be discussed in answering the specific charges heretofore referred to.

The other widely circulated idea to which I have referred, that the work of the Department of Justice has been aimed against American labor, is not only without the slightest merit or foundation, but directly contrary to the real truth. The fact is the criminal anarchist, the ultra-radical class-war advocate, the revolutionary agent and propagandist, are the worst enemies of honest American labor. They have bitterly fought organized labor. They have sought in other countries to destroy it, and here their insidious attempts to undermine its strength have been responsible entirely for some mistaken criticism of American labor. In fighting against the alien anarchist, we are fighting for the American workingman. We ought to have the

cooperation of American labor in unstinted degree in this work in order to free it from even the suspicion of sympathy with these enemies of our form of government. The American wageworker has many just complaints against conditions, but he is not complaining of his Government or the institutions which he has so constantly and loyally supported in the past. Improvement of conditions at which he aims will come with far greater rapidity if he and the Government which he supports join hands to oust the real disturbers of the situation—the alien anarchists and the citizen revolutionists who hold their dreams of an impossible new kind of government above their desires for better conditions for themselves and all other classes of people.

It is not surprising that Mr. Post, when the opportunity has presented itself in an official way to render a service to those who advocate force and violence, should employ it to the limit. He has always been sympathetic with that sort of thing.

In 1907 and 1908 he and his wife were the editors of a so-called "liberal" magazine, *The Public*, and in those days, when the anarchists of this country were especially active and their deeds fresh in the public indignation, these editors were lending their misguided sympathies toward protection and tolerance for the anarchists, just as Mr. Post in these late months, in touch with other miscalled liberals, has been lending them for probolshevism, in general admiration of the world revolutionary movement.

In this connection I can not help but remark how well the distinguished jurist and author, John H. Wigmore, has recently set such people out in his splendid article, "Freedom of speech and freedom of thuggery," published March, 1920, by the *Illinois Law Review*:

But the sorry feature is that so many "good people of the village," as Confucius terms them, are led astray to condone with the disciples of violence by favoring this fetish appeal to "freedom of speech." These good people show more touchiness in this tender doctrine than they do to all the claims of all other fundamentals put together. They exalt it above the institutions which constituted their country, and many of them saw it so flaming large that they were ready to let it endanger their country's very existence. They matched the fanatical obsession of John Knox, who once exclaimed, "One mass is more fearful to me than if 10,000 armed enemies were landed in any part of the realm." In their view, one interference of the authorities with freedom to preach resistance to the war was more fearful than news of a German invasion of our National Capital. And one interference in America with the preaching of genuine Bolshevik police assassination would be more shocking than the news of Lenin and Trotsky enthroned in London and Paris.

I do not need to inform you that there has probably never been in this country a woman who accomplished as much hurt to American morals and citizenship, particularly of the young, as Emma Goldman, so long a consort of the pervert, Alexander Berkman, with whom she was lately deported. Yet, in 1908, when her misdoings and bad teachings were perhaps the most notorious and most condemned in the public mind, Mr. Post was exerting himself to print words in her favor and in his magazine was quoting with as much force as if they had been his own, Mr. Hall's touching and kindly remarks of her written for the *Public*.

With many of her views I do not agree, but I have known Miss Goldman for about 10 years, and I know no one who is kinder, more unselfish, or broader minded, and withal she has an indomitable courage both in word and deed. Her home and her slender earnings are always at the disposal of the poor, the oppressed, and the unpopular.

There have been few more dangerous anarchists in America than Ludovico Caminita, editor—until he was arrested last February—of the notorious Italian anarchist paper, *La Jacquerie*, or, as some translate it, *The Massacre*. He was one of the most bitter and vulgar-tongued of contemporary writers against organized society, a disciple of Maletesta, in Italy, and a revolutionist of international ill repute. Caminita was an intimate friend of Emma Goldman and a member with her of that infamous group of "terrorists" which intensified the violence of the silk workers' strike at Paterson, and was inflaming fanatics to crime even of official assassination. Mr. Post's magazine had no harsh words to say of Caminita, but on the contrary it was vigilant to pick up and repeat his statement upon the occasion of the suppression of his anarchist paper, and I have it from *The Public*.

He denounced the action of the President—Roosevelt—the postal authorities, and the Paterson municipal authorities. He declared that in barring the paper from the mails and that in preventing the meeting the Federal and city authorities had been more anarchistic than the anarchists themselves.

I quote again, by way of illustration, from the editorial columns of *The Public*:

Could industrial conditions possibly be worse if the professed anarchists had their way and all coercive government were abolished? Think of it.

Mr. POU. Are you still quoting?

Mr. PALMER. Yes; this is not my language.

The law is the protection of society, say the jurists and statesmen. Protection against whom? Against those who have nothing. It is a protection to the rich against the poor, a protection of a few against the many. The rich need the law and use it without having to feel its weight; the poor support the law, but can not use it. The poor are beneath the law, while the rich are above it. Those who are above the law do not feel its burden. To them it can be no burden. They are free. Their will is not restrained by the law, nor are their acts circumscribed by it. They are beyond it and above it and have no concern with it. They are exempt from the law; they are anarchists.

And I will add, finally, an editorial comment from the pen of Mr. Post, February 25, 1905, upon the assassination of the Russian Grand Duke Sergius:

He that loves liberty and hates oppression, whosoever or whatsoever he may be, will approve or condemn the assassination of the Russian Grand Duke Sergius (if he would be logical), according to his principles regarding forcible resistance. The Tolstoyan must condemn it. To him assassination is a form of force, as wicked and futile when resorted to by the oppressed as when inflicted upon them. But how can believers in force condemn this assassination without thereby condemning liberty and approving oppression? If the assassinations which such men as Sergius caused for the purpose of suppressing the commonest liberties may be approved or passed lightly over, how can his own assassination be condemned? If the civil war against oppression, in which armies meet in combat and thousands must die by violence, may arouse enthusiasm, why should the kind of civil war which selects assassins themselves for assassination excite terror? For this is a civil war, and if any homicide can be just at all, if it can be useful at all, then must such homicide be useful and just. The nonresistant may with propriety denounce it, but men of blood and iron can not denounce it without approving the royal crimes which have provoked it.

It was to men and women in the habit of thinking in this vein that the Bolshevik propagandists, from the beginning of their efforts even before 1917, and continually since, have addressed the set pieces of their specious literature and inveigling talk in the hope of winning if not active converts to their cause, then, at least, proselytes of passive

tolerance and encouragement of it. By their lies, they have, indeed, won many such victims and have been happy to see them planted in places of gratifying usefulness. From this point of view Mr. Post became, although I do him credit to say unconsciously, a factor in the revolutionary plan and he has demonstrated that status beyond shadow of chance for contradiction.

He has claimed that his cancellations of deportation warrants have been made only in cases where the facts warranted such action.

In the light of that claim I would like to call the committee's attention to characteristic specific instances. I will mention first the case of Paul E. Burton. Burton was arrested in the city of Detroit. He was a Russian alien and entered this country in 1909. He registered for the selective service, but failed to appear for either the physical examination or the induction call, and was reported by his district board a deserter. Among various of his known utterances are the following:

I am glad to hear of the assassination of any one elected by the capitalists.

I would fight against this country if I was where I could.

I would hang Lloyd-George and Winston Churchill and all the rest of the rulers of the country as fast as I could get them.

Burton was ejected by the police from a Detroit hall where an anti-Bolshevik meeting was in progress for endeavoring to instigate rioting. During the same evening he again encountered the police while participating in a demonstration in front of the Detroit Capital House of Correction. The warrant in Burton's case was canceled by the Assistant Secretary of Labor on April 6, 1920, over the recommendation of the immigration inspector and the Commissioner General.

• Earnest Knoepfel, of St. Paul, a Swiss, admitted membership in the German branch of the Communist Party. He admitted that he was a delegate to its State convention and was elected a member of its State committee. While so serving he voted in favor of a resolution to change the name of the Socialist Party of Minnesota to the Communist Party. Notwithstanding this man's certain membership and affiliation with and active participation in the forbidden party, Mr. Post canceled his warrant and discharged him against the recommendation of the immigration inspector and the Commissioner General.

Pietro Baldeserotto, of Paterson, N. J., arrived in the United States in 1914. He was arrested September 28, 1918, and admitted in the immigration hearing that he was an anarchist. For some reason or other another warrant was issued by the Labor Department January 22, 1919, and Baldeserotto again admitted that he was an anarchist. He was ordered to be deported on June 25, 1919. In his testimony, upon which this deportation was ordered, the following statement appears:

Q. Do you believe in the overthrow by force or violence of the Government?—A. No. I am an anarchist, because I am not in favor of force or violence.

Q. What do you mean by the term "anarchist"? Explain your beliefs.—A. I believe as other philosophers talk anarchy, that everybody should be equal, that there should be equality among all men.

This is the same explanation of anarchy as given in the works of Alexander Berkman, Emma Goldman, and by Enrique Magon, yet all of these are terrorists at heart and would not hesitate to resort to force and violence.

Upon this testimony deportation was ordered, as stated, it being found that he was an alien anarchist, and that he disbelieved in all organized government and that he was an opponent of all organized government. On August 14, 1919, the following telegram was sent by the Commissioner General to Ellis Island:

Upon reconsideration, Pietro Baldesorotto case outstanding warrants, arrests, and deportation canceled by direction of Assistant Secretary. Bond also canceled.

Baldesorotto was then released and again, on February 14, 1920, he was taken into custody in Paterson, N. J., with other members of the L'Era Nuova group, a body founded by Malatesta, the Italian anarchist now leading this party in that country. To this group belonged Bresci, the assassin of King Humbert. The Assistant Secretary has again canceled the warrant of Baldesorotto and he is to-day free and at large in the city of Paterson, a dangerous public enemy.

Serafino Grandi, of Paterson, also a well-known member of the L'Era Nuova group, formerly convicted in Italy for his revolutionary activities in that country, was arrested and held for deportation. Against the recommendations of the inspector and the commissioner general the Assistant Secretary canceled his warrant.

The case of the anarchist, Franz Widmer, to which, I think, reference has been made here, is equally illuminating. Widmer was the author of an article entitled "The Execution of Hyena," which dealt with the killing, with a dynamite bomb, of Franz Steunberg, ex-governor of Idaho, at his home in Caldwell, Idaho, in 1906. I quote from him:

On our account we will add a little history which, by itself and better than anything else, will justify the energetic act of the unknown rebel, who consummated the vengeance of the people on that hyena.

And again:

The last reports had that the executed hyena survived only 25 minutes the attack with which the people's vengeance had so rightfully hit him, and those 25 minutes were too many.

The warrant for the deportation of Widmer was canceled by Mr. Post on April 13, 1920, although the record shows he was an anarchist since 1903 on his own admission.

Mr. Post has canceled the warrant of Alberto Guabello, an admitted anarchist, a member of the I. W. W., of whom also French records disclose that he was an associate of militant anarchists in that country, in Switzerland, and in Italy. He had served time at Tourain, and was twice expelled from France for anarchistic activities. Nevertheless, Mr. Post canceled his warrant.

Tom Miliouseske, of Milwaukee, Wis., a Russian, was arrested on January 2, 1920. He admitted he was a member of the Communist Party. It was shown that he was a treasurer for it. Notwithstanding, his warrant was canceled in April, 1920. After that he was taken into custody by the police authorities of Milwaukee for circulating a pamphlet, "Hail to the Soviets," it being the May day proclamation by the central executive committee of the Communist Party of America, and in which revolutionary sentiments were boldly expressed.

The warrant of Mike Kristoff, of Buffalo, N. Y., who admitted membership in the Communist Party, was canceled. Kristoff had sneaked into the country without the usual immigration inspection,

violating the immigration laws at the beginning of his entry into this country.

Frank Jaworski, of Hartford, Conn., was the secretary and organizer of the Williamamantic branch of the Communist Party of America. His deportation was recommended by the immigration inspector and by the commissioner general, but the warrant was canceled by Post.

Andrecz Kramec, of Buffalo, N. Y., denied membership in the Communist Party, but his application for membership therein was introduced in evidence and shown to have been signed as of November 23, 1919. The alien was requested to write his signature at the hearing, in order that it might be compared with the signature of the application card. This he refused to do. His name was on the membership books and he was credited with dues paid. However, the Assistant Secretary canceled his warrant.

I might illustrate such instances of flagrant miscarriages of justice at considerable length. In hundreds of cases, similar to those I have cited, warrants have been canceled, despite clear evidence of membership in the Communist Party, which the Secretary had decided to be an organization of the kind covered by the statute.

I have said that Mr. Post, by his self-willed and autocratic substitution of mistaken personal viewpoint for the obligations of public law, has deprived the people of their day in court.

Upon the nature of this law I can perhaps do no better than to quote rather fully here from an article in *The Nation* on "The communist deportations," by Francis Fisher Kane, formerly United States attorney for the eastern district of Pennsylvania, and whose correctness of statement in the present instance is not likely to be contradicted.

Mr. Kane is one of the ten or a dozen lawyers who signed the recent protest against the conduct of the Department of Justice, which was given wide publicity in the country last Friday. He had been for several years United States attorney in Philadelphia and offered his resignation because he was out of sympathy with the department's attitude in the enforcement of the deportation statute, which resignation was very promptly and cordially accepted. He says in his article in *The Nation*:

The act of October 16, 1918, under which the Government has proceeded is a different matter. It is a deportation statute. It covers those who advocate the overthrow of this Government by force or violence, but it applies only to the aliens and makes them liable to deportation. It makes them liable if they even believe in the forbidden thing—the words are: "Believe in or advocate the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States." And the act also makes membership in, or affiliation with, any organization that entertains a belief in, teaches, or advocates this thing enough to send a man back "to the country whence he came."

The procedure under the law is through a departmental proceeding before an inspector of the Bureau of Immigration, with the decision resting in the Secretary's hands, and in this proceeding the alien has practically only one, or possibly two, of the constitutional rights which he, like the citizen, would have, if the Government chose to proceed against him in the courts for a violation of the criminal code. He does not have the rights mentioned in the sixth amendment to the Constitution. He does not have the rights "to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury," the rights "to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for the obtaining witnesses in his favor; and to have the assistance of counsel in his favor." He may be compelled to be a witness against himself and he may be tried with an utter disregard of the rules of evidence. The courts have said that it is entirely for Congress and the Department of Labor to say whether these rights shall be accorded aliens in the deportation cases.

It is one of the curious ironies of this investigation that Mr. Kane should now be one of the signers to a statement denouncing me for depriving a deportee of the very rights to which he says in this article a deportee is not entitled.

Nevertheless, these proceedings have in them of necessity the nature of a trial, to a degree, and you will appreciate this immediately when I state to you that the warrants directed by the Secretary of Labor against the aliens declared by affidavits of proper Federal agents to be, from their forbidden revolutionary party affiliation, unlawfully resident in the United States, the commandment is that the accused, if such can be said of a party in an administrative proceeding, shall show cause why he should not be deported. That is to say, the burden of proof in the premises is not upon the people of the United States, but upon the alien.

For that reason, it was the duty of the Department of Justice, in its assistance of the Bureau of Immigration, to provide for the initial record no more than a *prima facie* case.

Acting upon the strength of these, in a very great number of instances the immigration inspectors, having given the alien his opportunity of defense, and he having in their view failed to establish his immunity, forwarded their recommendations for deportation to the Secretary of Labor.

If the Secretary of Labor then deemed the alien notwithstanding entitled to release, from insufficiency of the record, a thing that except upon the grounds of the alien's successful defense he could not rightfully do in the face of the flat affidavit, it was his duty to notify the Bureau of Immigration at least and the Department of Justice by courtesy, that unless the alien's defense should be overcome by the presentation of additional evidence, a discharge must follow.

Mr. Post, acting upon his own judgment, and without consulting the solicitor of his own department, without prior notice to the Bureau of Immigration or to the Department of Justice, has released these accused aliens and cancelled their warrants by the scores and hundreds for no other reason than that he was not in sympathy with the proceedings and proposed to annihilate them.

Mr. Post evidently has taken the position that deportation warrants should not be upheld except in cases wherein the alien member of the revolutionary party concerned should be caught red-handed with the gun of warfare or knife of assassination in his hands. He has deemed that mere membership in a forbidden party is not legitimate cause for deportation. And to make this view effective, to make it the basis of his rulings and decisions, he was compelled in effect to cancel the stated terms and plain meaning of the immigration act of October 16, 1918. He did this without the advice of the solicitor of his own department. He did it without the least courtesy of prior notice or consultation with the Department of Justice, which had been cooperating in the enforcement of the statute.

THE REVOLUTIONARY BACKGROUND.

Mr. Chairman, I hope you will be patient with me while I tell you something about what I call the revolutionary background of this business in America. I do not know that I need to apologize for presenting the case fully and in this general way. Apparently, it

might be said at first that it was wandering from the matter of the charges against the department and myself, but without accurate and definite information and knowledge as to just what the purposes of these alien anarchists in the country have been I think that whatever defense the Department of Justice might make could hardly be thoroughly understood. I want, therefore, to tell you something about what I call the revolutionary background—the situation of tense and conspiring unrest which has made infinitely more difficult the already hard problem of restoring comfort, tranquility, and tolerable living conditions for the people after the strain and hardship and destruction of an unparalleled war; a war that consumed human lives by the millions and sunk the stored-up savings of the Nations' labor and wealth to an unimaginable degree.

It is only in contemplation of this background, in a lively realization of what it is and what it means as a test and menace to civilization that we can appreciate or comprehend the international revolutionary movement; get a fair notion of what its manifestations here have carried of evil augury, and make a level-headed estimate of the campaign our Government has been called upon to wage against it.

For I say to you very frankly, Mr. Chairman, that I have looked upon this deportation statute not as a mere matter of punishing, by sending out of the country a few criminals or mistaken ultraradicals who preach dangerous doctrines, but rather as a campaign against—and I have felt that was the purpose of the country—a growing revolutionary movement which sought by force and violence to undermine and injure, and possibly destroy, our Government.

To present this matter in an adequate picture is impossible for me in the limited time I can be appropriately allowed here. But if this committee will read the exhibit (No. 7) in this connection, which I am able, fortunately, to bring from the surveys of the Bureau of Investigation and leave with you for this purpose, I believe that you will be deeply interested and come naturally into the conviction of seriousness and urgency which we in the Department of Justice have come to feel.

Authoritative information is infinitely more impressive than the fabrications of the propagandists or the necessarily imperfect reports of the press.

Let me speak of some of the striking revelations in this picture.

Most disconcerting of all, I think, is the evident tremendousness, sullenness, determination and power of the class war movement toward enforcement of the aims and theories of social reconstruction on a minority class basis, on a dictatorship of the workers—as the poorer crowd of industrial wage earners peculiarly call themselves—in their exclusive interests through gaining control of the State—whether by fair means, or foul—and the expropriation of capitalistic property—which they mean to take away from its present ownership without compensation and to manage hereafter, after the Marxian precept, as a common enterprise in the workers' behalf.

This wave of ultraradical socialism, communism, or syndicalism, as it is variously called according to the phases of local condition or shades of opinion with regard to policy, was heavily under way before the war temporarily broke it up.

It began to rise with accelerated vigor immediately following the tragic revolution in Russia of March, 1917. That revolution was

but a preliminary one; it was a purposeless and planless brute convulsion of the Russian people, mad in desperation from years of betrayal, misgovernment and corruption, brought to a climax by national bankruptcy of every resource, moral or material. The story of it is infinitely pitiful.

Revolution is one thing and its philosophy another. ✓ The Reds contradict themselves when they attribute their Russian coup to the philosophy of Karl Marx. Marx would yield nothing to the reality of ideas, and believed in no potency but that of sticks and stones. The Bolsheviks are Marxians, to be sure, but they and their millions of followers in Russia were first of all a poor, hungry, ignorant, abused, demoralized and propertyless people. They wanted peace. They wanted bread, and they wanted land. With those three things they would rest and be satisfied, requiring nothing of to-morrow until to-morrow's sun. For peace they would sacrifice honor and provinces. For bread they would murder and destroy government. For land they would steal even the plate from the churches. They did all three. "To transform every coward who left the front into a privileged assassin," says Kerensky, "the State has had first to be thoroughly destroyed." The Russian proletariat did destroy it, and they would have done so under any other pretense or excuse that their plans might suggest.

But having destroyed the State, as they did progressively in the months that intervened between the advent of Kerensky and his submergence with the Korniloff rebellion, they did not know what to build in its place. And there was no Russian inspiration capable of managing them in such an enterprise.

For years, even before the war, the pillars of Russian society were being loosened and undermined. They had never been firmly set.

The foundation for stability is character. For character there must be independence. But dependence, through centuries, had been the Russian rule. Without an exception her modern institutions were built upon western credit and had never natural embedding in the native soil. The dynasty was borrowed. The State, with all its machinery for the handling of finance, industry, and social welfare, was made of pieces of foreign importation or grafted upon the decay of feudal remnants. In spite of vast resources and the possession of an almost unlimited labor supply, the capital for industrialization was not of Russian supply. Nor was its engineering or its mechanics. All leaned for repair and maintenance constantly upon the western support. The war cut the prop. By March, 1917, had there existed a Russian independence capable of amputating Czarism, with all its corruptions and inefficiencies, and conserving what was left of industrial equipment, no debacle need have occurred. There might have been a saving national character and competence. But beneath the Romanoff failure stood nothing strong that was inherently Russian. Bolshevism, the only virile political organization—the only body of thought that could assume control of affairs—became the stake upon which helpless Russia was impaled.

Two principal circumstances conspired to develop this tragedy—the personal dynamics of the communist leadership and the paralysis of opposition. They are both tremendously significant. The situation enabled a small group of determined men, knowing exactly what they wanted and driving ruthlessly for it without hesitation or scruple,

to wield the whole engine of power, to crush every obstacle of resistance, and to win the most singular victory of minority dictatorship the world has ever witnessed.

Louis C. Fraina, one of the founders of the Communist Party in America, in his comment upon Lenin and Trotsky's "The proletarian revolution in Russia," says:

The Russian revolution in its determining proletarian phase is an incomparably mightier event than any previous revolution; larger in scope and deeper in ultimate meaning than the French Revolution. Napoleon visualized Russia as a menace that might make all Europe Cossack; to-day capitalism may make Europe and the world all Socialist. Clearly the antagonisms, national and international, generated by the proletarian revolution in Russia are necessarily more intense than the antagonisms of the French Revolution. That was a bourgeois revolution, a revolution that annihilated one form of class rule and tyranny in order to establish that of the capitalist class; it was not a fundamental social revolution, but overwhelmingly political in scope. This is a proletarian revolution, the start of the international social revolution against capitalism, the purpose of which is not political reconstruction but fundamental, intensive, economic, and social reconstruction of the basis of the world. The French Revolution annihilated one form of property rights, the feudal, in order to introduce another form of property rights, the bourgeois; the proletarian revolution in Russia proposes the annihilation of bourgeois property rights, the annihilation of private property and its system of class oppression—the end of the exploitation of man by man and class by class. This is the revolution, the initial action in the social revolution of the international proletariat against capitalism and for socialism.

At any rate, the revolution has centered in Russia. It has taken its cue from the Bolshevik Soviet régime of expropriation, dictatorship of the proletariat, communization of industry, and disruption utterly of the old order of things.

With the push of Russian Communists, many millions strong, behind this emotion; by propaganda better financed and more determinedly led, more fanatized than ever before, its spread and manifestation like the enkindling that surrounds a conflagration make it the most striking event of the times.

All over the world, and in every major tongue, bands of workers, men and women, joined already in conscious and conspiring fraternization, are singing

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL.

Stand up! Ye wretched ones who labor,
Stand up! Ye galley slaves of want.
Man's reason thunders from its crater,
'Tis the eruption none can daunt.
Of the past let us cleanse the tables,
Mass enslaved, fling back the call,
Old earth is changing her foundations,
We have been nothing, now be all!

There are no saviours e'er will help us,
Nor God, nor Caesar, nor Tribune,
'Tis ours, O workers, must the blows be
That shall win the common boon.
From the thief to wring his stolen booty,
From the pris'n to free the soul,
'Tis we ourselves must ply the bellows,
'Tis we must beat the anvil's roll.

"The socialist philosophy"—taking that phrase in the general sense—"writes an anonymous author in the International Weekly, "is probably adhered to by more people in the world than any other single belief. It reaches from Seattle to New York, to England, to Europe and Russia, to Japan and the Orient, to Australia and back again to South America. It is conceived by millions of people to be

the most vital thing in their lives." Under Bolshevik agencies it is being preached also, not only in the huts of Afghanistan, and to the mid-Asian tribes thence westward to Suez, but to the fellah in Egypt and to negroes of Africa wherever they touch the white man's labor question.

I can not tell you, gentlemen, how, after the Bolshevik coup of 1917, and even notwithstanding the terrible object lessons of want, terror, and misery in Russia that followed it; how after the seizing of Russian power by a comparative handful of Communists—a German importation in plan and direction—and the swift success of the Bolsheviks in winning through improper inducement of the peasants and demagoguery to the workers and ruthless crushing out of bourgeois resistance—in grasping and holding the rule of things—the essential Bolshevik social program caught fresh and absorbing hold upon the radically disposed elements in the remainder of Europe. The Bolshevik notion spread, literally, like wildfire. Of course it had its most immediate response, as we know, first in Germany and later in Hungary. The means of this spread I will presently dwell upon, but the celerity of it was astonishing. The Spartacan group in Germany, driven on by Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg, grew at one jump in 1918, from the status of a mere social nuisance to a stubbornly striving social class war party which has left Germany in an uproar of anxiety ever since and came perilously near breaking the German federation but a very few weeks ago.

In Hungary, helpless in industrial depression of deepest rigor, a powerful bolshevik insurrection occurred under Bela Kun, as you recall, crowned with a ghastly terrorism and temporary failure.

Bulgaria, Turkey, Poland, Slovakia, Austria, and Serbia have all been distressingly inoculated with the bolshevik virus—held now under restraint but threatening to break out disastrously at any moment in the last dozen months.

It may be news to you that in Denmark the ultraradical socialists are so strong, the mass organization of the workers is so complete and so close knit that the King and his Government have for some time been forced to cater to their whims.

Holland is not so much better off. It is taking a great effort of the Dutch Government and police to hold down the Reds.

You know what has but just happened in France. How the bolshevik element of French labor, grown to strength sufficient to force the hands of the great French Confederation General of Labor Unions and to drive it into such vicious general strikes that the Government has felt compelled to revoke the Federation's charter and has only by the loyalty of the peasants and the military narrowly averted out and out revolution. In England affairs are better, but distinctly unpleasant.

In the more industrialized provinces of Spain, and in Portugal and Italy, the revolutionary unrest is no less conspicuous than elsewhere on the Continent.

The evil thing exists in the Caucasus. It is inflaming native racial hatred and religious bigotry all across western Asia from the Caspian to Suez. It is even in China, Korea, Japan, and India.

It is being kindled and frequently flames in Mexico, the West Indies, and South America.

You know how it has taken hold of great numbers of laboring men in Canada. The affair at Winnipeg is still fresh in your minds. I am going to tell you presently what there has been of it in the United States. But I want to tell you now that in spite of the happy showers of the beautiful springtime, the world is on fire with this infamous Red stuff and it is going to take the united cooperated effort of international democracy under its most sane and devoted leadership to stamp this incipient conflagration out. Unless we secure the quick and firm establishment of international political peace and financial, trade, and commercial cooperation we may not be able to stamp it out.

Boris Brasol, in the introduction to a very recent and able work on Social Difficulty, does not hesitate to say:

Modern civilization as a whole is imminently threatened with social cataclysm of unprecedented violence such as has already inflicted utter ruin and unspeakable suffering upon several European countries, particularly Russia. This danger can not be magnified and should not be minimized.

I call your attention next to the fact that the methods of spreading the social revolutionary conspiracy—and it is an international one by profession and organization—engineered now by the Communist International, the celebrated Third International, established at Moscow, of delegations from all Europe and the United States on March 6, 1919, have been everywhere the same—in Russia, in Europe, in Asia, Africa, and America.

This, as far as I know—unless it be the French Revolution—is the only revolution in the world's history which has been amply and completely financed.

Mr. FESS. Where does the money come from?

Mr. PALMER. It comes from the loot of Russia, stolen from the property-holding class of Russia.

An inexhaustible press backed by giant funds of stolen loot, has been pouring out tons upon tons of such inflammatory literature as we have, I might almost say by the bale, in the collections of our division of radical publications in the Department of Justice, and specimens of which you have frequently seen. It is savage material, but much of it infernally well written and appealing to the thoughtless, dissatisfied crowd. This literature has been printed in almost every known language by the International Revolutionary press agencies. I have a complete memorandum of it in its American manifestations which I will file with the committee.

By spreading this stuff in Russia and by their continual propagandizing and disintegrating attacks upon socially loyal groups, by their steadily and ingeniously "boring from within," they gained their necessary adhesion and by the same tactics are carrying out their program everywhere with different degrees of success in different countries.

I wish that those who have exclaimed so much about fancied invasions of "free speech" would realize all this—that those who have been opposed to any defensive measures by Government against the revolutionary conspiracy could give their sane thoughts a chance for better assertion in the light of what we know has been happening in the world.

The continual spread of the seeds of evil thought, the continual inoculation of poison virus of social sedition, poisonous to every fiber and root, to every bone and sinew, to the very heart and soul of all

that by our standards is integrity in citizenship or personal character can not help but foster frightfully the revolutionary disease. Is there no such Government policy as one that can stand effectively for social sanitation?

I believe, if I may be permitted to digress a second, that it will be one of the principal privileges of our political parties this year to frame and assert such a policy, a duty as difficult, perhaps, as it is imperative. It must aim at reforms more than at repressive measures, but it must recognize the Government's inherent right of self-protection.

In "Combat Order No. 4," a Bolshevik document issued in August, 1919, as a "message of the Communisans" to all "Federations affiliated with the Third International," occurs the following paragraph:

The European revolution will be possible only when the criminal incapacity of the present bourgeoisie régime will bring about great suffering and misery. A state of revolution will then naturally result from the misery of the people. It is the misery—the intolerableness of conditions that provides the cause of revolution. Philosophists seldom even fix the occasion, but they may guide and engineer the revolt.

I have given you that quotation in connection with the everlasting assertion of the Red Socialist: "Capitalism is bankrupt."

I want it very plainly understood that I do not have the slightest fear that any revolutionary movement can succeed in this country, even to the extent of seriously menacing our institutions. The sober judgment of the men and women of America will reject this alien philosophy and kill this alien purpose, whenever they are made to realize that plans based on such philosophy and purpose have reached serious proportions. But I am equally clear that the alien agitators who have been opening every wound they can find in our body politic, do not realize their plans will be finally rejected here and will go on in the hope of final success. Their ignorance of our institutions and the hearty American confidence in them makes it impossible for them to realize the hopelessness of a revolutionary cause here. Out of this very ignorance will come further agitation, occasional outbreaks, and sometimes systematic industrial disturbances of large proportions, all of which will threaten the peace and good order of the country, and serve to obstruct progress and delay settlement of the many serious problems which now admittedly confront our people—problems which are social and political, as well as moral and economic, and which demand sympathetic consideration and prompt solution.

I am not an alarmist or even a pessimist. But I have my eyes open and I know what a chance of national bankruptcy and industrial paralysis the world would certainly face to-day were the evidences of precaution against it only a little less hopeful and numerous.

But, I may add, it has been the conscious and deliberate plan of the revolutionary conspiracy to labor for the creation of misery and bankruptcy—the field ground for revolution.

That is why we have so much of the sabotizing of industry, the deftly engineered slowing down of production, the constant stalling of machinery, especially transportation industry, and the crippling effect of general strikes, otherwise "political" strikes.

It is the reason, in part, at least, for the continual assault of the Reds, of their constant agitation against the morale of workmen.

It is even true that the March and April marine workers' strike at Rotterdam, when for weeks not a ship could discharge or take on a cargo, was backed by the Bolsheviks for the express purpose of bringing on deprivation and hardship in parts of Germany and Austria, dependent upon the Dutch shipping for the importation of food and raw material. Of that most deplorable and formidable strike, for some strange reason, the newspapers carried scarcely a word.

You also have read the authoritative signs of the times. You know what a period of difficulty we face here in our own hitherto seemingly prosperous country. You know what prodigious and painstaking efforts the statesmen of Europe are making to adjust the indemnity of Germany and achieve its financing in such a way as to stave off and prevent this very real bugbear of international bankruptcy. Need I dwell upon this for the purpose in hand? Need I say that the menace of revolution gains enormously in volume of reality and danger the moment we indulge the emotion of natural fear, rather than sturdy optimism in this grim business? What would not the administration of law and order in this country have been guilty of in the way of neglect and omission had it failed to carry in its mind a policy of quiet but most earnest regard for eventualities of this character? Would it not have been a serious sin of omission if we had failed to think about the difference between good times and bad, and to dread the consequences of leaving the infection of social and industrial revolutionary disease to fester and breed in the tissues of our organism against the day of the hoped-for opportunity to attack the body politic in a virulence redoubled a hundred-fold amid the conditions of bread lines and mass unemployment? Can we afford to disregard that danger now?

I believe we can answer that question positively and beyond contradiction as we go over, briefly as we may, the narrative of the revolutionary action in America, generally at first and more specifically as we discuss also what the precautionary and protective campaign of the Government has been, or was until it collided with the "stubborn incapacity" of the Assistant Secretary of Labor, Louis F. Post.

Revolutionary action for the United States, so far as is considered in this review, begins with the organization of the Industrial Workers of the World, yet even so, the development of this fraternity of malcontent workmen had no patently deep significance in our general life until its very recent connection and affiliation with the greater revolution in Europe, when it became a part of the communist world-wide organization.

While some very interesting and cruel pages in our industrial history have had to be written on account of the place the I. W. W. had previously taken in the story of our local strikes and disturbances, in the tragedy at Ludlow and the occurrences at Lawrence and Paterson, these represented no more than prophetic incidents. They were nothing that needed to touch our emotions of real alarm and suggested inflammations and wrongs in parts of our industrial system rather than fundamental difficulties menacing the entire fabric.

The I. W. W. was organized at Chicago in 1905. By the following year it professed to have 60,000 members. It was composed of a mixture of bumptious, fanatic elements, partly ultra-radical socialist,

partly anarchist, but mostly syndicalist. That is to say, the burden of the program of the I. W. W. from the beginning was to work for the ownership of industry by the workers, whom they claimed produce it, and to work for this through the means of labor unions which should strike, and sabotage, and revolt, with violence, if necessary, not merely for the increase of wages and the betterment of working conditions, but for the physical seizure of industry itself, for the ownership of the means of industry. The party, if we may call it that, or the fraternity, for that is what it more closely resembles, was international in its sympathies and in its statement of the industrial problem, but not in its plan of action. It put out its branches in Canada and Mexico, and it joined hands in communication with radical labor, and revolutionary parties abroad and at home, but the thing it was immediately trying to do was infect the labor body of America with the syndicalist idea and press toward it with all the means and opportunities that might be at hand.

In ordinary times it is not easy to find a body of American labor susceptible to revolutionary teaching. Revolution means risk and sacrifice, the chance of imprisonment, prosecution, outlawry—and in America, certain defeat. But there did exist a body which could be reached. London tells very ably of this in his book, *The Class Struggle*. It was a body of unkempt, homeless, ragged, dispirited, and underpaid floating labor—the “hoboes” of the American Continent. There were thousands, yes, hundreds of thousands of them, who roamed the country from east to west, north to south, and back again according to the seasons and the prospects of temporary employment. They drifted to construction jobs. They drifted into new industrial plants where workers were wanted in a hurry and the combing out process for efficiency could not yet be begun. They made up the armies of the scabs and strike breakers. They did the hard and dirty work upon ships and wharves. They harvested the hops and the grapes and the corn and the wheat, and were shipped into the freshly open mines. They were in the forests. They were in Minnesota and the cypress swamps of the Southwest. They were in California, in the vineyards and orange groves; in the orchards of Oregon, the melon ranches of Colorado and Arizona. They were in the stockyards and in the steel mills. They were on the truck farms of Florida and Texas. And they were in jail—frequently. They were everywhere—and gone again, a wandering, migratory host. And nobody loved them. Some of them climbed up out of their troubles and despairings—and as many more tumbled down. These were the people who became the I. W. W. foundation.

But, as is usual in such concerns, there were able men at the head. St. John, Ettor, Mooney, Hill, Varney, Haywood, Whitehead, and fellows of their stamp have been tremendous engines of effectiveness in their apostleship of “class warfare.” And the I. W. W. has had its press and its clever writers, its pamphlets and its songsters, pushing its propaganda, moving its enthusiasm, and spreading its doctrines all these years. It has indefatigably organized, too, and shoved its groups into all manner of leverages of advantage “for the cause.” An I. W. W. speaker, addressing a recent labor meeting in England, claimed an American membership then of 300,000 from Centralia to West Street. That may not be an exaggeration.

Prior to 1914 there were in the country also numerous ultra-radical socialists, Marxians, and a great many small socialists, anarchist, and communist societies formed among the aliens, for the most part, making no very great noise and doing no very great damage.

During the war these revolutionary bodies, prodded by the Germans, and often subsidized by them, turned their attention chiefly to obstructionist pacifism, sincere enough, and to the fomenting of unnecessary strikes. A great many of the reds were prosecuted and imprisoned, and justly so, because they deliberately broke the laws and deliberately tried to weaken the power of the United States in what was literally a struggle for the salvation of democracy, inviting upon themselves a "martyrdom" which Americanism can never justify. The loyalty of American labor and an overwhelming wave of public condemnation, coupled with these prosecutions, crushed this vicious revolutionary effort to earth during the war.

Then came the news of the revolution in Russia, the formation of the Third International, and the advent of more sinister and dangerous social revolutionary activity in the United States.

The I. W. W. had been bolshevik in its aspirations from the start. Harold Varney thus writes of it in *The Revolutionary Age*, April 19, 1919:

Possibly the I. W. W. of all the world's movements was shaken least by bolshevism. The I. W. W. welcomed the bolshevik triumph with the joy of the unexpected. The final link in the I. W. W. theory had been forged at last. But there was naught in the new happening to compel a revision of belief. The I. W. W. had always been antiparliamentary; the I. W. W. had always sought industrialism. The I. W. W. had preached bolshevism while the Bolsheviki themselves were still groping and wobbling, and felt like one who had long since swam to an island of ideologic truth, as he watches the Russian swimmers coming into port. The naive exuberance with which the new Left Wing American Socialists began to propagate industrialism was naturally amusing to those who had fought the industrialistic battle for nearly a generation. Bolsheviki, the new left wingers styled themselves, but well the I. W. W. knew that bolshevism was but the Russian name for I. W. W., and that after a few flights of left wingism, the socialists would learn that every road of industrial revolution leads inevitably to the Industrial Workers of the World.

In his report to the executive committee of the Third International at Moscow, Louis C. Fraina, international secretary of the Communist Party of America, said:

The Socialist Party was organized in 1901 of a merger of two elements: (1) Seceders from the Socialist Labor Party, like Morris Hillquit, split away in 1899 largely because of the Socialist Labor Party's uncompromising endeavors to revolutionize the trade-unions; (2) the Social Democratic Party of Wisconsin, a purely middle-class liberal party tinged with socialism, of which Victor L. Berger was representative.

And, again:

During 1918 the Socialist Party was in ferment. The membership was more and more coming to think in revolutionary terms. Then came the armistice and the German revolution. The response was immediate. On November 7, 1918, a Communist propaganda league was organized in Chicago. On November 9, Local Boston Socialist Party, started to issue an agitational paper, "*The Revolutionary Age*." This paper immediately issued a call to the party for the adoption of revolutionary communist tactics, emphasizing that the emergence of the proletariat into the epoch of the world revolution made absolutely imperative the reconstruction of socialism. In New York City, in February, 1919, there was organized the left wing section of the Socialist Party. Its left wing manifesto and program was adopted by local after local of the Socialist Party, the left wing acquiring a definite expression. The left wing secured the immediate adhesion of the Lettish, Russian, Lithuanian, Polish, Ukrainian, South Slav, Hungarian, and Estonian federations of the party, representing about 25,000 members.

The official organs of the federation did splendid work for the left wing. In January, 1919, the national executive committee of the Socialist Party decided to send delegates to the Berne congress of the "Great betrayal." This action was character-

istic of the social patriots and Gentrist bent of the party administration. There was an immediate protest from the membership, the left wing using the Berne congress as again emphasizing the necessity for the revolutionary reconstruction of socialism. In March we received a copy of the call issued by the Communist Party of Russia for an international congress to organize a new international. "The Revolutionary Age" was the first to print the call, yielding it immediate adherence; while the left wing section of New York City transmitted credentials to S. J. Rutgers to represent it at the congress. Local Boston initiated a motion for a referendum to affiliate the party with the third international. This was thrown out by the national administration of the party on a technicality, but after much delay another local succeeded in securing a referendum. (The vote was overwhelmingly in favor of the third international.) The left wing was now, although still without a definite organization, a formidable power in the Socialist Party. Previously, all revolts in the party were isolated or consisted purely of theoretical criticism; now there was this theoretical criticism united with a developing organization expression. There was not, as yet, any general conception of the organization of a new party; it was a struggle for power within the Socialist Party.

This struggle, however, was of short duration. By the end of August the radical revolutionary element had, according to the testimony of its own historians, won commanding control of the rank and file of the Socialist Party, but no control whatever of the party machinery. The latter held firm under the dominance of its old national executive committee. The conflict between the left wing and the right became irreconcilable. On September 1, the American bolsheviks broke away from the socialists and formed parties of their own, the communists and the Communist Labor Party. The first of these comprised practically all of the "foreign" branches of the Socialist Party. It claimed originally 58,000 members. The Communist Labor Party, which in its principles and plans does not differ materially from the other, represented a faction of the Reds with native American membership. Perhaps there were 15,000 of them. The number has since very much increased.

There already existed still another numerous and seditious Revolutionary organization, the Communist-Anarchists of the Federation of Russian Workers of the United States and Canada.

All these three parties, while separate societies and quarreling among themselves as to which should be the formal and designated standard-bearers of the Bolsheviki and the International Revolution in the United States, were united in their greater purpose and were working together for the movement. They all indorsed and stood for the manifesto of the Third International, and they recited together, in their meetings and in the propaganda of their voluminous press which reached and still reaches hundreds of thousands of the workers in our country.

I want to leave with you, Mr. Chairman—I shall not take the time to read them—some brief extracts from the most inflammatory of the literature which the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party have printed and circulated in this country. It is very impressive. Much of it has never been presented but I am not going to take the time to read it but put it in the record, because you know, in a general way, what it is. Am I imposing upon the committee?

The CHAIRMAN. Not at all.

Mr. PALMER. I feel that this general review is important but I do not want to take up too much of the time of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed in your own way.

Mr. FESS. May I interrupt to ask whether the I. W. W. had any connection with Russia in its genesis or is it an American organization?

Mr. PALMER. It is an American organization which took on an international phase when it joined the Third International.

Mr. FESS. It appears that a good deal of this anti-Government movement emanates from Russia and I wondered whether the I. W. W. also emanated from there?

Mr. PALMER. Well, as Mr. Fraina said in the article from which I quoted, the Bolshevik outbreak in Russia was no news to them; they were waiting for it; they accepted it and, of course, joined the movement the moment it started in Russia.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. May I answer Mr. Fess by saying that 10 years ago I saw letters in Russian sent to Russian members of the I. W. W. in the State of Washington.

(The literature referred to by Mr. Palmer follows:)

Spurning the half-heartedness, hypocrisy and corruption of the decadent official Socialist Parties, we, the Communists assembled in the third international, feel ourselves to be the direct successors of the heroic efforts and martyrdom of a long series of Revolutionary generations from Baboeuf to Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. As the first international foresaw the future development and pointed the way; as the second international gathered together and organized millions of the proletariat, so the third international is the international of open mass action of the revolutionary realization, the international of deeds. Socialist criticism has sufficiently stigmatized the bourgeois world order. The task of the International Communist Party is now to overthrow this order and to erect in its place the structure of the socialist world order. We urge the working men and women of all countries to unite under the Communist banner, the emblem under which the first great victories have already been won.

Proletarians of all lands! In the war against imperialistic barbarity, against monarchy, against the privileged classes, against the bourgeois state and bourgeois property, against all forms and varieties of social and national oppression—unite!

Under the standard of the workingmen's councils, under the banner of the third international, in the revolutionary struggle for power and the dictatorship of the proletariat, proletarians of all countries unite!

The new era has begun! The era of the downfall of capitalism—its international disintegration. The epoch of the proletarian communist revolution. In some countries, victorious proletarian revolution; increasing revolutionary ferment in other lands; uprisings in the colonies; utter incapacity of the ruling classes to control the fate of peoples any longer; that is the picture of present world conditions.

Humanity, with its entire culture now lying in ruins, faces danger of complete destruction. There is only one power which can save it—the power of the proletariat. The old capitalistic "order" can exist no longer. This ultimate result of the capitalist mode of production is chaos—a chaos to be overcome only by the great producing class, the proletariat. It is the proletariat which must establish real order, the order of communism. It must end the domination of capital, make war impossible, wipe out State boundaries, transform the whole world into one cooperative commonwealth, and bring about real human brotherhood and freedom.

World capitalism prepares itself for the final battle. Under cover of the League of Nations and a deluge of pacifist phrase-mongering, a desperate effort is being made to pull together the tumbling capitalist system and to bring its forces against the constantly growing proletarian revolt. This monstrous new conspiracy of the capitalist class must be met by the proletariat by seizure of the political power of the State, turning this power against its class enemies, and using it as a lever to set in motion the economic revolution. The final victory of free mankind.

Mr. PALMER. All of this literature and all of the pronouncements issued and spread broadcast throughout the country, appearing in tremendous volume in every place where there is any industrial unrest or discontent, are aimed at what is in one place described as—

THE WAY TO VICTORY.

The revolutionary era compels the proletariat to make use of the means of battle which will concentrate its energies, namely, mass action, with its logical result, direct conflict with the governmental machinery in open combat. All other methods, such as revolutionary use of bourgeois parliamentarism, will be only of secondary significance.

Down with the imperial conspiracy of capital!

Long live the international republic of the proletarian councils!

Everybody knows what that means, and it was largely upon the basis of that that the Secretary of Labor defined the Communist Party to be the sort of organization membership in which required deportation of an alien.

In addition to these revolutionary organizations we have had a great many unaffiliated individuals, social revolutionists, not only an extremely numerous group in the ranks of labor, sympathizing with and encouraging the organized revolutionaries, but among the intellectuals, those educated men and women who, from the advantage or the pinch of their position of life, have been strenuously thinking with none too commendable logic about the incongruities and injustices of the times, and, catching the revolutionary thought, have turned to it both their feelings and interests. Among them are the "parlor bolsheviki," the Philistines of our social period, who, enveloped in cigarette smoke and airs of superiority, have lost the touch of just proportion in their measurements of "the good and the bad in modernism," and lent themselves to writing and talk and financial contributions—these people seldom take the risk of doing anything—toward paddling along the revolutionary flood.

In the latter half of 1919 all these protagonists and helpers of the international revolutionary scheme, the I. W. W., the Communists, the Communist Labor Party, the anarchists, the radical associations of rebellious schools, and unaffiliated Reds, and parlor bolsheviks, fired by the enthusiasms thrown across seas by flaming Russia and the glowing torch of the third international, began to work hammer and tongs "to beat anvil blows," the revolutionary poets would say, for an actual revolution in the United States.

In Canada broke out Bolshevik strikes at Winnipeg and elsewhere, as had occurred before in Washington State, where Ole Hanson stamped out the enkindling. These strikes were an ominous foreboding. In the United States the revolutionary faction in the ranks of organized labor egged on a series of great strike demonstrations. These strikes were all of them aimed ostensibly at nothing more than wage increase or some alterations in the conditions of work, but these complaints were taken advantage of by the international inflammers, who make it a practice to rub every sore. The strike, most interesting and significant from the viewpoint we are discussing, was the coal strike, participated in by nearly a half million miners in the bituminous fields. This strike battered at the very foundations of the safety of American democracy. It threatened not only a universal hardship cruel to our own country and dangerous to the world, but it seemed to indicate defiance of law and the public welfare on the part of American labor. Confronted with this challenge of circumstance, the Government of the United States acted under the authority of the Federal statutes and enjoined the strikers. The issue was brought to immediate head. It was settled by de-

cision of the loyal majority in the labor unions, "American labor is obedient to law." No more hopefully reassuring decision than this was ever registered in the history of our republic.

Aroused finally to a realization of the growing danger of graver disturbances, under the pressure of public opinion, Congress began in turn to urge upon the executive branch of the Government the necessity and wisdom of counteraction. For this the Department of Justice had been long preparing. In November, in cooperation with and in aid of the Bureau of Immigration and the Department of Labor, it raided the anarchist parties of the country and forwarded some 380 of the worst offenders of the Russian anarchist group to Ellis Island for deportation. This had the effect of putting an end, for the time at any rate, to several of the more venomous of the revolutionary publications.

In January there were similar raids, resulting in the detention of nearly 3,000 communists, the details of which I will give in a moment.

Revolutionary tactics have, of course, been employed by others than the organized groups to which I have referred. There have been sporadic cases of open violence in recent times and the indications are plenty that these have been of an organized character, but not necessarily authorized by the chief actors in the revolutionary movement. Last summer bombs, addressed to many State and Federal officials, were deposited in the mails. Some of them reached their destination, but comparatively little injury resulted. On another occasion, the homes of 10 officials were simultaneously bombed. These acts of violence were, of course, not directed against the officials as individuals, but constituted the mistaken method by which deluded minds sought to do forcible injury to the Government itself. The ultra-radical press and pamphlets, which have been given wide distribution in the country, have become constantly bolder in their threats of immediate forcible action. Well considered attempts have been made to corrupt and debauch labor unions, to foment strikes and prevent their settlement, to incite destruction of property and cessation of industry and to bring about a general political strike. In a very few cases dangerous extremists have secured places of leadership and power in some labor organizations, but their plans have so far been consistently thwarted by the honest and patriotic efforts of the vast body of organized American wage-workers. In one instance, a leader of this type was able to have a State federation of labor convention pass a resolution calling for a State-wide strike in all trades to redress a purely political grievance.

Of course, the effort was unsuccessful because the exposure of the plan aroused public sentiment, which made its consummation impossible. These ultraradical agitators are the worst enemies of honest American labor and it is splendid evidence of not only the intelligence but the patriotism of the wageworkers of America that this is generally recognized by them and it seems to me to be amongst the first and most important duties of American citizenship to lend encouragement, aid, and support to the strong and patriotic men influential in the ranks of organized labor who are striving earnestly to purge their organizations of every revolutionary element.

Most of the individuals involved in this movement are aliens or foreign-born citizens. There are some, however, of unquestioned American extraction. Some of the leaders are idealists with distorted minds, many even insane; many are professional agitators

who are plainly self-seekers and a large number are potential or actual criminals whose baseness of character leads them to espouse the unrestrained and gross theories and tactics of these organizations. If there be any doubt of the general character of the active leaders and agitators amongst these avowed revolutionists, a visit to the Department of Justice and an examination of their photographs there collected would dispel it. Out of the sly and crafty eyes of many of them leap cupidity, cruelty, insanity, and crime; from their lopsided faces, sloping brows, and misshapen features may be recognized the unmistakable criminal type.

THE LAW AND ITS ENFORCEMENT.

Obviously, it has been impossible, under our form of government and under existing statutes, to deal with this ultra-radical movement as a whole. It has been necessary to deal with individuals, to utilize such laws as are on the statute books, and to ask the Congress for such further legislation as seems to be necessary. The only practical plan for dealing an effective blow at the movement was through the application of the deportation statute, which provides for the deportation of aliens who believe, teach, or advocate the overthrow of the Government of the United States, or all forms of law or organized government by force or violence, or the assassination of public officers, or the unlawful destruction of property, or are members or affiliated with organizations having such objects. The procedure under the deportation law is in no sense a criminal proceeding. It is part departmental, part judicial. It provides for a warrant to be issued by the Secretary of Labor, at Washington, only upon presentation of evidence sufficient to create a belief in the probable guilt of the alien under the law: The warrant must contain a full statement of the charges for the information of the alien and an opportunity is given him to furnish bail for a hearing. So far as I know, reasonable bail has never been denied by the Department of Labor in these actions. The alien is entitled to be represented by counsel, where he is confronted with the evidence against him and given full opportunity to produce evidence in his own behalf. A record of the hearings is made and certified to Washington, together with briefs and arguments of counsel, and then final action, either for or against deportation, is taken by the Secretary of Labor. The alien may, of course, at any time have the benefits of a writ of habeas corpus, upon which his case may be reviewed in court.

The ultra-radical press has been vociferous in calling these proceedings inquisitions and denouncing them as star-chamber proceedings, and much misrepresentation of the conduct of the Department of Justice and of the Department of Labor in these cases has been indulged in by sympathizers of the alien anarchists. It is one of the curious ironies of the situation that the very people who are loudest in denouncing constitutional forms of government, when arrested under this statute insist most vehemently upon all their constitutional rights. Every safeguard has been thrown about the proceedings to make certain that the lawful rights of no individual are invaded.

Of course, the Government can not be deterred by misrepresentation and slander of its officials, and yet the people ought to be warned

against accepting such accusations at any part of their face value. I recall a statement given out by Emma Goldman after her original hearing before the immigration inspector at Ellis Island. Two representatives of the Department of Justice were present at that hearing under instructions to take every possible precaution to see that she had a fair trial. At the outset of the hearing, Goldman's counsel submitted as part of the record a written "protest and objection" offered by her. This was admitted, although it had no bearing upon the facts or law involved. Thereafter, on advice of counsel, Goldman refused to answer any questions and, although given ample opportunity, submitted no evidence in her own behalf. She attempted no defense. Yet her protest and objection, filed before the hearing, contained accusations of alleged unfair inquisitorial methods used at the hearing and, of course, gained wide publicity.

The Government's first efforts were directed against individual agitators, amongst whom Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman were perhaps the most conspicuous. Many other active and dangerous persons were apprehended and held for deportation. It was soon learned, however, that the individual agitators were so migratory in their habits and so cautious in their oral utterances that it was quite difficult, if not impossible, to pick them off one by one. In the meantime, much evidence had been accumulated against groups and organizations and it became apparent that if a particular organization was shown to be unlawful, a proper foundation could then be laid against all aliens who had signed pledges of membership in such organizations. Under this plan, simultaneous arrests of officers and leaders of the El Ariete Society, and afterwards of the Union of Russian Workers, were made in many cities, proof of membership and of alien character adduced and the anarchistic purposes of the organizations proven, which finally resulted in the deportation of 247 persons in the *Buford*—nicknamed by somebody the "Soviet Ark." The gathering of the evidence in these cases was a large and difficult task, involving immense labor on the part of the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice, whose splendid work in this important undertaking I am glad to publicly commend.

In the meantime the Communist and Communist Labor parties were born. Their organization, membership, tenets, and tactics were carefully watched and noted by the Department of Justice, the active spirits amongst them were located and finally, on the 2d of January, simultaneous arrests were made in 30 or more cities, in which more than 3,000 alien members of these parties were taken into custody and delivered to the immigration authorities. Since that time hearings have been going rather slowly forward.

I am constrained to believe that these activities on the part of the Government have halted the advance of "red radicalism" in the United States, and that what once seemed like a serious menace of organized revolution has been successfully met. Peace and order have, in the main, been maintained and the public has learned to recognize the horrible face of bolshevism under the disguise of political parties; labor unions have largely purged themselves of these crafty "borers from within"; it has come to be plainly seen that this is no fight between capital and labor, as the ultraradical agitators

insist, but that it is a fight between organized government and anarchy.

But I would not give the impression that the danger is entirely passed. The vigorous enforcement of the law must be continued and the law must be strengthened in order to punish the citizen for the offenses of which the penalty for an alien is deportation. Already there are evidences of reorganization of the revolutionary groups so as to escape the operation of deportation statutes. Naturalized citizens, who as individuals are immune under the present Federal laws, are taking the lead, feeling safe by reason of the difficulty of the Government's making a case under the conspiracy statute.

Mr. FESS. Would it interrupt you to ask whether Congress could cancel the naturalization papers of people who are found to be violating the spirit of the law?

Mr. PALMER. Well, I am inclined to think so if the allegation could be supported that they were obtained by fraud. I think the naturalization papers of such persons who come here not for the purpose which actuated our fathers in coming here, that of seeking a home, but for the purpose of injuring the Government, could be canceled. But, Mr. Fess, it would not be necessary to do that.

Mr. FESS. That is what I wanted to know, whether that would be the only way.

Mr. PALMER. Not if Congress will pass a penal statute of the kind I am going to suggest in a minute.

Mr. FESS. I want to apologize; I did not know you requested not to be interrupted.

Mr. PALMER. That is all right, sir; I only thought that would save time. I do not object to interruptions as a rule.

There are only two sections of the Federal criminal code which may be invoked in dealing with "red radicalism." One is section 4, which makes it a crime to incite, set on foot, assist or engage in any revolution or insurrection against the authority of the United States and the laws thereof. It seems perfectly clear that there must be actual revolution or insurrection before a crime has been committed under this section. The other is section 6, which makes it a crime for two or more persons to conspire to overthrow, put down or destroy by force the Government of the United States, etc. This obviously does not reach individual agitators. A conspiracy in its full legal sense must exist and be proven.

The deficiencies of our present Federal laws are well illustrated by the fact that the bomb throwers, who, with intent only to injure the Government, made murderous attacks upon the homes of Government officials, committed no crime under the Federal statutes. If they had stood upon the sidewalk in front of these homes on the day of their attacks and had publicly threatened to commit the act which they did subsequently commit, the Federal laws would have been powerless to punish them for the threat. A man might walk down Pennsylvania Avenue, in the city of Washington, with a bomb in his hand, intending and publicly threatening to blow up both Houses of Congress while in session, and be immune from prosecution under any general Federal statute; and should he actually proceed to the Capitol and actually explode a bomb with that purpose and with the plain intent of doing injury to the Government, he would commit no crime under general Federal laws, except possibly that of defacing

or destroying Government property. In most instances the local laws either of the District of Columbia—which, of course, happen to be made by the Congress but which are not general laws—or of the various States and Territories might be invoked. A man would commit murder if he assassinated a public officer or be guilty of malicious mischief if he injured his home in an effort to assassinate him. But the crime is one which is not directed against the person or property of the officer, but against the Government of the United States. Officers of the Federal Government, charged with the duty of protecting the Government, plainly ought not to be required to depend upon local laws and local law enforcing officers to deal with situations of this character.

Those who perhaps lack the physical courage to commit acts of violence directed against the Government, but who nevertheless urge others to their commission by the open threat, or promise, or advocacy, written or spoken, of acts of physical force or violence, should be held equally responsible with the deluded wretch who may thus be induced to commit criminal violence. To my mind, the ignorant anarchist who shot down President McKinley was no more guilty than the more intelligent anarchist leader whose theories and teachings led him to commit his crime. Czolgosz was punished with dispatch, but it has taken nearly 20 years for justice to overtake his teacher when Emma Goldman was finally deported.

So I would, Mr. Chairman, apply to the citizen the same rule that would apply to the alien. We should not permit a man to attempt or to actually commit or threaten to commit acts of physical force or violence against persons or property for the purpose and with the intent of injuring or destroying the Government of the United States, and, to my mind, there is no possible violation of the guarantee to the right of free speech in any such proposition as that.

The CHAIRMAN. About how long will it take you to conclude?

Mr. PALMER. I would be glad if I could conclude my general remarks and then take these charges up at another session.

The CHAIRMAN. I shall have to be on the floor, and I assume that either Mr. Garrett or Mr. Pou will want to be there too, for the purpose of bringing a matter up on the floor.

Mr. PALMER. I would like to have you here, Mr. Chairman, and I am willing to go over until to-morrow morning.

The CHAIRMAN. Or would you prefer to go on this afternoon.

Mr. PALMER. I am pretty nearly down to details. Yes; I will be glad to go on this afternoon.

Thereupon the committee recessed until 2 o'clock p. m.

AFTER RECESS.

The committee met, pursuant to recess, at 2 o'clock p. m.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed, General.

Mr. PALMER. Perhaps there can be no better illustration of the typical way in which the Third International operates to further its revolutionary intrigue than the connection between it and the recent so-called outlaw railroad strike which began at Chicago in April of the present year. In the bulletin of the provisional bureau at Amsterdam of the Communist International, published in February, 1920, is the following characteristic statement, "Therefore we appeal to the workers of all countries to follow this example and with the

utmost energy to wage the war for their deliverance. They must attack and undermine capitalism, enfeebled already, and the bourgeois state power, by ceaseless mass action (demonstrations, strikes)." The American delegates were in attendance upon the Amsterdam conference purposely to lay plans for cooperation in this direction. The Communist Party in America was already committed to this policy, and there is in its manifesto and program a positive assertion that—

The Communist Party must engage actively in the struggle to revolutionize the trade unions. As against the unionism of the American Federation of Labor the Communist Party propagandizes industrial unionism and industrial union organization, emphasizing their revolutionary implications. Industrial unionism is not simply a means for the everyday struggle against capitalism; its ultimate purpose is revolutionary, implying the necessity of ending the capitalist parliamentary state. Industrial unionism is a factor in the final mass action for the conquest of power, as it will constitute the basis for the industrial administration of the Communist Commonwealth.

The Communist Party recognizes that the A. F. of L. is reactionary and a bulwark of capitalism.

Councils of workers shall be organized in the shops as circumstances allow, for the purpose of carrying on the industrial union struggle in the old unions, uniting and mobilizing the militant elements; these councils to be unified in a central council wherever possible.

It shall be a major task of the Communist Party to agitate for the construction of a general industrial union organization, embracing the I. W. W., the W. I. I. U., independent and secession unions, militant unions of the A. F. of L. and the unorganized workers, on the basis of the revolutionary class struggle.

The Communist Party and the I. W. W. have been working in close connivance in the United States.

In papers taken from the communist courier on his way to the United States (March, 1920), G. Zinoviev, as president of the executive committee of the Communist International, appealed to the Communist Party in America as follows:

The party must take into account the everyday incidents of the class war. The stage of verbal propaganda and agitation has been left behind; the time for decisive battles has arrived. The most important task confronting the American Communists at the present moment is to draw the wide proletarian masses into the path of revolutionary struggle. The party must have for its goal the dissolution of the American Federation of Labor, and other unions associated with it, and must strive to establish the closest connection with the I. W. W., the one big union, and the W. I. I. U. The party must support the formation of factory workers' committees in factories, thus serving as basis for the everyday struggle and for training the advance crowd of labor in managing industry.

The I. W. W. should take the initiative in trying to establish a basis for uniting all unions having a class conscious revolutionary character, such as the W. I. I. U., the one big union, and insurgents from the American Federation of Labor.

At a meeting of the general executive board of the I. W. W. in the autumn of 1919 the following resolution was carried:

"Resolved, The Soviet Republic of Russia in its call for the organization of the third international, including the I. W. W. as one of the bodies eligible to such new international, and,

"Whereas the I. W. W. is the only revolutionary organization in the United States whose program is absolutely scientific and uncompromising and is the logical American unit of the third international; and

"Whereas the proletarian revolution is world-wide and not national or local in its scope;

"Therefore, the time has come for the I. W. W. to assume its proper place as the American unit of the Workers' Red International and to establish closer relations with groups of the same or similar principles in every country, such as the Communists of Russia, Hungary, Bavaria, etc., the Spartacans of Germany, the Syndicalists of France, Italy, and Great Britain, and other countries, and the International Unionists of Canada and Australia; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the I. W. W. shall create a committee on international relations, which shall at once establish and maintain correspondence and fraternal relations with such aforesaid revolutionary groups throughout the world and shall provide for the representation of the I. W. W. as a constituent member of the Third International."

After the collapse of the steel strike a number of the more radical men who had been leaders in that enterprise and were of I. W. W. affiliations, engaged in the endeavor to promote the railroad strike of April. Lists of all railroad men who were members of the Communist Labor and Communist parties were sought, and names of all railroad men opposed to the present management of the Brotherhoods, were also collected.

The fundamental agitation of these leaders was the destruction of the railroad brotherhoods, the removal of their leaders, and establishment of the one big union. At first it was intended that the I. W. W. should not publicly figure in the strike, but Grunau, in Chicago, deviated from the original plans and allowed the workers, who were for the most part innocent dupes in the business, to split the strikers into four separate organizations. This caused some dissention, which has resulted in the movement for the railroad workers' one big union. Several conferences were held at the I. W. W. headquarters in Chicago and at other points in that city. Grunau had gone too far with the four organizations to turn back, and the only way the one big union could be given a start was through the railroad shopmen, who would be urged to strike under the one big union banner and thus persuade Grunau's organizations to reorganize and join them.

It was realized that the I. W. W. could not make headway, because of the prejudice or fear of the three letters, and the fact that the men would not warm up to organization under those auspices. However, the railroad workers' one big union was decided upon as a cover for the I. W. W. One Bidwell, a member of the newly formed Chicago Engine Men's Association, replaced Grunau. Bidwell is confident he can swing the four organizations into the one big union idea, provided the railroad shopmen follow on his plans.

The direct connection, under cover, of the I. W. W. with other bodies of workmen in different parts of the country who engaged in the April strike, is positively established by documents in the possession of the Department of Justice.

One of the things I do not care to state as a fact but which has come to me from so many sources through my agents, or through the agents of the Department of Justice, that I have come to believe it to be a fact is that the outlaw railroad strike was, and is, chiefly financed through the Communist Party organizations. I say "was and is" because, gentlemen, the railroad strike is not over by any manner of means. In many of the large railroad centers transportation is going on only under great difficulties by the use of volunteers in switching locomotives and cars, clerks, and other employees not accustomed to the work being drafted into the service for which switchmen are ordinarily employed.

Agents of the Department of Justice have furnished evidence that the Communist defense fund stamp, which is being sold all over the country, raises a fund, a part of which is diverted for the purpose of supporting this strike. There is not any question about the money being raised by the use of this 25-cent Communist defense fund stamp. The stamp, of course, is a mere receipt for a donation intended for the defense of the communists who are arrested for deportation. The allegation of the communist is that this money goes to a committee of the civil liberties union, I think the name is, of which Mr. Roger

Baldwin is secretary in New York, for that purpose; but repeated statements of men who sell these stamps and thus raise the money lead me to believe that a portion of it, at least, is being used to support this strike.

I have hurriedly reviewed the revolutionary movement elsewhere in the world, shown its international plan, scope, and purpose, and have tried to give you some idea of the progress it has made in this country. I have also touched briefly upon the efforts of the Department of Justice in the enforcement of such meager laws to meet the situation as we found upon the statute books. For it must be remembered at all times that, practically speaking, the deportation statute is the one law which affords any adequate remedy for revolutionary efforts by way of force and violence or the threat or promise thereof. A citizen, of course, can not be deported. As far as the Federal laws go, he can not be punished for a threat or attempt to injure or destroy the Government by physical force or violence, unless the Government is able to prove conspiracy, always a difficult, frequently an impossible thing to do.

To adequately cope with the Red menace, to keep the peace and maintain order in the country in the way the American people expect it to be done, two things were necessary: First, the rigorous, unflinching and expeditious enforcement of the deportation law, and second, the passage of a simple statute, carefully guarding the right of free speech, but providing punishment for the use of force or the threat of violence to injure the Government or destroy its institutions.

I am firmly convinced that the preponderance of American public opinion supports both these things. I am firmly convinced our people want to send back to his own country the plotter who seeks to transplant the chaos of unhappy Russia upon our shores; I am equally convinced that our people want to mete out severe punishment to the citizen, native or naturalized, who joins forces with the alien anarchist in his wicked attempts to injure the Government whose policy of protection to the weak and oppressed alone makes his presence here possible.

CRITICAL OPPOSITION.

But there has been from the beginning an element of loud and critical opposition to this thoroughly American policy of law enforcement for America's self-protection.

The Department of Justice is encountering now the opposition not of an individual, but of a viewpoint and of a class, a class which has seen fit to subject the department and the Attorney General to misrepresentation, abuse, vilification, and ridicule.

This, I am glad to say, has not emanated from organs of partisan politics, proverbially hostile under the American tradition, and usually innocuous because so understood, but from the ultra-radicals themselves, and from elements of our people and of our press professing a superior, "advanced" point of view, contemptuous of the existing order in all fields, and devoted to critical agitation for constant change in our institutions, our laws, and all our processes of government.

These elements are never sincerely sympathetic with the administration of law and order, which they, in their elevated philosophy,

have regarded as the cruel instrument of injustice rather than the only safe instrument of progress. They are never heartily loyal to the national ideals, since their own notions of perfection seem to them infinitely more worthy of respect. They will point to more defects in our institutions in an hour than to their merits in a lifetime. They find nothing so beautiful in the past as its mistakes, nothing so interesting in the present as its symptoms of trouble, and no prospect so fearful for the future as the possibility that national contentment may remain.

People of this sort, especially in the columns of our so-called "liberal" press, have showered and bedaubed the Department of Justice with their muddy complaints from the moment when, in connection with the other proper Federal authorities, last November and in January, it proceeded to move against alien revolutionary parties. They rushed into the breach of alien Bolshevik defense. They were against the law in this matter and against the policy. They were of the opinion that Bolshevism should be allowed to plot and propagate here without the least discouragement or hindrance. They hailed the advent of Bolshevik revolution, not as, what normal men have known it to be, the most brutal, the most corrupt, the most wickedly fatuous insurrection of mob ignorance in all history, but as an event of triumphant social virtue, led by sublime genius and consecrated to the uplift of the toiling masses. They were deluded. They shut their eyes deliberately upon the true aspects of the Communists bloody and unprincipled dictatorship, its criminalties of assassination and terror, its robberies of expropriation, its unspeakable tyrannies of minority control, its suppression of the press, free thought and voluntary industry, its treasons to national honor, its wreckage of property, its barbarities upon women and children, its persecution of religion, its thousand and one iniquities of incompetence and filth, while they swallowed greedily the propaganda of revolutionary literature and appointed themselves to act the part here of sponsors and apologists and helpers of a set of people and of a program, which, in right American opinion, must remain forever condemned as inherently wrong and impossible. Every active man must have a feeling toward opposition of this character very much like that which a soldier must feel in the trenches when he is annoyed and distressed by mosquitoes and flies, and vermin and mud and pelting rain and similar necessary hardships which a soldier at the front accepts without complaining.

As a personal concern, I would make no attempt to answer. But I wish you to understand that the body of these people is the favorable culture into which the revolutionary agitators place their germs of social treason, and that it is here they grow most rapidly and from here that they are able to do a great deal of damage.

They do it in the press constantly by misrepresentation and deliberate distortion of the news according to their sympathies and predilection.

They do it in the churches by departing from the proper offices of religion and substituting elaborate excursions of intellectualism into fields of sociology and of political science concerning which they have but imperfect knowledge and a very poor understanding.

They do it in the circles of the labor organizations. By their loose talk and mistaken ideas they strive to delude and inflame more conscientious and more practical leaders of laboring men.

They do it in politics by the old cry of "holier than thou" and by forgetting the necessary limitations of human nature and trying to install Utopian institutions in an age of frailty. They become demagogues and professional reformers, and they obstruct real progress.

They do it in the schools by perverting the minds of the young.

They are unrealizing in all this, for most of them are sincere and well meaning enough and do not appreciate the dangers into which their teachings may lead persons less capable of discrimination between philosophy and action. Words of theory are often the triggers which explode acts of violence.

With this class of people, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, all good Americanism must take flat issue. We are not living in an ordinary time when it is safe to try out fantastic theories whose successful operation implies forcible changes in our form of government. We are living in a time which compels from us all the loyalty and effort we can muster toward the praise, support, and maintenance of American democracy and its manifold triumphs of accomplishment; its magnificent traditions and its heroic examples; its splendid and appropriate institutions. I have in mind an expression which Robert Louis Stevenson used in one of his novels: "Well, sir, the great thing for the good of one's country is, first of all, to be a good man. All springs from there."

To be a good man to-day for an American is to be a loyal and confident believer in the American method of making progress through the institutions of law and order and in constant accord with the plan of the fathers, whose wisdom, vision, and sacrifice gave to us a priceless heritage of civil liberty, happiness, and prosperity, the fullest, the truest, the richest in all the world.

REPLY TO CHARGES.

Now, Mr. Chairman, to come down to the particular criticisms or charges that have been made against the Attorney General and the Department of Justice by witnesses before you and others; charges which have been brought to your attention by witnesses, I had thought at first that it would be so apparent to any committee of Congress and to the country that these criticisms and charges were a part of the studied propaganda of the ultra-radical revolutionists in America that they hardly deserved an answer; but I was reluctantly convinced that that thought came from my too close touch with the situation and my being apt therefore to forget that others would not see it in the same light. So far as criticism is concerned in this business, Mr. Chairman, I have become accustomed, if not reconciled, to it, for from the first day of our announcement in the Department of Justice that this law and other laws, so far as we could find them which would have the effect of stopping this outbreak of force and violence in America, would be enforced vigorously and without flinching, we in the department have been the subjects of not only bitter criticism, outrageously false and slanderous charges, vituperation, villification, and abuse, but of all kind and manner of threats. My own life is threatened daily. Our mails are choked with communications from men too cowardly to sign their names to them, describing in great and grewsome detail the things they are going to do to the Attorney General and those who are near and dear to him. Knowing how

best to reach any man, they make the same kind of threats against our wives and children, and those who are dearer to us than life itself.

All that has been underground, under cover, but of a kind that frightens no official of the Government, scares nobody, but proves satisfactorily that there is in the country the very danger and menace we have been describing. But out in the open, friends of these criminals become less bold in speech but equally bold in purpose in the kind of criticism and charges that they have directed against the law enforcing department of the Government.

CHARGE THAT THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE HAS DEMANDED EXCESSIVE BAIL.

One of the things that was said here the other day and which has been constantly repeated by these people is that excessive bail has been demanded by the Department of Justice, in violation of the constitutional guaranty.

In the cases of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, the Department of Justice insisted upon not less than \$15,000 bail. I believe that the committee can well appreciate the necessity for such bail in the cases of two such notorious anarchists.

It is submitted that the purpose of bail is, in the last analysis, the securing of the attendance of the person concerned. In determining the amount necessary to attain this object the Department of Justice has used as its guide the experience of the Government in previous similar cases.

There have been cases of alien anarchists, against whom deportation proceedings were instituted, wherein the aliens were subsequently released on bail fixed in the usual sum of \$1,000 and the Immigration Service was unable to execute the warrant of deportation when issued because of the disappearance of the aliens between the time of release and the issuance of the orders for deportation.

A notable instance is that of Rugero Baccini, a follower of the notorious "Galliani," of "Cronaca Soversiva" fame. Baccini was located and apprehended by Agent Drew, of this department, in Paterson, N. J., on May 16, 1918. Baccini was removed to Ellis Island, given a hearing under the immigration act and released on \$1,000 bail. (See photostat copy of letter from the Acting Secretary of Labor, No. 54379/49, dated July 2, 1919, attached. Exhibit 1.)

After his release he took an active part in the bomb plot of June 2, 1919. Without disclosing the nature or source of our information at this time—to do so would be highly detrimental to the Government's interests—it may be stated that he engineered the explosion of the bomb on that date at the home of the president of the Suanaha Silk Co., in Paterson, N. J., Mr. Klotz: just previously several men had been discharged therefrom for agitation, two of them being members of the Era Nuova group of anarchists, one acting as spokesman for the disaffected employees. Subsequent to this dastardly attempt to murder Mr. Klotz and his family, which also would have involved the family in the adjoining house, the bomb having been exploded between the two houses (photos of the effect of the explosion being attached as Exhibit 2) Baccini departed for Italy, where he is at present, according to our information, assisting Galliani in the publication of "Cronaca Soversiva," at Genoa, Italy. The result is that the order of deportation has never been executed.

As a result of the investigations of the Department of Justice, there were recently apprehended some of Baccini's associates and the investigation is still proceeding. Meantime the Department of Justice has requested the Secretary of Labor to institute deportation proceedings with respect of said associates.

Of course, it may be said that if this man escaped or jumped his \$1,000 bail and went back to Italy, where he would have gone if he had been deported, that no harm was done by allowing a small amount of bail; but, of course, it will be immediately apparent to the committee that his status as a voluntary exile is very different from his status as a deported alien. Where he returns to the country as a deported alien he makes himself subject to the criminal laws of the country.

Another instance is that of Robert Parsons, an alien anarchist, who was apprehended in Paterson, N. J., through the investigations of the agents of the Department of Justice in Paterson, N. J., and against whom deportation proceedings were instituted at the initiation of said agents. Parsons was taken into custody on an immigration warrant on May 1, 1919, and subsequently released under \$1,000 bail. Under date of November 18, 1919, the Assistant Commissioner of Immigration, in his letter No. 54,616/163, advised this department that the Department of Labor had on that day, November 18, issued its warrant directing the deportation of Parsons to Canada. This warrant has never been executed, and our information is that Parsons went to Canada, and from last reports was in Toronto. (Photostat copy of above mentioned letter is attached as Exhibit 3.) It may be stated that at the time of Parson's arrest he had a large supply of the issues of the Anarchist Soviet Bulletin, which he was distributing.

While Parsons was at large, and before the issuance of the order of deportation, the Department of Justice requested that the bail be increased, and the Assistant Commissioner of Immigration, in his letter No. 54616/163, dated August 25, 1919, stated as follows:

You will note that our Ellis Island office is of the opinion that their present bonds are safe guarantees of surrender upon the basis of evidence now in their possession.

(Photostat copy of above-mentioned letter attached as Exhibit 4.)

It would be interesting to know upon what premises the Ellis Island office predicated its opinion that the "present bonds" were a safe guarantee of the surrender of the alien when desired, for as it turned out he jumped his bail.

Mention has been made before this committee of the question of excessive bail in the case of John Dudinsky and in which the Department of Justice recommended that the bond in this case be not less than \$10,000, and which recommendation the Assistant Secretary of Labor overruled and fixed the same at \$1,000. In the recommendation made, the grounds for the increase in bond was based upon the fact that Dudinsky had been a delegate to the Communist Party convention in Chicago, at which time its manifesto was adopted, and that he was an organizer in the State of New Jersey for the Communist Party and had actively participated in its councils.

He is well known to the State authorities of New Jersey, as well as to the Federal authorities, and in view of his particularly aggressive and pernicious activities the recommendation for \$10,000 bail was deemed warranted. The Assistant Secretary of Labor, I believe, has maintained that the facts set forth in the recommendation were not

sustained in the record. At this time I desire to call the committee's attention to a fact which I believe has been entirely ignored, namely, that under the ruling of the Assistant Secretary of Labor the function of the Department of Justice ceases as soon as the warrant of arrest is issued. The Department of Justice is not accorded the privilege at the hearing to examine witnesses, to cross-examine witnesses, nor to review the record when completed. I fail to find in the files of the Department of Justice any request from the Department of Labor to the Department of Justice to substantiate the facts set forth in its letter recommending an increase of bond in the Dudinsky case. It occurs to me that had the Assistant Secretary been desirous of enforcing the law that he would have called the attention of the Department of Justice to the fact that the statements set forth in the letter of recommendation were not borne out in the record, and that he would appreciate it if the Department of Justice would submit the necessary evidence. Such was not done, and the first knowledge we had of the fact that the record in the Labor Department was defective was when the Assistant Secretary appeared before this committee and made the statement to that effect. In his statement the Assistant Secretary said the inspector is not a prosecutor. If such be the case, then it surely should follow that at least some branch of the Government should perform the functions of counsel for the people. I might say in closing with the Dudinsky case that on the night of May 11, 1920, after Dudinsky had been released by the Assistant Secretary of Labor, a meeting was held at No. 57 Beacon Street, Newark, N. J., composed of members of the Union of Russian Workers, Communist Labor Party, and Communist Party of America, for the purpose of reorganizing all radical groups. At this meeting the following-named persons were present:

Sam La Gransky, secretary of the Communist Party, and in which case the Department of Justice recommended that his bond be fixed at not less than \$10,000.

John Koltzoff, arrested on January 3, 1920, under immigration warrant.

George Arlov, member of the organizing committee of the Communist Party, and arrested on January 3 under an immigration warrant.

Roman Kunsiga, arrested on January 3 under an immigration warrant and in which case recommendation was made by this department that bail be fixed at not less than \$10,000.

John Dudinsky, the subject's case now under discussion.

Demian Vlasoff, member of the Union of Russian Workers and an anarchist.

This group, all of whom had been released by the Department of Labor, met but two weeks ago, after the ruling of the Department of Labor upon the Communist Labor Party, for the purpose of endeavoring to join together again for revolutionary activities. At the meeting on May 11 Koltzoff, who claims to be in close touch with Martens, stated to the group that he had been informed by a member of the Martens staff that the decision of the Department of Labor upon the Communist Labor Party would be upheld and that the Communist Labor Party will have the best opportunity to organize all of the working classes of America to seize industries and when that is accomplished the overthrow of the present Government will be a minor thing. It will thus be seen that the recommendation of the

Department of Justice for bond of \$10,000 in these cases was not so wholly unwarranted. Those men had been arrested on January 2 for revolutionary activities, after careful investigation by the Department of Justice. In view of the meeting of May 11, it would appear that that recommendation was well warranted. I can not concede the point that the Government should go to the expense of arresting a willful violator of the laws of this country and release that violator upon an insignificant bond which in no ways deters him from again committing his act nor insures his presence when desired.

Another instance which may be well for the committee to consider, wherein this department witnessed the result of fixing a low bond in the case of a pernicious agitator, was the case of Alexander Stocklitzky, an alien arrested upon a warrant of the Secretary of Labor in August, 1919. This alien was arrested for his communistic activities, as well as for his threats of force and violence. He was accorded a hearing in September, 1919, and released upon \$1,000 bond over the objection of the Department of Justice. He proceeded to Gary, Ind., during the course of the steel strike and there openly urged the workers to seize the guns and turn them on the soldiers—the soldiers of the United States—who were there to preserve the laws of this country. Again the Department of Justice urged that bond be increased to \$10,000 and again its recommendation was ignored. Stocklitzky was directly instrumental for the formation of the Communist Party in the United States; he was a typical, vicious Russian agitator. Four times the Department of Justice recommended that this man be taken into custody and released upon not less than \$10,000 and not once was its recommendation acted upon, until December 15, 1919, when the Department of Labor did order Stocklitzky to surrender himself, and to date they have been unable to find him. This is an instance wherein \$1,000 bond was fixed and an active agitator has worked to the detriment of the interests of the United States. After experiencing such instances, I have consistently recommended \$10,000 bonds in all cases of aliens who have been actively identified or actively responsible for the revolutionary movement in the United States, and I maintain that my recommendation has been well warranted and based upon the facts ascertained by the Department of Justice, for in many instances where the agitators have been released upon small bonds, they but go back reinforced in their determination to agitate against the Government, as is shown by the meeting in Newark, N. J., on the night of May 11.

Another instance which it may be well for the committee to know of is that of Matthew Furshtman, an alien and a member of the Union of Russian Workers, who was arrested on the night of November 7, 1919, in the city of Philadelphia, while delivering a lecture at a meeting of the Union of Russian Workers. Spread out upon the table before Furshtman while he was addressing the meeting was a notebook of notes made by him, as well as a copy of Novimirsky's Manifesto upon Anarchism, which was published by the Union of Russian Workers and in which open advocacy of force and violence appears. Both of these books were open, and it was apparent that Furshtman was basing his lecture upon the contents of his notebook, as well as "Novimirsky's Treatise upon Anarchy." Furshtman was taken into custody and finally ordered to be deported after many representations made by the Department of Justice in this case. In addition,

there was obtained against Furshtman on the night of his arrest other correspondence showing that Furshtman had been actively identified with the Union of Russian Workers, an anarchistic organization, and in view of the fact that he was taken into custody in the act of delivering a speech, the department maintained then and maintains now that it had a perfect case against the individual which was sufficient to warrant deportation. Deportation was ordered, but his attorneys made representations to the Department of Labor to the effect that if Furshtman was deported to Russia, such deportation would be disastrous to him physically, as it was claimed that he had but one lung and was suffering from tuberculosis. I am not aware as to the actual physical conditions of this subject as found by the medical examiners, but I do know that even though he had but one lung it was sufficiently strong for him to deliver to a group of Russians, noncitizens of the United States, a lecture on anarchism. I recommended that he be among those to sail on the *Buford*, but my recommendation was ignored, and to-day Furshtman is at large upon \$1,000 bond.

The claim has been made that the Department of Justice has recommended excessive bail in order that the alien may not be permitted to be at large. Such is not true. The purpose of the Department of Justice for asking bail in \$10,000 or \$15,000 amounts is not based upon the desire of preventing the subject from obtaining bail, but is based upon the fact that a person who is an active and pernicious agitator should be required to furnish bail in sufficient amount to guaranty his production, which was not done in the case of Alexander Stocklitzky. It might be of interest for the committee to know some of the facts in the case of Martens, the so-called bolshevik ambassador in the United States. I do not believe that anyone will maintain that Mr. Martens is financially embarrassed, for it is a well-known fact that he has ample funds. The Department of Justice prepared the case for deportation against Martens, clearly showing that Martens was a member of an organization which had for its purpose the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence. A warrant of arrest for Martens was requested by the Department of Justice, with recommendation that bail be fixed at not less than \$10,000. Mr. Abercrombie, then Acting Secretary of Labor, issued the warrant of arrest and fixed the bail at \$10,000. Subsequent thereto, however, Mr. Post canceled the bail and released him into custody of his attorney. I can not see the justification of this act. Martens, it was well known, was well supplied, as I have stated, with funds and could have met the obligation of furnishing \$10,000 bond. A member of his staff, Gregory Weinstein, was arrested and bond fixed at \$10,000 in his case and promptly furnished. Certainly it could be not claimed that the reason for the cancellation of bond in the Martens case was based upon the fact that to have fixed bond at \$10,000 would have resulted in Martens's detention, so the argument made upon that point by officials of the Department of Labor, I do not believe, would stand examination.

Reference has been made before this committee to the case of Paul Bosco, an alien whose bond was reduced to \$1,000 by the Secretary of Labor, it being claimed that to have held him at a higher bond would have resulted in his detention, since he was financially unable to furnish that amount. It might be incidentally stated that the

Department of Justice made no recommendation in regard to the bond in the Bosco case, but it has been inferred that the Department of Justice would have approved a bond of \$10,000. I, without any hesitation, will state that the Department of Justice does feel that Paul Bosco should have been held in custody until bond of \$10,000 was furnished, in view of the pernicious character of this individual. Upon completion of his sentence at the penitentiary, he specifically said he would like to have seen the red flag waving over the American flag. My idea of Americanism and the preservation of its institutions would never lead me to believe that such a remark was made in a facetious mood. Examination of the character of Paul Bosco is clearly indicative of the nature of that individual, and that statement plainly shows his ultimate desire and purpose. Any alien giving expression to such sentiment after having been convicted and served sentence, to my opinion, should not have been released upon less than \$10,000 bond.

Considerable comment has been made in the daily papers and certain correspondence has been published by the Department of Labor upon the case of Roberto Elia, an alien taken into custody in the city of New York.

I think it is referred to in these recent charges which are either filed here or have been published throughout the country by a committee of lawyers.

The CHAIRMAN. I will state a copy has been sent here. I do not think they have been formally filed, but my attention has been called to them.

Mr. PALMER. In that case a warrant of arrest was issued by the Department of Labor in March, 1920, upon the request of the Department of Justice. I might state for the information of the committee that in February, 1920, a raid was made upon a group of anarchists in the city of Paterson, N. J., and from the evidence obtained at that time certain investigations were started in New York City which resulted in the apprehension of two Italians, namely, Andrea Salsedo and Roberto Elia. Both of these men frankly admitted that they were anarchists. Subsequent to the issuance and before service of the warrants could have been effected, Salsedo and Elia disclosed some very important information in connection with the bomb plot of June 2, 1919, and with their consent and the consent of their attorneys they remained in the Department of Justice Building in New York City until the information furnished by them could be verified and other persons interested in the bomb plot could be located.

Salsedo admitted that he had printed Plain Words, a pink circular found at the various residences bombed on the night of June 2, and Elia admitted that he was in the print shop when the circular was printed; that he was there when it was delivered to Carlo Recchi, and that he [Elia] had been connected with the notorious anarchist Galliani, who has now been deported; that he [Elia] had participated in the printing of the "Cronaca Sovversiva," one of the most vicious anarchist papers in the United States; that he [Elia] was interested in the printing of the "L'Era Nuova" and "Domani," and was well acquainted with many notorious terrorists in the United States. As stated, Elia remained voluntarily with the consent of his attorney at the Park Row Building of the Department of Justice,

and his presence there was unknown to the general public until Salsedo committed suicide this month. Then, of course, the fact of the presence of Elia in the Park Row Building became known and the Department of Labor took occasion at that time by implication and innuendo to claim that the Department of Justice had been exceeding its authority in holding Elia, and I believe the Assistant Secretary directed an investigation of the matter at Ellis Island, to ascertain whether or not the warrant had ever been served and to endeavor to prove that the Department of Justice was holding Elia without warrant. He did not inquire of the Department of Justice as to the facts in the case. He did not know that Roberto Elia had willingly stayed in the office of the Department of Justice and his attorney Donato had consented to his presence there. Elia was never questioned except when his attorney was present. The death of Salsedo handicapped to a certain extent the investigation being made by the Department of Justice, for the individuals who were under surveillance naturally became more cautious in their movements and some of them have disappeared entirely. In view of the attitude of the Department of Labor, Elia was immediately turned over to the authorities at Ellis Island. When he was transferred to the Labor Department, request was made by the Department for bond to be fixed at not less than \$15,000, in view of the fact that Elia was actively identified with the bomb plot of June 2.

I submit to the committee the proposition that any alien who has admitted that he is an anarchist and has been one for many years; that he was an intimate associate of Galliani, one of the most notorious anarchists in the United States; that he participated in the printing of *Cronaca Sovversiva*, a vicious anarchist newspaper; that he was interested in the printing of the *L'Era Nuova*, an anarchist newspaper; that he was interested in the printing of *Domani*, a vicious Italian newspaper, published in the city of New York; that he was present when Carlo Recchi came to his print shop and conferred with him and Salsedo for the printing of "Plain Words," the circular in which open advocacy of murder appears; that he was present when this circular was printed; that he was present when the circular was delivered to Recchi; and that he was on intimate terms with the leading terrorists in this country. I submit to the committee that when these facts appear against a man the Department of Labor would be well warranted in fixing his bond at \$15,000 and more.

The statement has been made that if Roberto Elia was in fact actively identified with the bomb plot that he should not be deported but that he should be criminally prosecuted. It seems to me that it would be folly for the Government to prosecute its own witness. All anarchists live in fear and terror of their own associates and comrades, and if Roberto Elia was released upon a nominal bond it is but natural that he would disappear entirely, in order that he might not be compelled to testify in a criminal court against his associates. I do not find in the letter addressed to the Department of Labor, in which bail was requested at \$15,000, that the Department of Justice specifically asked that Elia be deported at once. Even after deportation is ordered the carrying out of the order is often suspended pending the outcome of other proceedings. It is customary in many cases to have warrants of arrest issued by the Labor Department and the

same stand in abeyance until the charges in the State or Federal courts have been disposed of. I cite the case of Mollie Stimer, in which case a warrant was issued by the Department of Labor, and now Miss Stimer is confined in the Jefferson City Penitentiary, serving a term of 15 years for a violation of the espionage act. Prior to her incarceration in the Jefferson City Penitentiary she was at Blackwell's Island, serving a term of six months for the violation of the New York laws. So there is nothing novel in the Elia case, which would subject it to criticism by anyone who is fully conversant with the facts.

It has been particularly exasperating to the Department of Justice to find, after a man has been arrested and the pernicious nature of his activities clearly established, that he should be released upon a minimum bond which in no way is sufficient guarantee for his production when desired and is far from a guarantee for the best interests of the United States. In connection with this particular phase of the bond question, it might be well to make mention of the attitude of the Department of Labor in its delay in deportation after the same has been ordered. I do not believe that the Assistant Secretary of Labor is in favor of the same method of deporting aliens as was followed in the *Buford* case. That matter was effected without his assistance. At the present time there is no deportation going forward toward Russia, though the War Department and the Department of Justice has been ready to make the necessary arrangements.

THE CASE OF GEORGIAN.

A notorious case which has been the subject of considerable comment, both in and out of official circles, is the case of Alexis Georgian, a case which I believe it would be well for this committee to inquire thoroughly into, if it has not already been done by the Committee on Immigration. I understand that a large portion of the file in the Alexis Georgian case has disappeared, and it may be this portion of the file that would prove of most interest to the committee. The Alexis Georgian case has been pending for over a year. In his behalf, strong influences have been brought to bear and requests have been made by the Department of Justice frequently for his deportation. On May 28, 1919, nearly a year ago, the Acting Secretary, Mr. Abercrombie, stated that it had been found that Alexis Georgian had advocated the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States; that he had been found to have been advocating the unlawful destruction of property, and that a warrant of deportation had been issued by the Department of Labor. Subsequent thereto the file in the Georgian case was opened for inspection to the Minneapolis Labor Review, and this act in itself was sufficient to have exposed to assassination men in the secret service of the State who had gathered the evidence against Georgian. After many communications had passed between the governor of the State and officials of the Government, and after frequent requests from the Department of Justice, Alexis Georgian was finally moved to Ellis Island in December, 1919. He had owned in the city of St. Paul a book shop at which radical literature of all nature was sold.

His reputation in the State of Minnesota had been most odious, incensing the public opinion to such an extent that representations

were made to members of the United States Senate and to the President himself, urging that the warrant of deportation be carried out. Upon his removal to Ellis Island a writ of habeas corpus was sued out in the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York, and when Judge Knox, who presided in the case, called for the evidence in the case, it was found that one-half of the exhibits in the case upon which the warrant of deportation had been issued had disappeared in a most mysterious manner. The Department of Justice again came to the rescue and obtained duplicate copies of the missing evidence where it was possible. I have the decision of Judge Knox, which I believe should be made a part of this record, in which he reviewed the evidence upon which Georgian was ordered to be deported and in which he came to the following conclusion:

His purpose was to aid in fanning the fires of discontent and while within limits, this may be entirely lawful, the purpose he had in mind was, I think, the forcible overthrow when convenient of this Government.

The attitude of Georgian himself may be appreciated by the following statement made by the subject:

Here I will put President Wilson on the bum; I don't give a damn for the President of the United States or anybody else. Russia is the only place. They don't dare to do anything to me. I am not an American citizen.

Judge Knox dismissed the writ of habeas corpus and remanded the alien into the custody of the Acting Commissioner of Immigration at Ellis Island. To date Alexis Georgian has not been deported, but he is at present at large in this country on a bond of, I believe, \$3,000. I submit to the committee for its earnest consideration whether such a man should be permitted to remain in the United States indefinitely and be permitted to continue to carry on his agitation, for even subsequent to his warrant of deportation in May, 1919, Georgian continued to sell at his bookstore in St. Paul copies of unlawful publications and defying even then the authority of the United States. Deportation to Russia can be effected and I but desire that the Department of Labor request me to make the arrangements for an early deportation to that country, and those arrangements will be made within a period of two weeks. There is no reason for delay in such matters, when the preservation of the institutions of this Government are at stake. I trust that this committee or the Immigration Committee will see fit to inquire into the case of Alexis Georgian and, if possible, to find out where the missing files have gone.

Another case of interest is that of Timofey Sawchenko, of Pittsburgh, Pa., who was arrested in January, 1920, charged with membership in the Communist Party and released upon \$1,000 bond. On May 17, 1920, he was again arrested, having brought into Pittsburgh from New York two suit cases filled with thousands of Communist leaflets for distribution.

Under date of May 20, 1920, the superintendent of police of Waterbury, Conn., speaking of the critical situation existing in that city, stated that the released aliens could be counted upon to make trouble and that he assumed that the Department of Justice would be powerless to act in case of trouble in Waterbury, due to the attitude of the Labor Department.

It is submitted that experiences such as those described above not only justify the insistence on the part of this department of sufficient bail, but actually necessitates the fixing in the first instance of

adequate security, and the Department of Justice maintains that \$1,000 bail is insufficient in the cases of alien anarchists actively engaged in agitation work in these proceedings.

In this connection I am not unmindful of the observations of Mr. Cooley (Constitutional Limitations, 7th ed., p. 439) that—

* * * In determining this (that is, the amount of bail), some regard should be had to the prisoner's pecuniary circumstances; that which is reasonable bail to a man of wealth being equivalent to a denial of right if exacted of a poor man charged with the life offense. * * *

because it is well known that in these cases the bail is raised not by the alien himself but by the organization or group with which he is affiliated, or as in the case of anarchists of the individualist or terrorist type, their comrades, acting not as an organization or group, but as individuals working to a common purpose, viz, preventing the deportation of their associates with the consequent penalty that they would be unable to return to the United States after deportation without subjecting themselves ipso facto to a criminal action in this country and the chance of being turned over to the authorities abroad in the event of deportation.

In this connection consider the cases of Fred Fedetoff and Tony Taizhin, two alien anarchists from New York, who were arrested in Bayonne, N. J., on March 7, 1918, where they made a speech, saying, among other things:

Arm yourselves. Go out and kill everybody * * * Wilson is sending the boys over on the other side for the big men with the money. * * *

They were both convicted and sentenced to terms of from 5 to 10 years and 3 to 5 years imprisonment, respectively. An appeal was taken and they were released under \$20,000 bail each, which was later reduced to \$10,000 each. The decision was affirmed in the New Jersey Supreme Court, and then appealed to the New Jersey Court of Errors and Appeals, where the decision was recently upheld. When the sureties were called upon to produce these two defendants, it was found that they had disappeared. The Surety companies have offered a \$1,000 reward for each alien and requested this department to endeavor to effect their apprehension, which, to this date, it has been unable to accomplish.

These two aliens were active members of the Communist Party, and, according to our information, Fedetoff was a general organizer on the staff of Mr. Martens, self-styled Soviet ambassador. Surely the bail was not provided by these aliens themselves. Undoubtedly, it was raised either by the Communist Party or through Mr. Martens. Even \$10,000 was not sufficient to secure their presence when required.

It is to be noted that in connection with the Elia case mentioned above, wherein the Department of Justice recommended an increase of bond to \$15,000, that the Assistant Secretary, while increasing the bond to that amount, saw fit to give out for publication the entire correspondence between the Department of Justice and the Department of Labor, but the Assistant Secretary has not yet officially advised the Department of Justice that bond in the case was increased and the only information which the Department of Justice has upon the subject is that obtained from the daily papers.

The Assistant Secretary has seen fit to create in the city of Detroit a committee known as the "Advisory committee of Detroit citizens," who are composed of persons in no way officially connected with any

Government department, but who have access to all of the Government records and upon whose recommendation the Assistant Secretary acts in regard to release upon bond. A telegram sent to the inspector in charge of the Detroit immigration station under date of May 14, is illuminating:

P. L. PRENTISS,

Inspector in Charge, Detroit, Mich.:

Upon recommendation of the advisory committee of Detroit citizens, bail in the following cases is reduced to \$500 (then follows the names of 10 cases). Should the committee so elect, the alien may be paroled in lieu of bail to the committee or to such member thereof as the committee may designate.

LOUIS F. POST, *Assistant Secretary.*

Thus, we see that the duly authorized representative of the Department of Labor at Detroit has been supplanted by a so-called "advisory committee of Detroit citizens," who recommend upon cases of bond and upon cases of release. I fail to find any provision in the immigration law for such a body.

We see, Mr. Chairman, that although the recommendations of the Department of Justice, which has made recommendations and presented the facts about these men, are constantly ignored, the Assistant Secretary acts upon the advice and recommendations, in releasing these people upon bail, of an unofficial committee of persons selected by himself. I know of no law which permits such a thing.

CHARGE THAT ARRESTS WERE MADE OF PERSONS IN IGNORANCE OF ORGANIZATION.

The charge has been made that many aliens taken into custody and against whom technical membership had been proven were in ignorance as to the character of the organization, and I am assuming in view of that charge, although I do not know that that specific reason has been alleged for release, has it, Mr. Hoover?

MR. HOOVER. No, sir; it has not.

MR. PALMER. However, the charge is made.

I call the committee's attention to section 2 of the constitution of the Communist Party of America, which is as follows:

Applicants for membership shall sign an application reading as follows: "The undersigned after reading the constitution and program of the Communist Party declares his adherence to the principles and tactics of the party and the Communist International: agrees to submit to the discipline of the party as stated in its constitution and pledges himself to engage actively in its work."

This is the provision in the constitution of the Communist Party and it must be assumed that an organization having a constitution enforces the provisions thereof; I believe that this is a reasonable assumption. In other words, an organic law must govern. Such has been the ruling of the Labor Department when the organic law does not contain in their opinion open advocacy of force and violence, as shown by their ruling upon the Communist Labor Party. In that case the Labor Department refused to consider any evidence other than that contained in the organic law. If the alien signs such an application for membership, should his mere allegation of ignorance, when arrested, overturn his written declaration, made when there was no necessity for evading the consequence of his act?

The immigration act of October, 1918, provides for the exclusion and deportation of aliens who at any time subsequent to entry have

become "members of or affiliated with an organization that entertains a belief in, teaches, or advocates the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States, etc." Therefore, mere membership or affiliation ipso facto brings an alien within the act. It is submitted, in this connection, that a knowledge of the program, constitution, and other outlines of the purpose of the organization has no bearing in the cases in so far as that particular clause is concerned.

But assuming that many of the members of these organizations are not fully conversant with all of the subtle and complicated doctrines and philosophy of the programs of these organizations, it is a fact that they do know the fundamental and major principles, viz., the overthrow of the so-called bourgeoisie or capitalist state, the expropriation of property and industry and the setting up of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and it follows that they subscribe to these doctrines, else they would not affiliate, accept membership, or attend the meetings of these organizations.

It may be pointed out that the law makes it mandatory upon the Secretary to deport when he is satisfied that an alien falls within the proscribed classes. The law provides that he shall deport, not that he may or can, etc.

The Secretary of Labor has definitely held that the Communist Party of America is one which is proscribed by the immigration act, hence mere affiliation with it, per se, is a cause for deportation; and it is outside the province of the Assistant Secretary to consider extraneous matters, such, for instance, as the sufficiency of knowledge on the part of the alien of the philosophy, teachings, doctrines, etc., of these proscribed organizations. The sole question is whether the alien is in fact a member of or affiliated with, and there being "some" evidence proving such membership or affiliation, he is justified in issuing an order for deportation and where, as in many of these cases, the evidence is persuasive and conclusive then it is his duty to deport, and in this connection the question as to how the evidence was obtained is not before him, and the proceedings being of a strictly administrative nature, not criminal or quasi criminal, he has no concern in the methods of obtaining the evidence.

CHARGE THAT ONLY THREE PISTOLS FOUND IN RAIDS.

The charge has been made that in the sweeping raids made by the Department of Justice there have been but three pistols found.

In a letter from the chairman of the committee it is stated that Mr. Post testified before this committee as follows:

With all these sweeping raids all over the country there have been three pistols, I think it is, brought to our attention in the scores of cases that have come to us. Three pistols, two of them 22 caliber. Now, I do not know whether a 22-caliber pistol is a homeopathic pill for a bullet or a cannon ball.

I should imagine that the Assistant Secretary of Labor would have informed himself both as to the dangerous character of a 22-caliber revolver and as to the actual number of guns and dangerous weapons obtained in the raids.

A 22-caliber revolver when used at close proximity is far from a small boy's play toy.

It might be interesting for the committee to see a picture of the results of the raids in Newark, N. J., on the night of January 2

(Exhibit 5). This picture will show the committee that a number of rifles—in fact, 12 in number—were obtained at the meeting place of the Communist Party, and that in addition to those 12 rifles there were also found two revolvers and four bombs.

Mr. VAILE. Those rifles being Army rifles, General, with bayonets?

Mr. PALMER. Yes; the committee must bear in mind that this was in the city of Newark alone.

On the night of November 7 in the city of Newark, when arrests were made of Union of Russian Workers, three revolvers and two automatics were found, three of them being of large caliber. On the night of February 14, 1920, when arrests were made of members of the L'Era Nuova group, 24 in number, and in whose cases the Assistant Secretary of Labor has canceled warrants of all but four, five revolvers and two automatics were found, four of them being of large caliber. This is the story of the guns found in the city of Newark alone.

In the city of Providence three guns were found; in the city of Philadelphia three guns were found; in the city of Hartford three revolvers, one shotgun, one pair of brass knuckles, and one bomb were found; in the city of Cleveland five guns were found; in the city of Chicago five guns were found; in the city of Toledo one gun was found; in the city of Buffalo many guns were found, the exact number not given; likewise in the city of Los Angeles. These are the reports from only a portion of the country, but it clearly shows that the Assistant Secretary of Labor was absolutely in error when he made the somewhat facetious remark before this committee that but three revolvers were found in the entire country, two of which he did not know but that they "might be homeopathic pills for a bullet."

Of course, that is immaterial. The number of revolvers found can in no sense be an element in a determination of the potential danger of these aliens.

CHARGE THAT THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE HAS IN ITS SERVICE PROVOCATEUR AGENTS.

Mr. Ralston, attorney for Mr. Post, stated that the agents of the Department of Justice were stirring up the unrest in this country and were creating communist branches.

It can be emphatically stated that the statement of Mr. Ralston is a deliberate and unwarranted falsehood. It is to be noted that his statement is not sustained by any citation of facts, but is characterized by generality, in which he has been pleased to indulge during the entire course of the hearings before the Rules Committee.

Considerable publicity has been given to statement attributed to Judge Anderson, of the Federal Court in Boston, Mass., which was to the effect that the Government owned and operated a part of the Communist Party, and similar publicity has been given to a statement of Swinburne Hale, who before the Secretary of Labor charged the Department of Justice with the employment of provocateur agents and with the employment of one Louis C. Fraina, secretary of the Communist Party of America. In regard to this statement by Mr. Hale it is sufficient to note that his statement was made on April 24, and Mr. Hoover, representing the Department of Justice at

the hearing, challenged him to substantiate the statement and Mr. Hale stated that he would be glad to do so within 10 days. To date one month has elapsed and nothing has been heard from Mr. Hale.

The statements of Judge Anderson are apparently based upon a letter of instructions issued by the Bureau of Investigation under date of December 27, 1919, being the instructions preliminary to the arrests of January 2, 1920, when a large number of communists were arrested simultaneously in 33 cities in the United States. These instructions, among other things, contained the following statement:

If possible, you should arrange with your undercover informants to have meetings of the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party held on the night set.

This letter was introduced at the hearing before Judge Anderson in Boston and apparently the presiding judge jumped at the conclusion that such a statement was indicative of operation of the Communist Party and that the agents of the Department of Justice were engaged in the creating of the unrest prevalent in the United States at that time for ulterior motives. There is not a single employee of the Department of Justice at this time or at any time under my administration who has in any way actively participated in the councils of the Communist Party, the Communist Labor Party, or any other revolutionary organization under investigation in a manner which would stamp him as an agent provocateur. To be sure, there are employed in the Bureau of Investigation confidential employees whose duty it is to obtain information upon the activities of the radicals in this country and in pursuit of that duty they have joined organizations of an illegal character for the purpose of obtaining such information. There is certainly justification for agents becoming connected with aliens for the purpose of finding out what they are doing, but I challenge anyone to show that a single employee of the Department of Justice has ever organized a branch of the Communist Party or the Communist Labor Party or been instrumental in the carrying out of its principles and program.

Let me say, Mr. Chairman, in passing, that I have taken personal pains to inquire and satisfy myself as to the character, ability, and general worth of every one of the so-called under-cover agents of the Department of Justice. Of course, there are nothing like as many of them as the friends of the ultraradicals in the country would have the country believe; but it is a fact that we do have in the Department of Justice some men of splendid character, of unusual intellectual attainments and of a wonderfully high order of physical courage, who take their lives in their hands daily in association with the criminal classes.

The appointment of such persons has been at all times carefully guarded by the fullest investigation as to their character and reliability and other qualifications, and I am satisfied from everything I can learn that these men, although few in number, constitute a splendid brigade for the enforcement of the law in the United States.

In connection with the letter of December 27 and the misinterpretation placed thereon by the court in Boston, a communication was forwarded to the Division Superintendent of the Bureau of Investigation on April 21, 1920, by the Chief of the Bureau of Investigation in which an explanation is given of the meaning of the sentence referred to in the letter of December 27. The court at Boston, how-

ever, while keen and over-anxious to see the confidential letter of instructions of December 27, 1919, flatly refused to permit the letter of instructions of April 21, 1920, to be introduced which was an explanation of the sentence considered so obnoxious by the court. There is attached hereto a copy of a letter of April 21 which I would be pleased to have made a part of the record. (Exhibit 6.)

This letter explains in detail the purpose and the only sensible construction that could be drawn from the letter of December 27. It is sufficient to state that the meeting night for the Communists was set for January 2, 1920, which was the regular meeting night in all parts of the country. In a few instances the Communists had postponed or planned to postpone their meetings from the second to some other night in the week for various reasons, and it was in these cases that the confidential employees of the bureau were instructed to endeavor to have the meeting held on the regular meeting night. It was not a case of having a special meeting called for the purpose of making arrests, it was not a case of taking aggressive action against the Government, but it was merely a case of insisting that the meeting should be held upon the regular night. There was to be a meeting on some night during the week, and I could see no objection why the effort should not be made to have the meeting held on the scheduled night. I might state for the information of the committee that to my knowledge there were only two instances where such postponement had occurred, so the impression which has gone broadcast to the effect that hundreds of meetings were scheduled for that night through the instrumentality of the agents of the Department of Justice is wholly erroneous and no one, unless maliciously inclined, can claim that a single agent of the Department of Justice has ever actively engaged in revolutionary activities in any of the organizations of which they may be members.

Evidently the reason for those instructions was based upon the confident belief on the part of the Department of Justice that if this statute would be enforced in good faith these arrests ought to be made simultaneously in the country. They were simultaneous arrests, called raids, a process common among the police forces of every city and State and country in the world, and made simultaneously for the obvious reason that if we would enforce the statute we had to take them all at once; that if we had arrested a dozen, for instance, in the city of Newark and Paterson or some other town in the East we would never have been able to gather in the rest, because the news of that arrest would have been carried on rapid wings everywhere throughout the country.

We have been condemned for making what were called wholesale raids. If there be any fault in that, I accept the responsibility for it. We made simultaneous arrests, because we wanted in good faith to carry out the purpose of the Congress.

An effort has also been made by certain individuals to compare the investigating agency of the Department of Justice with private detective organizations. No one with a deliberate and calm mind and desiring to be fair and just in his conclusions could come to such an erroneous and wholly unfounded and illogical conclusion. A private detective agency renders its services for compensation, and it may be claimed that where a condition is improving that the agency may lose financially thereby and for that reason might be

desirous of continuing the agitation. There have been one or two isolated cases of unethical action upon the part of detective agencies, but it is by no means general. However, the Department of Justice renders its services for the protection of the laws, the Constitution, and institutions of the United States and to stir up unrest would be to defeat the very purpose for which it is operated and the insinuations and innuendo which has been cast against the Attorney General that he has made capital out of red agitation is a deliberate and base falsehood, and in no instance can facts sustain such charges. These charges generally emanate from the pale-pink parlor bolsheviks and from the mouths of the friends of the radicals.

A request has been made of this committee for the Department of Justice to submit the instructions and reports of Herman Bernhard, whom counsel for Mr. Post states was an undercover agent of the Department of Justice in becoming recording secretary of the Communist Party local at Buffalo, N. Y., and in securing adherents to the Communist Party at Buffalo.

I desire to advise the committee that Mr. Herman Bernhard was appointed as a special agent and not as a confidential informant of the Department of Justice on January 20, 1920, 20 days after the raids on January 2. His employment by the Department of Justice in January, 1920, was his first employment in the service of our department. Prior to that time he had been employed by the Lusk Committee and what his work was with that organization is entirely unknown to this department. It is sufficient to state that Mr. Bernhard is not a confidential employee and has at no time while employed in the service of the Department of Justice been an officer in or agitator for the Communist Party.

Thus does one agent provocateur fall to the ground.

The attorney for Mr. Post in the letter to the committee of May 13, 1920, desires that the Department of Justice furnish the instructions and reports of one Cameron, representing the department in attending the meetings of the Communist Labor Party at Chicago, August 30, to September 5, 1919. There is no employee, special agent, or confidential informant employed by the name of Cameron in the service of the Department of Justice.

CHARGE THAT LOUIS C. FRAINA AN AGENT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

The charge that Louis C. Fraina was an agent of the Department of Justice has been circulated quite frequently through the instrumentality of Mr. Martens and his associates in this country and as I above stated was openly charged by Swinburne Hale. I had ignored the charge that had previously been made which emanated probably from the soviet bureau in this country, due to the fact that I considered the source from whence it came, but when an attorney appearing in argument before another Cabinet officer directly charged that Fraina was an agent of the Department of Justice, I deem it only proper that a denial should be made of it. I also deem it proper that this committee know the facts in connection with the Louis C. Fraina case, which may prove illuminating to them and to the general public.

Louis C. Fraina is an alien who was actively identified with the left wing movement in the Socialist Party prior to its crystallization in the Communist Party. Fraina was in a large measure responsible for the contents of the manifesto of the Communist Party which has been ruled by the Secretary of Labor to be a document which advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence. Fraina actively engaged in the organization work of the Communist Party and was the secretary and editor of that organization.

There was in the employ of the Department of Justice during the months of September, October and November, 1919, a confidential employee by the name of Ferdinand Petersen. Petersen had come to the attention of the Department of Justice as being one well acquainted with Russian activities and had applied for a position with the Department in New York, claiming that he was intimate with Santeri Nuorteva and Ludwig C. A. K. Martens and other persons actively identified with the soviet movement. Desirous of ascertaining whether or not Petersen could be of any value to the Department he was employed probationally for the time above stated and rendered reports containing information upon the movements of Nuorteva and Martens, against the latter whom a deportation case is now pending before the Secretary of Labor. Petersen's work, however, was not entirely satisfactory, in that he was obtaining no information of great value and he withdrew from the service in November, 1919. Subsequent thereto, it was ascertained that at the same time he was in the employ of the Department of Justice, he had also been in close communication with Santeri Nuorteva and had told Nuorteva in order to be in his confidence that Fraina was an agent of the Department of Justice.

The reason for this statement can best be learned when one understands the intricacies of the communist movement in the United States. The Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party are identical in principle and action, not according to my statement, but according to the statements of their own leaders, and the reason for the formation of two organizations was due to the differences of individuals in regard to leadership. The group composing the Communist Party had insisted that Martens should take his orders direct from the Communist Party in this country, rather than from Moscow, and it was of this group that Fraina was the leader and therefore openly antagonistic to Martens. The Communist Labor Party, however, supported Martens's contention to the effect that he should take his orders from Moscow. It was desired on the part of Martens's bureau to discredit Fraina in the communist movement, as he was the principal opponent in regard to party discipline in this country. Nuorteva welcomed the statement that Fraina was an agent of the Department of Justice to such an extent that he saw fit to offer Petersen \$1,000 to get certain papers from the Department of Justice, proving Fraina's connection therewith. He actually paid Petersen \$160 for which he expected to be reimbursed later by Martens. This man, Santeri Nuorteva is the secretary to Martens the so-called bolshevik ambassador. When Petersen reported the fact to Nuorteva that Fraina was an agent of the Department of Justice, Martens thought the matter was grave enough to be investigated, according to his own statement, and threatened to send the

charges to Moscow unless Fraina was able to disprove them. Reports rendered by Petersen to the Department of Justice were later found out to have been reviewed by Nuorteva and Petersen revealed to Nuorteva the names of certain representatives of the Department of Justice for his information.

In other words, all this was a plot hatched within the narrow circle of Martens's ambassadorial court in this country and nobody ever knew that Fraina was charged with being an agent of the Department of Justice, except this very group, until Mr. Swinburne Hale, a lawyer in New York, made the charge in open public hearing against the Department of Justice that it had employed this man Fraina. Where he got that information, I do not know.

So serious were the charges considered by Nuorteva and Martens that in the city of Brooklyn a secret trial was held in 1919 at which the following persons were present to pass judgment upon the fact whether or not Fraina was an agent of the Department of Justice: Gregory Weinstein, Harry Nosovitzky, J. Lovestone, Ludwig C. A. K. Martens, Santeri Nuorteva, Dr. Isaac Hourvich, Houdin, Hartman, and Bittleman.

At this trial Petersen and Fraina were subjected to examinations and Fraina apparently satisfactorily explained away the charges made by Petersen. The soviet bureau headed by Martens has so persistently maintained that they were taking no interest or activity whatsoever in communistic affairs in this country, that I am unable to understand this statement, when I read the report of the meeting in Brooklyn, and find they were trying a member of the Communist Party of America as being a traitor to the communist cause.

A portion of the same group who sat at this trial are now in the Lafayette Hotel of this city, awaiting the action of the Department of Labor upon the case of Martens. I might state that it was the intention of the Department of Justice to take Martens into custody when he completed his testimony before the Senate committee as we would any other violator of the laws of the United States. I could not see why he should be handled differently from any other case, but the Assistant Secretary saw fit to have him brought to his office and turned over to the custody of his attorney—Senator Hardwick, is it not?

Mr. HOOVER. Yes.

Mr. PALMER. Without any knowledge on the part of anyone—saving the humiliation of a public arrest.

It is rather disconcerting to a man actively engaged in the enforcement of the law trying to protect the country against violent outbreaks of the character which have taken place in the United States in recent years, to have members of the American bar securing half facts from public enemies of the Government of the United States and then publishing them to the world as charges against the law officers of the Government. As I said before, the charge against Fraina is a charge in the Communist Party, that he was a traitor to that cause and had joined the Government of the United States and was an agent of our department.

Mr. POT. How much attention do you imagine decent Americans pay to a thing of that kind?

Mr. PALMER. I do not know how much attention they pay to it, Mr. Pou, but they publish the things broadcast.

Mr. VAILE. A great many of them are duped by it.

Mr. PALMER. Yes. Louis C. Fraina to-day is somewhere in Europe. He, through some means, escaped from this country, with the connivance of some forces unknown to the Department of Justice; he attended the meeting of the propaganda bureau of the third international at Amsterdam, February, 1920, and represented the communist groups in America at that conference. It might be interesting for the committee to know a little more in detail concerning the propaganda meeting of the bureau in Amsterdam. I have the stenographic report taken of this meeting, together with their official bulletin, and it appears from their own statements that they are determined upon the establishment of a communist commonwealth in the United States, centering its bureau in the Western Hemisphere in Mexico. I have also a copy of an article written by Fraina in the Tribune, published in the Netherlands, entitled "The American Revolution" and published under date of March 4, 1920, which is particularly illuminating as to the conditions in the United States and as to the purpose of the Communist Parties in this country. The following statement appears in this amazing document:

These great strikes were used by the Communist Party as a means for intensive revolutionary agitation. Leaflets were issued concerning the mine workers' and steel workers' strike and 2,000,000 of these were distributed. Our agitation openly encouraged the establishment of Soviets. Our agitation was particularly strong at Gary, the steel town that was governed by Maj. Gen. Wood under martial law. Besides agitation in the workshops the Communist Party conducted a great propaganda in the factories for the control of the workers in industry and a national campaign was begun for the raising of the blockade of Soviet Russia. Persecuted and slandered, kicked and beaten, the Communist Party will pursue its agitation—publicly if it can, secretly if it must.

That is from Fraina's report.

This is a very brief statement upon the case of Louis C. Fraina. Fraina is desired by the State authorities of Illinois for prosecution under the State syndicalism law, and I assume that he would be desired by the Department of Labor, if he ever returned to this country, for deportation, most certainly so if they followed my recommendation. I have asked that the authorities of a foreign Government in whose custody he now is return him to the United States. I challenge anyone to present a scintilla of evidence to show that this individual was at any time in the employ of the Department of Justice or furnished it any information whatsoever. I might state in this connection that Mr. Petersen became so agitated over the result of his falsehood that he was planning to leave this section of the country at the time of the hearing before the Senate committee inquiring into Bolshevik propaganda, and I requested Senator Moses, chairman of the committee, to subpoena him to remain in this country, and said subpoena was issued.

CHARGE THAT THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE WAS DESIROUS OF CHANGING RULE 22 OF THE IMMIGRATION REGULATIONS SO AS TO PREVENT ALIENS FROM HAVING COUNSEL.

The charge has been made that rule 22 of the immigration regulations, which until December 29, 1919, had required aliens to be advised upon apprehension that they were entitled to counsel, was changed through the efforts of the Department of Justice, and that in so doing, certain constitutional rights were violated.

It might be of interest to the committee to know that the immigration regulations originally provided that aliens were only to be accorded counsel by the inspector at such stage in the proceedings as was deemed for the best interest of the United States.

This regulation was changed, I am informed, some time in the latter part of 1918 or the first part of 1919, to read to the effect that aliens were to have counsel from the beginning of the proceedings. Instances beyond number came to the attention of the immigration authorities, I am told, where the operation of the ruling resulted detrimentally to the interests of the United States. Many radical publications contained advice to the aliens to refuse to answer any and all questions upon apprehension. It is to be borne in mind that the Government must prove not only the unlawful activities of the alien, but must also prove his place of birth, the ship upon which he entered the United States, the port of entry, and the fact that he had never become a naturalized citizen subsequent to his entry. A number of these facts it is difficult to obtain unless the alien will testify to them.

The Government of the United States always stands ready to prove the unlawful activities of the alien, but it is unreasonable to place upon the Government the burden of proving the ramification of the individual after he entered the United States, in so far as his citizenship status is concerned. It is to be further noted that deportation is not a crime and that the proceedings are administrative in nature for the purpose of ascertaining whether or not the alien is within the class of persons who might properly remain in the United States.

This has been made the subject of editorial comment. That this is believed is shown by the fact that this charge, absolutely unfounded in fact and in law, was made the subject of editorial comment at great length by some of the most respectable newspapers in the country, one of which, honestly mistaken, no doubt, was so great a newspaper as the Springfield Republican.

It is perfectly proper to subject an alien to examination. Under the advice of counsel it was found that this got us nowhere.

The United States Supreme Court has held that the proceeding is not criminal in nature. In the case of *Lou Wah Suey v. Bachus* (225 U. S., 469-470), which were the proceedings brought under the deportation rules of the immigration act of February 20, 1907, the United States Supreme Court held that the fact that the alien was under examination before the inspection officer without counsel at first was within the authority of the statute, and as long as it had not denied the alien at a subsequent stage of the proceeding to have counsel there was nothing irregular in the proceeding. This case, incidentally, is cited by the Assistant Secretary in his letter to me of March 30, 1920, in answer to the court in Montana that the alien was not permitted to have counsel at the outset of the hearing. My point is that the change in December, 1919, was not novel and that the rule authorized by Mr. Abercrombie was in accordance with the rulings of the Supreme Court and in accordance with the original regulations of the Immigration Service, and it was for the purpose of obtaining the facts in the cases. A concrete example of the operation of rule 22 as it now stands was observed by the Committee on Immigration of the House of Representatives which visited Ellis Island in 1919, subsequent to the Union of Russian Workers raid, when for many

days proceedings against the aliens held there were at a standstill because the aliens refused to even respond to their names and refused to answer any questions, costing the Government a considerable expenditure of money; and this attitude could be traced directly to counsel for the aliens. It is to be noted further that the warrant of arrest and the hearing subsequently accorded is for the purpose of enabling the alien to show cause why he should not be deported, and not for the purpose of the Government showing cause why he should be deported.

Irrespective of the foregoing, when the raids of January 2 were made, the immigration rule stood to the effect that the alien was not to have counsel until such stage of the proceeding as would be for the best interests of the United States. Therefore the statements taken on the night of January 2 were not taken in violation of rule 22, as it would be made to appear by the Assistant Secretary, but they were taken in strict compliance with that rule. The ruling was not changed until January 27, 1920, 26 days after the arrests had been made, and by which time all examinations had been completed. The ruling as it stood on January 2 was based upon a ruling of the United States Supreme Court.

Before passing it is worthy of note that the immigration rules do not permit an alien entering the country to have counsel, and I submit to the committee that if there is any time in the immigration proceedings when an alien needs counsel more it is when he arrives at Ellis Island without knowledge of our laws and without any knowledge whatsoever of the procedure. The alien on this occasion is permitted to have only his next friend, who it is specifically provided, shall not be a lawyer. After the alien has been admitted and has lived in the United States for periods of 3, 4, 5, and, yes, even 10 and 15 years, it seems to me that he should not be given the privilege over the ignorant immigrant who has entered the country and who is being inspected at the Island. My point is that there is little or no consistency in these rulings.

It is submitted that the time when an alien derives the most benefit from counsel is when he applies for admission, not after he is admitted. In any event, as was held in the *Turner v. Williams* case (194 U. S., 279), his rights are no greater under the expelling features than they would be under the excluding provision.

The prime and all the pervading object of these hearings is to elicit the facts, and, it is submitted, the presence of counsel does not aid in this direction, rather such presence tends otherwise.

Mr. Post makes a point, page 179, that "they were not advised of their right to refuse to answer." Upon what premise does Mr. Post base such a right?

They refused to answer, making a charge against us that we were conducting some kind of inquisition proceedings, not allowing the deportee to be advised as to what his rights might or might not be.

The Supreme Court, in the *Sing Tuck* case (194 U. S., 161), speaking through Mr. Justice Holmes, held that:

The whole scheme is intended to give as fair a chance to prove a right to enter the country as the necessarily summary character of the proceedings will permit * * * Now, when these Chinese, having that opportunity saw fit to refuse it, we think an additional reason was given for not allowing a habeas corpus at that stage. * * * They were offered a way to prove their alleged citizenship and be set at large, which

would be sufficient for most people who had a case and which would relieve the courts. If they saw fit to refuse that way, they properly were held down strictly to their technical rights.

This case, it will be noted, arose through an alien refusing to testify in a Chinese exclusion proceeding, characterized by the courts as a quasi-civil proceeding where the rules of evidence apply, hence affording the alien much greater latitude than is allowed in administrative proceedings. The hearing, as has been held under the decision of the Supreme Court, is designed solely to afford the alien "an opportunity to show cause" why he shall not be deported. If he elects to stand mute then he has failed to show cause, and a prima facie case having been made before the warrant of arrest if issued, a case is made out and deportation should follow in such cases as a matter of course.

Mr. Post, before the committee, made the statement to the effect that as the aliens had no redress in the courts that "we ought to be all the more careful to protect their rights." Such a statement is wholly erroneous, for the aliens do have redress in the courts of the United States, as has been plainly shown in many cases. As for example the Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman cases. So numerous are their appeals to the courts that it requires the entire time of one assistant United States attorney in the city of New York alone to handle the cases arising from Ellis Island.

CHARGE THAT AN EFFORT HAS BEEN MADE TO DEPORT ALIENS REGARDLESS OF THEIR GUILT.

Mr. Post said that efforts had been made to get aliens out of the country, regardless of their guilt. I am not sure whether Mr. Ralston said it or not, but one of the witnesses said the Attorney General demanded that these aliens should be deported upon his mere command, without regard to the facts. Of course, that kind of a general charge is on a par with Victor Berger's statement which always comes back to my mind when I think of ridiculous charges, that the bomb exploded at my own house was built under my own direction. I always felt that it was the quintessence of nerve to make that kind of a charge.

I know of no case where an effort has ever been made by the Department of Justice to deport aliens when they did not fall within the spirit and the letter of the act of October 16, 1918, but I have persistently insisted that this act be administered in accordance with its language and with the reasonable construction thereof intended by the Congress of the United States. To be sure, in simultaneous arrests of a large number there are always to be found a few cases when the evidence is not sufficient to convict or to warrant the charge and in all such cases the Department of Justice was willing that the warrants of arrest should be canceled. This was evidenced by the action of the Boston office of the Bureau of Investigation when it concurred with the immigration inspector at that port for the cancellation of 38 warrants. There has not been an attitude on the part of any officers of the Department of Justice to insist on deportation merely because an arrest had been made, but when an arrest had been made and membership established in an unlawful organization they have insisted that deportation be carried out.

CHARGE THAT THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE HAS RESORTED TO POLICE INQUISITIONS TO FORCE MEN TO MAKE ADMISSIONS OF GUILT.

Mr. Post has said that the Department of Justice had resorted to police inquisitions by forcing men to make admissions of guilt. I challenge Mr. Post to prove a single case of police inquisition invoked by the Department of Justice. The arrests that were made on the night of January 2 were made in large numbers, and examinations were immediately had, and counsel was not accorded in compliance with rule 22 of the immigration laws, which on December 30, 1919, was changed to provide that the alien was to be entitled to counsel after preliminary examination had been made. I recall but three instances in which the Assistant Secretary of Labor has called to my attention the fact that the alien in the testimony before the immigration inspector claimed that he had been subjected to duress during examination by agents of the Department of Justice. Three cases only out of 3,000, and it might be stated that I replied to the Assistant Secretary in these cases and inquired of him as to whether or not the aliens making the allegations against the Department of Justice had been required to corroborate such allegations by other persons present, by identifying the agent who is alleged to have committed the act, and whether the agent of the Department of Justice was called to affirm or deny the charge preferred against him. I have never been informed as to whether or not these three elements were observed. It occurs to me that when a person makes a serious charge that he should be required to substantiate the same by corroborating testimony or by identification of the agent, and certainly the man charged with such an act should be given an opportunity of making his statement, but such was not accorded in the immigration hearings.

Much space is taken up over the statement of 12 distinguished lawyers who filed charges against the Department of Justice in reference to the alleged brutal conduct of our agents, and I will answer those charges in detail when I come to the lawyers' brief.

To be sure we have read generally in the radically inclined magazines and papers in this country that great brutality was resorted to, but a sample of the falsity of these charges is to be found in the case of Oscar Tyverowsky. It might be illuminating for the committee to know the facts in this case. Briefly, Tyverowsky was arrested in January, 1920, and brought to the New York office of the Bureau of Investigation for examination. It was alleged by a newspaper reporter that Tyverowsky was kicked and beaten and otherwise maltreated. Investigation made by a representative of my office, in no way connected with the New York office of the Bureau of Investigation, reveals the fact that the reporter making the report, in addition to being generally discredited by his coworkers in the newspaper world, had not been in the room during the examination of Tyverowsky and that five of the other reporters present on the occasion, some of whom were in the room during the examination of Tyverowsky, have made sworn statements that he was not mistreated in any manner whatsoever. These gentlemen of the press have had no occasion to make false affidavits. The falsity of the Tyverowsky charge is typical of the falsehoods prevailing in other cases. No alien has presented to the Department of

Justice a single charge that has not been thoroughly investigated impartially. I might state that the only charges of brutality brought to the attention of the department were the charges in the Tyverowsky case. It seems to me that if brutality had been resorted to in wholesale measures that it is the duty and function of the attorneys for the aliens and of the aliens themselves to bring the same to my attention, but such has not been done, other than the generalities indulged in by the uninformed.

These aliens are not subjected to a police inquisition while imprisoned, nor in fact imprisoned. In the New Jersey district, which is fairly representative of the general procedure, immediately upon their being taken into custody they were examined (in the presence of an immigrant inspector and through an immigrant interpreter). In no instance was violence used toward an alien in that district, nor were the statements in that district taken under duress of any character. The questions and answers were recorded stenographically. As is well stated, these are strictly administrative proceedings, and the rules of evidence do not apply, as regards imprisonment, even the detention of the alien at the immigration detention quarters between the time of his arrest and the determination of the status of the alien by the Secretary; that detention does not constitute imprisonment, nor even deprivation of liberty without "due process" of law.

Mr. Post frequently uses the word "guilty." It is submitted that there is no question of guilt in these proceedings. That word implies a crime under a criminal statute. There arises a pure question of fact as to whether an alien is or is not subject to deportation. The hearing, as has been pointed out, is designed not to try out the issues, as is done in an action at law, or to determine the guilt of the alien, as there is no question of crime involved. The hearing is designed simply to afford the alien an opportunity to show cause, in his own behalf, why he shall not be deported.

Mr. Post makes frequent use of the expression "conspiracy," an alien's conspiring against the law. No question of conspiracy is involved in these cases, and if there were they would be subject to criminal prosecution, and none of them have been prosecuted under the criminal section of the Penal Code.

CHARGE THAT TWO SALARIED MEN HAVE AIDED IN CREATION OF RED HYSTERIA.

You will remember, Mr. Chairman, a charge of the Assistant Secretary of Labor made before the committee that a considerable amount of hysteria in the country over radicalism had been caused by what he terms "two-salaried men," and I believe that the inference which can reasonably be drawn from his remarks is to the effect that there is in the Department of Justice some of the so-called "two-salaried men," though the direct statement was not made.

I can emphatically state that there has never been employed in the Department of Justice during my administration any person who would fall in the category named by the Assistant Secretary. The gentlemen of the press have frequently called at the Department of Justice for information and have had free access to the same, and statements appearing in the press have been statements drawn by

the representatives of the press from actual documents seen and examined. When pressed for an instance of the character named, the Assistant Secretary seemed to be at a loss to specifically name an individual. However, I assume that this committee is well cognizant of the fact that the secretary to the Assistant Secretary of Labor might be termed a two-salaried man, in that he not only performs the duties of the secretary to the Assistant Secretary, but that he also occupies the position of an editor of a magazine entitled "The Knot-Hole," which, according to its own statements, is "conceived in sin and brought forth in Washington," and the pages of which seem to be dedicated to slanderous attacks upon Members of both Houses of Congress, members of the Cabinet, and other public servants.

I invite your attention to that magazine published by Mr. Post's secretary, because it includes you gentlemen in that criticism.

CONDITIONS EXISTING IN THE CITY OF DETROIT FOLLOWING THE ARRESTS
MADE IN JANUARY, 1920.

Through a well-planned and diligently carried out propaganda the radicals and their sympathizers have drawn particular attention to the conditions existing in the city of Detroit resulting from the arrests made in that city on the night of January 2, 1920.

It might be well for this committee to know some of the facts pertaining to the conditions in this city, in order that they may draw their conclusion as to whether or not the propaganda that has been formulated is sincere or false.

On the night of January 2, 28 halls and meeting places of the Communist Party were raided and several hundred aliens taken into custody. These persons were taken to the Federal Building and cared for on the fourth floor of that building. The reason that they were not taken to the police stations or to the county jail was due to the fact that there were crowded conditions in these places. The Federal Building was warm and comfortable, and the fourth floor, where the aliens were cared for, was well lighted and well ventilated. There were toilet facilities on the fourth floor, and there was not a single complaint made by any alien detained there as to the eating, sleeping, or similar conditions in the Federal Building. It is of interest to note that the complaints were made by the sympathizers of the radicals and a few misinformed but apparently well-intentioned persons who were misled through the statements of Miss Helen Todd, of New York City.

The relatives of the aliens were permitted to visit the persons detained in the Federal building and brought quantities of food to them. Arrangements had already been made for the feeding of these individuals, but there was no objection made by the authorities to the relatives bringing delicacies to the aliens detained. It is to be noted that when the aliens were removed from the Federal building large quantities of food were left which had been supplied by the relatives. As soon as the aliens were removed from the Federal building the examinations started and the agents of the Department of Justice worked for 18 hours daily until these examinations were completed. The last examination was completed at 12.10 midnight on January 7, 1920. Upon the completion of the examinations the aliens were transferred to the local police stations, from which other prisoners

had been removed, in order to provide adequate accommodations for the aliens arrested.

It appears that the statements made by Miss Helen Todd, of New York City, in respect to brutality used by the agents of the Department of Justice in Detroit were based entirely upon hearsay. She made no attempt to verify any of these statements at the bureau office at Detroit or at any other office. She came to Detroit for the express purpose of assembling a group of women in that city to protest against the actions of the Government in the arrest and deportation of dangerous aliens. She was successful in securing the assistance and cooperation of many of the parlor Bolsheviks, and these women in turn were successful in securing almost unlimited amount of space in the daily press in Detroit. Some of the women, however, who associated themselves with her in the beginning have since ascertained the real truth concerning the fact that the Government is doing all possible to speed up the deportation of these aliens who should be deported and to alleviate any suffering upon the part of the women and children of the aliens, and these women are no longer associated with Miss Helen Todd's so-called committees.

One instance of note is a statement which appeared in the public press in Detroit from Walter A. Nelson, an attorney in Detroit whose entire business is the defense of Government prisoners, that the wife of one man held in Fort Wayne said she had been unable to locate her husband for 10 days. This statement is absolutely untrue, for at the conclusion of the examinations of the men in the Federal building an alphabetical list was made of all the men held and an order issued that the wives, families, and friends of these men should be allowed to see them at the police stations where they were held. Any inquirers at the bureau office at Detroit relative to the location of aliens were immediately furnished with the desired information. The difficulty experienced in locating the various aliens by their families appears to have been caused by the fact that several aliens have assumed names when taken into custody, thus it was impossible for their families to locate them.

Another instance similar to the statement made by Mr. Nelson was that attributed to Attorney Harry L. Diehl, who stated that one of the aliens found his wife all alone dying from pneumonia when he was finally released. When Mr. Diehl was interviewed by a representative of the Department of Justice, Mr. Diehl informed the agent that he did not know the name of the alien and that the incident had been told to him by some one whose name he could not remember. This case is an instance of the flimsy foundation of many of the rumors concerning the conditions in Detroit. And it is upon his statement now that charges about the conditions in Detroit are made.

There appeared in the Detroit News under date of February 21, 1920, an article entitled "Women plead of hardships," in which reference is made to the case of Mrs. Francis Bukovitsky, the wife of Alexander Bukovitsky. Bukovitsky is one of the dangerous organizers of the Union of Russian Workers and has been ordered to be deported by the Department of Labor, but is at present at large, having been released without bond. It might be of interest for this committee to know that while detained at the Wayne County jail Bukovitsky stated to another inmate in that jail that "he was an

anarchist and proud of it and that there was going to be a revolution in the United States and that there would be no more laws in this country as the 'big fellows' would all be put in prison or put to death." He further stated that some one would kill Attorney General Palmer and that it was a shame that the fellow who shot Attorney Content did not kill him, but that "we anarchists will get him later." He stated that he had been offered a parole, but that he would not accept it, as the Government wanted him to sign certain papers which would compel him to observe the peace. He stated that should he get out on parole he would leave the city and travel from town to town, making speeches and organizing for the revolutionists. This is a type of the alien who is permitted to walk the streets in Detroit at the present time, though there is a clear case in the estimation of the Department of Justice established against this pernicious anarchist. So, we see that when the charges have been analyzed there are few, if any, facts to substantiate the statements made by the radicals and their sympathizers.

The CHAIRMAN. Has that party been released?

Mr. PALMER. Yes, sir; without bond.

The CHAIRMAN. By order of the Assistant Secretary of Labor?

Mr. PALMER. Yes, sir; I assume upon the recommendation of the volunteer committee. He has a volunteer committee of friends in Detroit running the Department of Labor in that section.

The conditions existing at Fort Wayne, where the aliens were detained pending the hearings by the immigration inspectors, have also been criticized, but an inquiry into the statements made concerning these conditions shows that none of the aliens at Fort Wayne have of their own volition complained of the treatment or conditions in the prison, but that the complaints which have been made have been due to the inspiration of certain interested persons on the outside. Passes to Fort Wayne were issued very freely by the immigration authorities. Aliens themselves when released on bail were given passes to visit Fort Wayne, where they abused the privilege by constant agitation and attempts to stir up trouble amongst those in custody. It is not claimed that everything was ideal, for confinement of any sort is not ideal, but it is asserted that there was no brutality or unnecessary harshness tolerated toward the prisoners themselves or their relatives who were allowed to visit them freely. The food was provided by one of the first-class hotels of the city, and members of their families brought other food to the prisoners. The best summing up of the situation is that which was made voluntarily by Benjamin Repsys, who was confined at Fort Wayne for a few days and afterwards released on bail. He stated that the conditions at the Federal building and at Fort Wayne were far better than those at the police stations; that the food was very good, but that it would have been hard to provide just exactly the kind of food that the men of different nationalities were accustomed to use, and that most of the complaints came from the Russians who were kicking about something all the time at Fort Wayne.

In regard to the charge that the families of the aliens in Detroit were not properly cared for, it can be stated that as soon as the arrests were made special attention was given to the families of the aliens who had dependents. Mr. Brondyke, who has been in charge of the division barracks at Fort Wayne, states that there has been

absolutely no complaint made to him by any alien held in Fort Wayne regarding needy families; that a board of commerce investigators has been at the fort daily in an attempt to secure from the aliens information concerning any needs of their families; that the aliens have told the investigator that they did not need any help and have absolutely refused to give any information which would bring any assistance to anyone from any charitable organization.

In closing upon the particular conditions in Detroit, reference should be made to the committee appointed by the Assistant Secretary of Labor consisting of four private citizens of Detroit, into whose custody the radicals held at Fort Wayne are being paroled. The inspector in charge of the local immigration service at Detroit has received instructions from the Assistant Secretary to turn over the official records of all men still confined to the citizens' committee for their examination, so that they may determine who and how many of these aliens should be paroled. It is further understood that this committee has been given the authority to have in their possession the official records of the cases of aliens who have been ordered deported and that where this committee deems it advisable the Assistant Secretary will reopen those cases and cancel the deportation orders already issued.

An evidence of this is shown in the cases of a number of aliens ordered deported who were transferred from Detroit to Ellis Island and whose cases upon their arrival at Ellis Island have been reopened upon recommendation of the so-called citizens' committee—a committee which has no status so far as I have been able to determine under the immigration laws and which has superseded the functions of the immigration inspector at Detroit. It is worthy to note that the official records of the aliens held at Fort Wayne were removed from the office of the immigration inspector in charge and taken by this "citizens' committee" and examined in private offices. One of the individuals released, after ordered deported, without bond of any sort was Alexander Bukovitsky, previously mentioned, and who, while being held, made threats against the Government of the United States and against officers thereof. Likewise August Herrmann, another alien released without bond, after being ordered to be deported, stated while in custody that "all the Government officers would either be put to death or exiled when the revolution came." These are samples of the type of individuals being released after ordered to be deported, without being required to furnish bond of any sort. Other cases could be named to the committee, but I believe that the above is sufficient for the committee to draw its own conclusion as to the irregular, if not illegal practices being followed by the Assistant Secretary of Labor in dealing with the cases of alien radicals in the city of Detroit.

It seems to me an anomalous situation that in a great industrial city like Detroit, in which there are a very large number of aliens, the processes devised by the law for the protection of the country should be ignored and the administration of the law placed in the hands of a purely volunteer committee of friends of the Assistant Secretary of Labor.

I will not be able to conclude my statement this afternoon," Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Then we will continue the hearing to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock.

(Thereupon, the committee adjourned to meet to-morrow, Wednesday, June 2, 1920, at 10 o'clock.)

COMMITTEE ON RULES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Wednesday, June 2, 1920.

The committee this day met, Hon. Phillip P. Campbell (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. General, are you ready to proceed?

SUPPLEMENTAL STATEMENT UPON CHARGE THAT RULE 22 WAS CHANGED
AT INSTIGATION OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

Mr. PALMER. Yes, sir. Mr. Chairman, I desire, first, to mention two matters which I referred to briefly yesterday. The first is concerning rule 22 of the immigration law, which refers to the right of an alien to have counsel. I desire to introduce into the records of the committee a copy of a letter written by the commissioner at Ellis Island under date of June 20, 1912, concerning this rule, and wherein he recommends that the rule permitting an alien to have counsel at only such stage of the proceedings as the immigration inspector deemed advisable be adopted, as, after two and one-half years of experience as commissioner of immigration at Ellis Island, he observed that the primary purpose of counsel for aliens was to obstruct the Government's endeavor to ascertain the facts. This letter is particularly interesting in that it comes from a seasoned immigration officer. This letter was written by William Williams, then commissioner at Ellis Island, and is throughout an interesting and significant contribution to the law and practice in these cases.

(Said letter follows:)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
IMMIGRATION SERVICE,
Ellis Island, N. Y., June 20, 1912.

COMMISSIONER GENERAL OF IMMIGRATION,
Washington, D. C.

SIR: See your file 52423/5, more particularly your letter of November 9, 1909. I replied thereto November 10. Both relate to the question whether or not in warrant proceedings an alien should be granted the right of counsel at the outset. After some discussion the department agreed to a rule which as the result of renumbering became subdivision 4 of present rule 22. I refer particularly to the following extract from paragraph (b) of subdivision 4:

"During the course of the hearing the alien shall be allowed to inspect the warrant of arrest and all the evidence on which it was issued; and at such stage thereof as the officer before whom the hearing is held shall deem proper, he shall be apprised that he may thereafter be represented by counsel and shall be required then and there to state whether he desires counsel or waives the same, and his reply shall be entered on the record."

After two years and a half of experience I desire to record my very distinct approval of the right which the authorities have reserved under the rule to hold a preliminary examination without the presence of counsel. In my letter of November 10 I spoke of the Freeman case, in which the alien Freeman was advised by counsel to remain mute and thereby block the Government's endeavors to ascertain the facts. The same thing happened in the case of Isidor Klein just closed (your file 53293/123-A). Attorney Levinson declined to permit his client to answer any question. Since warrant proceedings are executive proceedings, not for the purpose of administering the criminal law but to determine whether or not aliens may remain in the country, it is eminently proper that the Government should secure from them any admissions or information they are willing voluntarily to give, and there is no reason why aliens should be permitted to have counsel before the Government has endeavored to elicit such information from them.

Some attorneys are in the habit of claiming that by refusing counsel we judge the alien without due process of law. That position was first disposed of some time ago in the Can Pen case, 168 Federal Reporter 479, 483, where the Circuit Court of

Appeals said that an alien under arrest is not entitled "of right to be present in person or by counsel at the taking of testimony." A very recent Supreme Court decision, sustaining in terms the correctness of the rule above referred to as now written, is that of *Low Wah Suey and Li A. Sim v. Backus* (June 7, 1912). Opinion by Mr. Justice Day. Here are some of the extracts bearing on this point which I take this opportunity to record for the sake of convenient future reference:

"It is further alleged that Li A. Sim was refused the right to be represented by counsel during all stages of the preliminary proceedings, and was examined without the presence of her counsel and against her will by the immigration officer at the port of San Francisco, and before she had been advised of her right to counsel and before she was given an opportunity of securing bail, and that afterwards an examination was conducted by the immigration officer, acting under the orders of the Commissioner of Immigration, at which she was questioned by the immigration inspector against her will and without the presence of counsel, who was refused permission to be present, and that at certain stages of the proceedings she was refused the right to consult with counsel. This objection, in substance, is that under examination before the inspection officer at first she had no counsel. Such an examination is within the authority of the statute, and it is not denied that at subsequent stages of the proceedings and before the hearing was closed or the orders were made she had the assistance and advice of counsel.

"It is alleged that the rules of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor are arbitrary and illegal, particularly certain sections of rule 35 (new rule 22). From these rules it appears that, while provision is made for an examination in the absence of counsel, it is provided that a hearing shall be had at which the alien shall have full opportunity to show cause why he should not be deported, and that, at such stage of the proceedings as the person before whom the hearing is held shall deem proper, the alien shall be apprised that he may thereafter be represented by counsel, who shall be permitted to be present at the further conduct of the hearing, to inspect and make a copy of the record of the hearing so far as it has proceeded and to meet any evidence that theretofore has been or may thereafter be presented by the Government, and it is further provided that all the papers, including the minutes and any written argument submitted by counsel, together with the recommendations, upon the merits, of the examining officer and the officer in charge shall be forwarded to the department as the record on which to determine whether or not a warrant for deportation shall issue. Considering the summary character of the hearing provided by statute and the rights given to counsel in the rules prescribed, we are not prepared to say that the rules are so arbitrary and so manifestly intended to deprive the alien of a fair, thorough summary hearing as to be beyond the power of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor under the authority of the statute."

If Justice Day were as familiar with warrant proceedings and the attempts of attorneys to treat them as if they were criminal proceedings and block the Government's endeavors to ascertain the facts, he would, I am sure, have spoken of our rule in even more favorable terms than he does.

Respectfully,

WM. WILLIAMS, *Commissioner*.

CASE OF PAUL BOSCO (SUPPLEMENTAL).

The other case that I want to again refer to is the case of Paul Bosco. This case is covered in detail in that portion of the Immigration Committee hearings which cover April 21 to 24, commencing at page 87. Bosco is the man who wanted to see the red flag flying above the American flag, and was sentenced under the Espionage act. He made that declaration at the penitentiary, where he had served two years, on a commutation of his original sentence of 10 years.

When examined by the immigrant inspector he said that after reading up on anarchy he had no objection to their principles; that if the Congress of the United States passed a law against the interests of the people, they were justified in resisting the enforcement of such a law in any way they can. He explained his remark about the red flag waving over the American flag by saying the red flag is the international emblem. After the first hearing before the immigrant

inspector, in which the above admissions were made, certain lawyers became interested in the case and finally one of them "demanded" fixing certain bail and a transfer was made from New Orleans to New York, where Mr. Post had the case reopened in order to permit his friends to put him on the stand to retract the statements made previously. All this is in the immigration hearings—a fair indication of the loose way in which all these cases were handled and the tender solicitude constantly shown for the alien anarchists. Mr. Post preferred to accept the second hearing and the contradictions contained therein as overriding the free admissions in the first hearing, and yesterday, while you gentlemen were interested in this case, Mr. Post canceled the warrant against Bosco. I offer here for the record a copy of a letter addressed to his draft board by Bosco, interesting portions of which are underscored. He has said not only that he has no desire to procure final citizenship papers here, but that he wants to return to "free" Russia.

Now, of course, if we are always going to accept the plea of these aliens, when confronted with the possibility of deportation, as evidence of their entire innocence of any offending under the act, we will never deport anybody for, with very few exceptions, while they preach loudly about their preference for "free Russia," as they call it, and all that sort of thing, they sturdily resist deportation when it approaches; they hate it worse than they hate confinement in a penitentiary, and the statements which they make, when there is no possibility of arrest and when they are entirely free agents, it seems to me are to be accepted as having very much greater force in determining the facts than subsequent statements when they realize the position into which their earlier statements have gotten them. Everybody knows what this man meant when he said he hoped, and still hopes, that the red flag will float above the Stars and Stripes, and if there was any doubt about what he meant such doubt would be removed by delving a little into the character and antecedents of this man. For instance, I have here a letter which he wrote to the district exemption board of Clarksburg, W. Va., during the war, claiming exemption. You will remember that Mr. Post concludes his opinion by the statement that this young man desired to be a citizen of the United States, had taken out his first papers and all that, but in this letter he says:

To the DISTRICT EXEMPTION BOARD, *Clarksburg, W. Va.*

GENTLEMEN: In view of the fact that my claim for exemption upon grounds of conscientious as well as political reasons, filed with the local board of Monongalia County on August 17, 1917, has been denied and as the local board has apparently refused to even consider the justness of my claim, I therefore appeal to your board in compliance with an act passed by Congress May 18, 1917, in the hope and expectation of receiving due justice, and I hereby set forth the following reasons for your good judgment and consideration.

1. I am not now nor do I ever intend to become a citizen of the United States of America, although I did declare my intention of becoming a citizen of the United States, but in view of the fact that the high ideals of democracy as laid down in the Constitution of the United States upon which this Republic was founded, have been perverted so that the powers of government have become a club in the hands of bureaucrats, politicians, industrial kings, and professional gamblers, who traffic in the misfortunes of the people and ruthlessly destroy the safeguards of the Nation, I was compelled to change my intentions.

2. I am opposed to war in any and all forms, as set forth in my claim, filed with the local board of Monongalia County, W. Va., August 17, 1917, and in further explanation, as a conscientious objector, I beg to state that I have a perfect abhorrence for war, be-

cause it is a relic of the dark and barbaric ages, to which I, as a true follower of the teachings of the scripture, can not subscribe. Furthermore, I am a firm believer in the Ten Commandments, and particularly the Sixth, which emphatically states: "Thou shalt not kill."

3. I am the only single son of an aged mother now living in Russia and entirely dependent upon me for support. To support one's mother is the first duty of a child toward his parent, and as the United States does not share in the responsibility of supporting the destitute parents in Russia of their sons called for military service in the United States Army my claim for exemption should be granted.

4. The tyrannical methods and autocratic procedure employed by the Government are out of harmony with democracy, in as much as I am being forced to take up arms against a people with whom I have no quarrel. Not being a citizen of the United States, I had no voice in the making of this war for commercial supremacy, and to try to force me to fight is a repetition of the old Russian tyranny, from which I sought to escape. However, the adoption of tyranny and autocracy, the virtual abolition of the constitutional rights of free speech, free press, and free assemblage by the Government of the United States have wiped out my fondest dreams. Furthermore, it has created in me a longing desire to go back to free Russia.

Thanking you for your earnest consideration and favorable decision, I am,
Sincerely yours,

PAUL BOSCO.

STATE OF WEST VIRGINIA, *County of Monongalia, to wit:*

Personally appeared before the undersigned authority, Paul Bosko, affiant, who upon his oath says that the statements made in the foregoing writing are sincere, true, and correct, and that he makes them from conscientious motives and scruples as above set forth.

PAUL BOSCO.

Taken, sworn to, and subscribed before me this 29th day of August, 1917.

C. C. ROSE, *Notary Public.*

My commission expires October 16, 1917.

And when his desire to go back to free Russia seems about to be accommodated he very sturdily resists. Is it not amazing that men who can write letters of that sort to Government officials, without being held responsible, will declaim against the abolition, as he says, of the right of free speech and the free press in America? Well, Bosco is all right now; he is free and he will not be able to go back to his free Russia.

I desire that there should go into the record a copy of Mr. Post's decision in this case and I want you to notice particularly the entire disregard of Mr. Post for the free admissions at the first hearing and his acceptance in their entirety of the statements made after the lawyers had secured a rehearing for him.

(Said decision follows:)

JUNE 1, 1920.

From: Assistant Secretary.

To: Commissioner General of Immigration.

Subject: Paul Bosco.

This alien was arrested (1) as an anarchist, (2) as believing in the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States, (3) as believing in, and (4) advocating the overthrow by force or violence of all forms of law, and (5) as disbelieving in all organized government.

He was examined by an immigrant inspector while in a penitentiary serving a sentence (reduced from 10 years to 2) upon conviction under the Espionage Act for having during the war distributed a Socialist leaflet entitled "The Price We Pay." At that examination he had no counsel. When asked if he wished one, he replied in the negative. Considering, however, that he was at the time in a prison far distant from his home, I opened his case for rehearing in order to make the offer of right to counsel a substantial instead of a perfunctory offer. The record of both hearings is now before me.

At the first hearing the alien testified that he was not an anarchist; that he did not know what an anarchist was until accused of being one, whereupon he had read about it and saw no objections to anarchists or their principles; that he was never identified with an anarchist organization; that he had publicly said, when sentenced

under the espionage law, that he hoped when released from the penitentiary he would find the red flag waving over the American flag, and that he still hoped so, but that he would not call that anarchy because the red flag is an international emblem.

At his second examination the alien testified that he was not an anarchist nor a believer in the principles of anarchy; that he was not acquainted with the subject and knew nothing about it; that he was a Socialist; that for the past eight years he had been and still was a member in good standing in the Socialist Party; that he is a believer in socialism; that he believes government is necessary for the conduct of human affairs; that it is his economic belief that society should be formed on the basis of the principles of socialism; that he is not opposed to the Government of the United States; that he is not in favor of the overthrow of the Government of the United States; that his expression of a wish to see the red flag wave over the United States flag was, in his own language, for these reasons: "I am an internationalist, the red flag is the national emblem" (evidently a slip of the tongue or a stenographer's error for "international emblem"). I didn't think it any more wrong to be an Internationalist than was the United States in connection with the League of Nations; that in saying the world should be organized on an international basis he didn't mean that the Government of the United States should be done away with, but that the people of the world should organize a world brotherhood; that as to flags, the American flag should be for the American people and the red flag for the international people; and that the only activities he has ever taken part in have been those of the Socialist Party.

Those statements of the alien are the only evidence in the case. There is nothing in the record by way of direct statement or inference, to contradict them. It follows that if alien is to be deported it must be because those statements directly prove or indicate his guilt on one or more of the charges set out in the warrant of arrest. That they neither prove nor indicate that alien is an anarchist, which is one charge in the warrant, is too obvious for discussion. He can not be both an anarchist and a socialist, since the former term denotes an antigovernmentalist and the latter a governmentalist, two directly opposite states of mind. The same observation applies to the warrant charge that alien disbelieves in all organized government. Also to the warrant charge that he advocates the overthrow of all forms of law. Likewise to the warrant charge that he believes in the overthrow of all forms of law. The only remaining warrant charge is that he believes in the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States. This is not proved by his membership in the Socialist Party, nor by his activities in that party, nor by the war-time offense of which he was convicted and for which he has served the sentence imposed. The only possible basis for a conclusion that alien believes in overthrowing the Government of the United States by force and violence, which is the sole remaining warrant charge, is his declaration about the red flag and the American flag when he was sentenced. If his statement of what he meant by that declaration be true, the declaration implies nothing hostile to the Government of the United States. While the alien's utterance might excite popular denunciation, it is not enough, even without his explanatory statement, to justify a deliberate conclusion by any tribunal that he believes in the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence.

The alien came to the United States in 1911 when he was 19 years old. He applied for naturalization in 1914. He has been a glass cutter since he was 14 years old. Until his arrest under the espionage act he was a dues-paying member of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union, and of the American Federation of Labor as well as of the Socialist Party. Apart from his conviction under the espionage act, he appears to have been always a law-abiding resident.

The evidence does not sustain the charges in the warrant of arrest, and the warrant of arrest is therefore hereby canceled.

LOUIS F. POST,
Assistant Secretary.

CHARGE OF ARREST AND SEARCH WITHOUT WARRANT.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I wish to refer to the charge made by Mr. Post that men were arrested at midnight and taken out of their beds without warrants and their homes and their houses searched without warrants—not by the Department of Labor. He further states that he did not undertake to say by whom, but that it was a fact. I wish that the Assistant Secretary of Labor would endeavor to be more specific in his statements and be more definite in charges

which are so general in nature. I do not maintain that in nationwide arrests there are not certain instances which occur in which persons may be taken into custody without warrants, but such have in no sense been general. Warrants of arrest for the aliens taken into custody on the night of January 2 were obtained in advance, where membership in the organization of individuals had been established by a previous investigation. In round numbers there were approximately 3,000 warrants issued before the arrests were made. The majority of arrests made on the night of January 2 were made at meeting places of the organizations, and the few arrests that were made at the homes of aliens were not made in the melodramatic manner which the Assistant Secretary of Labor is prone to picture. Where the aliens were assembled at their meeting places and an actual meeting of the Communist Party was in progress the agents of the Department of Justice did take into custody all aliens attending that meeting. It is quite likely that warrants had not been obtained for all such persons, but it is sufficient, it seems to me, that when an alien is apprehended in the commission of the unlawful act that the action of the Government officer taking him into custody is warranted. Certainly it could be claimed that if the Government officers had visited a meeting place and had permitted aliens found there for whom warrants had not been previously obtained to depart, that they had been derelict in their duty. It is the same situation that is faced by a police officer when he witnesses the commission of a misdemeanor or of a crime. Certainly it is not claimed that the officer should return to the station house and obtain a warrant for the person committing the act; for, if such were to be the case, when the officer returned to serve the warrant the miscreant would have disappeared and could not be found.

That is all there is to this business of arrests without warrants. So far as the Department of Justice was able it did secure warrants for active, prominent and influential persons associated with the Communist Party, which we conceived to be an organization of the kind that membership therein required deportation. We took out this large number of warrants and sent our officers to the meeting places of this organization. In some cases—all of them being aliens or practically all being aliens—it was impossible for an officer to identify the persons whose names were upon his warrant, as all in the room were participating in the very work which indicated that they were all equally guilty of a violation of this law, and in view of the frequently impossible task of identifying those whose names were in the warrants the officer did the safe thing, a thing which any policeman, any law officer, or any process server would do in like circumstances—he took all of them, and during the night, as quickly as it was possible to examine all of the persons, discharged those against whom there seemed to be no evidence of membership.

It would be thought from the expressions of Mr. Post regarding wholesale arrests, that the action of the agents of the Department of Justice in taking into custody some aliens before the issuance of the warrants, was without precedent, but Mr. Post overlooked the fact that that method of procedure is quite general in his own department. On the Mexican and Canadian borders hundreds of aliens have been taken into custody without warrants of arrest.

This department did earnestly strive before requesting the institution of deportation proceedings in the radical cases to obtain its evidence, and ascertain the name and address of the members whose arrest it sought to consummate. In the cases of those apprehended without warrants, it was the exception rather than the rule to make the arrest. Large batches of warrants were issued and served. The aliens who were taken into custody without warrants, in the majority of cases, were found in the meeting places of the radical organizations, which is at least *prima facie* evidence of affiliation therewith. Many of them had membership cards in their possession or stated on questioning that they were members.

The warrants were handed to the agents of the Department of Justice for service, and in most instances these agents were accompanied by immigrant inspectors. These inspectors have as much latitude in effecting the apprehension of radicals as classes of aliens found in the United States in violation of the immigration law (particularly those given surreptitious entry into the United States at points on the Canadian and Mexican borders). No one would seriously contend that when an inspector finds such an alien that he should permit the alien to proceed to the interior of the country pending the receipt of a warrant of arrest from the Secretary of Labor in Washington. There have been instances of wholesale raids made by the inspectors of the Immigration Service in restricted ("red light") districts where numerous alien women of ill fame have been taken into custody without warrants of arrest. Chinese aliens are frequently arrested without warrants and subsequently deported under the immigration law rather than the Chinese exclusion acts.

I might state that in the letter of instructions issued to the agents of the Department of Justice, which will be made a part of the records of this committee in connection with the charge that agents of the Department of Justice have engaged in provocateur work, the agents were instructed to obtain search warrants wherever necessary. It has been claimed that the words "wherever necessary" meant that they should only obtain them where they could not get by without them. Such language was not used. It meant that when there was no public meeting being held into which the agents of the Department of Justice might have access that they should obtain search warrants to permit their entry, and in many places search warrants were obtained where it was necessary. The Assistant Secretary of Labor has laid great stress upon the applicability of the Silverthorne case and the Jackson case. The Silverthorne case was a case arising in New York City and was appealed to the United States Supreme Court and involved the taking of certain papers belonging to the Silverthorne Lumber Co. without warrant, and the court held that papers so taken could not be used against an American citizen in a criminal charge. The Jackson case arose in Montana and was the case of an alien arrested on a warrant of deportation, in which certain evidence was obtained without search warrant, and the court held that such evidence could not be properly used against the alien. Upon these two cases the Assistant Secretary has ruled out considerable evidence obtained by the Department of Justice on the night of January 2, with the result that warrants in these cases have been canceled. It is worthy to note in this connection, however, that a communication was received from the Assistant Secretary of Labor under date of

March 30, 1920, in which he requested the Department of Justice to appeal the Jackson case, because, as he pointed out, he felt that the court in the Jackson case had erroneously based its decision upon the Silverthorne case. The Assistant Secretary took pains to point out that the Silverthorne case dealt with criminal proceedings, while the Jackson case was purely administrative, and pointed out the case of *Fong Yue Ting v. United States* (149 U. S., 730), in which the United States Supreme Court held that the provisions of the Constitution securing the right of trial by jury and prohibiting unreasonable searches and seizures, cruel and unusual punishment, have no application in deportation proceedings. In view of this attitude of the Assistant Secretary of Labor to the effect that he considered the Silverthorne case inapplicable in deportation proceedings, I am somewhat at a loss to understand his application of that case to the hundreds of cases of persons arrested on the night of January 2, and in which he has seen fit to cancel warrants.

I ought to call your attention, however, to the fact that a communication was received from the Assistant Secretary of Labor under date of March 30, 1920, in which he requests that the Department of Justice carry the Jackson case to the Supreme Court for an authoritative decision affecting the whole country, and I ask that that letter be made a part of the record.

The CHAIRMAN. That may be done.

(Said letter follows.)

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY,
Washington, March 30, 1920.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 26th ultimo (RPS-HSR, No. 202600-67-1) with which was transmitted a copy of an opinion handed down by Judge Bourquin in the district of Montana, ordering the release, in habeas corpus proceedings, of one John Jackson, who was ordered to be deported on warrant of the Secretary of Labor. You ask that the department furnish you with an expression of its views as to the desirability of appealing from the decision.

At the time your letter was received the department's record covering the case in question was before the district court, district of Montana. In order that all of the facts, as disclosed by the said record, might be before the department for its consideration, the local immigration official in charge was requested to secure its withdrawal from the files of the court and to forward it. I inclose this record herewith for your consideration, and request its return when you have finished with it.

Notwithstanding some unfavorable features of this case, which relate to the manner in which it was handled before the alien came into the custody of the immigration officials by service upon him of a warrant of arrest issued by the Acting Secretary of Labor, the department is of the opinion that the case should be appealed. It is the department's understanding that it is also the desire of some of the officials of your department that appeal be taken, since one of the points involved in the case is the right of the Secretary of Labor to consider, as evidence in immigration deportation proceedings, documents and literature seized from a person or his premises by Government representatives who failed to first secure a search warrant. This same point appears to be involved in many cases now pending before this department involving aliens apprehended by Department of Justice agents and turned over to the immigration authorities for arrest in deportation proceedings under the act of October 16, 1918, commonly referred to as the "anarchy act." Simultaneously, it is understood, with the apprehension of some of these men their homes and meeting places were searched by the Department of Justice agents, or local peace officers working under their direction, and documents and literature of supposed value as indicative of the beliefs, disbeliefs, etc., of the subject, either as an individual or as a member of an organization, seized and turned over to the immigration authorities. District Judge Bourquin holds, you will note from his decision in the Jackson case, that evidence so obtained may not be considered by the Secretary of Labor in determining the right of an alien to be and remain here. Although the text of

the decision does not so show, it is assumed that Judge Bourquin felt that he was to be governed by the recent decision of the Supreme Court in the Silverthorne case. This was a proceeding brought under the criminal statutes, however, whereas the Jackson case was purely an administrative proceeding, brought for the purpose of testing the fitness of an alien to be and remain in the United States under the laws Congress has seen fit to enact. The courts have, of course, stated time and again that deportation is not a punishment for crime, but is merely the exercise by the Government, through its administrative machinery, of one of its sovereign powers. The following particularly apt language was employed by the Supreme Court in the case of *Fong Yue Ting v. United States* (149 U. S., at p. 730):

"The order of deportation is not a punishment for crime. It is not a banishment, in the sense in which that word is often applied to the expulsion of a citizen from his country by way of punishment. It is but a method of enforcing the return to his own country of an alien who has not complied with the conditions upon the performance of which the government of the nation, acting within its constitutional authority and through the proper departments, has determined that his continuing to reside here shall depend. He has not, therefore, been deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; and the provisions of the Constitution, securing the right of trial by jury, and prohibiting unreasonable searches and seizures, and cruel and unusual punishment, have no application."

Judge Bourquin held the proceedings had in the case of the alien to have been unfair for two further reasons, namely: (1) The exclusion of counsel for alien from the hearing when certain testimony was taken preliminary to application being made for a warrant for his arrest (although alien was thereafter represented by counsel at all stages of his case); and (2) "failure to produce Ambord (one of the Government's witnesses) for cross-examination" by alien's counsel.

It is believed that the first point may be disposed of shortly. The same point was raised in the case of *Low Wah Suey v. Backus*, which was a proceeding brought under the deportation clause of the immigration act of February 20, 1907. In that case the Supreme Court stated (225 U. S., at pp. 469-470) as follows:

"It is further alleged that Li A. Sim (wife of the respondent) was refused the right to be represented by counsel during all stages of the preliminary proceedings, and was examined without the presence of her counsel and against her will by the immigration officer at the port of San Francisco, and before she had been advised of her right to counsel and before she was given an opportunity of securing bail, and that afterwards an examination was conducted by the immigration officer, acting under the orders of the Commissioner of Immigration, at which she was questioned by the immigration inspector against her will and without the presence of counsel, who was refused permission to be present, and that at certain stages of the proceedings she was refused the right to consult with counsel. This objection, in substance, is that under examination before the inspection officer at first she had no counsel. Such an examination is within the authority of the statute, and it is not denied that at subsequent stages of the proceedings and before the hearing was closed or the orders were made she had the assistance and advice of counsel."

While the proceedings in the Jackson case were brought under the act of February 5, 1917, as added to by the act of October 16, 1918, the provisions of statute involved are identical. Also, the departmental regulation governing the appearance of counsel in deportation hearings in force at the time the hearing complained of in the Jackson case was held was identical with that which was in force at the time the hearing was conducted in *Low Wah Suey* case.

With reference to the second point, it will be noted that the inspector in charge at Helena, Mont., reports, in his letter of February 14, 1920, that witness Ambord was not only willing to testify without the service of a subpoena, but was "actually present upon a number of occasions and requested that he be advised whether or not his testimony would be required, in response to which Attorney Nolan advised both Sergt. Ambord and Inspector Baldwin (the examining inspector in the case) that the testimony of the former was not desired." This fact was, furthermore, testified to in open court by Inspector Baldwin.

In connection with cases of this class the point has been raised that decisions such as are cited above in support of the criticized departmental proceedings were made with reference to aliens from countries whose people are not invited by us to migrate to this country and who are permitted to enter only under very narrowly drawn restrictions. The contention is that decisions made in such cases are not applicable to domiciled aliens from countries whose people in general are, by our national policy, invited to settle here, and that in the latter cases deportation proceedings for an offense against our laws are so far in the nature of criminal proceedings, even though administrative in form, as to entitle domiciled aliens to the protection of our bill of rights in respect of their personal liberty and their property.

In view of the foregoing, the Department of Labor is of opinion that this case should be carried to the Supreme Court for an authoritative decision affecting the whole country. It is therefore respectfully requested that the case be appealed with a view to securing a Supreme Court decision.

Very truly, yours,

LOUIS F. POST, *Assistant Secretary.*

Mr. PALMER. It can thus be seen that in the case of Fong Yue Ting, the United States Supreme Court has intimated what its attitude would be upon this question, and in my opinion and in the opinion of the Assistant Secretary of Labor, I believe, if his letter of March 30, 1920, stands for anything, that the Silverthorne case is wholly inapplicable and that the Jackson case is erroneously decided. Also considerable comment has been made before this committee upon the case of Whitfield v. Hanges, and I believe the Assistant Secretary has intimated that he would stand or fall upon this case. I shall later discuss the merits of the argument in the Whitfield case. It is to be borne in mind that this case did not go to the United States Supreme Court, and it is also to be borne in mind that many of the questions passed upon in the Whitfield case have been passed upon by the Supreme Court and passed upon contrary to the idea of the presiding judges in the Whitfield case. The ruling in the Fong Yue Ting case should have governed in the Whitfield case.

Considerable comment has arisen over the methods followed in the Boston district in effecting the arrests of alien communists. In no instance was any search of premises made over the protest of the person involved. At the first protest meeting after the January raids held in Boston February 23, 1920, it was openly stated by the communists that the Department of Justice men acted the part of gentlemen and treated the aliens with every consideration. Frequent mention has been made by Judge Anderson of the red hysteria, but if one may judge from his instructions to the United States marshal the judge did not possess such peace of mind as he was prone to profess, for he instructed the marshal to use extra precautions and exercise extraordinary vigilance and protective measures during the habeas corpus proceedings in his court.

So he was a little hysterical himself for a day or two, all of which shows that men in the back of their heads and in their hearts know pretty well—men who have senses and brains—that there is a serious situation which we must confront.

CHARGES OF NATIONAL POPULAR GOVERNMENT LEAGUE AGAINST THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I come to the remarkable address made to the American people by 12 lawyers—12 gentlemen said to be lawyers—in a pamphlet entitled "Report upon the illegal practices of the United States Department of Justice." They say they have viewed with growing apprehension the continued violation of the Constitution and the breaking of the laws by the Department of Justice, and express their apprehension at considerable length and in much black type. They attach to the report the evidence which led them to make these very remarkable statements. I do not know all of these gentlemen. Such of them as I do know I am not much impressed by, but I am entirely satisfied that if they be reputable lawyers they have either been woefully deceived or have delib-

erately declared their political convictions rather than their judgment as reasoning men upon the facts presented. Practically all of the testimony which they offer and attach to this document by way of exhibits comprises affidavits made by aliens who were arrested under warrants issued by the Department of Labor or by their attorneys. I have caused all of these complaints to be thoroughly investigated by my department. I put in charge of this investigation the most trusted men in the Bureau of Investigation, men whom I personally know and in whom I have the utmost confidence.

I am able to produce to you, Mr. Chairman, this morning the evidence which refutes all but two of the charges contained in this document, and as to those my investigation is not yet completed. When received, I shall be glad to give the facts to you in relation to those things. I first saw this paper last Friday, I think, or Saturday, and gave immediate directions to have everything in it thoroughly and completely investigated. Of course, Mr. Chairman, when we come to the matter of proof as to charges of this character you have on the one side the testimony of the alien himself, and you have on the other the testimony of the sworn agents of the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice; sworn officers of the law and officers of the Government. The facts are capable of no other kind of proof except the statements of these men, the alien making charges that he is beaten up or that his treatment in jail has been rough, or things of that kind. I have no personal knowledge of the facts. The only excursion I can enter into in order to discover the truth is to ask the sworn agents in my department what the facts are. Now, as far as I am concerned, I should prefer to take the word, certainly the sworn testimony, of these splendid men, these real Americans, who, after the most careful investigation of their character and qualifications and training, have been brought into the Secret Service of the Department of Justice, rather than the statements of these aliens facing the punishment that they fear most in life—deportation to the country from which they came.

The gentlemen who signed this address to the American people accepting at full value every statement made by these ignorant aliens, of course, say that the Department of Justice agents are liars when they deny the allegations made by the aliens, and that is all a part of the same kind of attack against the Government and all its officers and its agencies which has been going on so long by these people.

I want to add one word to what I said yesterday about these special agents of the Department of Justice. I think I am safely within the mark, Mr. Chairman, when I say that it is harder to get into the Bureau of Investigation than it is into any Government service in Washington. The examination which is made of every applicant, of his past life, his record, his training, his qualifications, his character, his point of view, his habits of thought and action, is the most thorough applied in any department of the Government. Fortunately, through the generosity of the Congress last year, we were able to pay liberal salaries to these men, and as a consequence we have gotten extremely high-class men. The applicant is required to sign a long, formal application blank which sets forth his entire life history over his own signature. That is then sent out to the Bureau of Investigation head in the city nearest the residence of the applicant and an independent investigation made through our own agents of

this man, and those reports are filed. This examination includes a personal examination of the applicant and an examination of every reference that the applicant makes. It is one place, Mr. Chairman, which I am satisfied is absolutely free from any political influence of any kind or character. Certainly it has been so since I have been there and we have reorganized the bureau from top to bottom. We have discharged ruthlessly any man who gives the slightest indication of playing politics or of falling down in his work in any way. I have given instructions, and I know they have been carried out, of a kind that have made the personnel that organization of an extremely high character. Most of them, a large number of them, are college men, university men. Many of them are expert linguists. Some of them speak many languages. Most of them are trained lawyers; not all, but a large number of them are trained lawyers; and this whole business comes down to this—this whole address of these lawyers can be considered simply by answering this question: Will you believe the statements of these men of the kind I have described who are in the Government service, who have no other motive than the performance of their duty, who have no other desire than to execute the orders of the Department of Justice in the enforcement of the law, will you believe their statements or will you believe the statements of these alien anarchists, facing, as I said, the punishment they fear most in the world. My mind finds no difficulty in accepting the statements of the Government men.

These gentlemen declare in their statements that they make no argument in favor of any radical doctrine as such, whether socialist, communist, or anarchist, but they appear here simply as sworn counselors at law, sworn to defend the Constitution itself, and yet three or four of them have appeared as counsel for the Communist Labor Party at the hearings before the Secretary of Labor, apparently, although we find the Communist Labor Party repudiating their appearance and declaring that they did not represent the party as counsel, which indicates pretty clearly that they were there because they believed in the communist ideas and desired to defend them everywhere.

HARTFORD JAIL CONDITIONS.

Let me now take up one or two of these statements seriatim. On page 11 of this document they say:

In Bridgeport, Conn., on November 8, 1919, various workingmen had come together to discuss ways and means for buying an automobile to be employed for instruction purposes. The meeting was raided.

Well, it is a very serious thing for the Department of Justice to raid such a peaceful meeting as that, and it sounds pretty rough, but if these investigators had undertaken to ascertain the real facts they would have found that the so-called automobile school was in fact a camouflage for the Union of Russian Workers, and that before a man could become a member of the school he must become a member of the union. Here I wish to call your attention to the Union of Russian Workers very briefly by giving you some interesting excerpts from their platform and manifesto, reminding you that this was one of the first organizations ruled upon by the Department of Labor and determined by them to be proscribed by the statute, although very little has been said to you about this particular organi-

zation, most of the hearings having covered Communist and Communist Labor Party cases. In paragraph 3 of their declaration of principles and referring to the struggle between the capitalists and workers, it is claimed that this struggle will end "only when the toiling masses, organized as a class, will understand their true interests and will make themselves masters of all the riches of this world by means of a violent social revolution."

This is the organization which published and distributed the famous manifesto of anarchists communists with which you are acquainted because of its wide publicity, and which contains many important points. One, for instance, is:

The State kills human personality and therefore tears up the noble roots of intellectual and moral life. There are no free people in the state—they are all officials and subjects. Its ideal is to make subjects even of its officials, in order that all may be bound to its infamous chariot and to extricate every possibility of a social revolution. * * * The state is unnecessary, because with the extermination of classes its principle function will cease.

The tactics to be used are familiar to you because of the wide publicity at the time of the Union of Russian Workers matter. You will remember the familiar phrase "We are atheists; we are communists; we are anarchists," the last phrase being the conclusion of the paragraph which contains the statement:

We hate authority that external preserver of slavery and foe of freedom. The lords, having been destroyed, why leave the whip of the lords; the power of capital having been destroyed, why allow its safeguard, the state, to remain.

So much for the organization of which Nakhwat and his friends involved in the Bridgeport affair were members.

So far as the men being held for three days is concerned, it should be stated that the agents who were engaged in the examination of these men worked through three days and two nights without sleep or refreshment in order to expedite the hearing.

That they slept on iron bunks without cover or mattresses and were fed little or nothing.

As fast as the men were examined they were placed in the usual and regulation cell used for all persons detained, and were treated in the same manner and by the same persons as prisoners held under local and State charges. The "investigators" surely know that in no police station is there any mattress or place to sleep other than the regulation "iron bunk," which is used throughout the country in all first-class detention places as the only practical and sanitary means.

That the men were arrested without warrant.

This is not entirely true as there were warrants for some of the men and the others were taken into custody because of their presence in the meeting place, which would establish prima facie their connection with the proscribed organization.

That persons who applied to the Hartford Jail to see their friends were also taken up and confined in the jail.

This is practically the same as a person found in an active meeting of the organization where, after an examination by casual questions, there is a prima facie membership or affiliation established.

That some of the men were beaten and threatened with hanging or suffocation in order to obtain answers from them.

To this I make an unqualified and absolute denial, on the strength of the statements made by the agents who took these men, whose statements I am prepared to believe rather than the statements of the aliens.

That most of the men remained confined for five months until they were transferred by authority of Mr. Post to Deer Island.

This is true, and it is very probable that some are still in confinement. So far as their transfer to Deer Island is concerned, there was absolutely no improvement in the confinement conditions because of the transfer, as the Hartford Jail is in every respect just as desirable a place of confinement as Deer Island.

If the Department of Justice had had its way in these deportation cases there would have been no confinement for five months anywhere, but deportation would have been very much more prompt.

That the prisoners were allowed no reading matter, were kept alone in their cells except for visits of agents of the Department of Justice or hearings before inspectors, were refused knowledge of the charges against them or the amount of bail, were allowed only two to five minutes a day to wash their faces and hands and only five minutes once a month to wash their bodies, were given practically no exercise, and were fed with foul and insufficient food.

This I also deny, regardless of the allegations made by the "12 prominent lawyers." So far as reading matter and visitors are concerned, the prisoners were subjected to the same routine discipline as any persons confined in any part of the institution. I can not see the objection to being confined alone, as one of the most general objections voiced by these people for some time past has been that they were crowded in great numbers into small spaces. I do not agree that in any instance any man was held or confined without a knowledge of the charge against him, either by being definitely and fully advised when taken into custody or indirectly from the questions put to him.

If any man was refused knowledge of the amount of bail under which he was held, it was due very probably to the fact that the Department of Justice itself did not know the amount of bail due to the vacillating and uncertain instructions of Mr. Post, who many times changed the amount of bail in particular cases. That the men were allowed only five minutes to perform their ablutions is an exaggeration. I will not attempt to say definitely to the minute how long it takes a Bolshevik to wash his face and hands. I am satisfied that the guard gave the men as much time as he could and as much time as would be effectively used in both this matter and that of exercise. The food was supplied by a restaurant under contract, and was the same as is furnished city and State prisoners. The Government can not afford and would not be justified in supplying a six-course meal and cigars. I know that the food that was given to these people in the average case was at least of equal quality to that which the average was accustomed to. I am satisfied, however, that even with these things there would have been objection.

Page 11: The four punishment rooms, the steam pipes.

This myth has gone the breadth of the country. When the reverend gentleman of the Interchurch World Movement appeared before the Immigration Committee, he told them that after making examination of the Hartford jail, he had been unable to locate any such

rooms, and after an examination I am thoroughly satisfied that this ridiculous charge is a creature of fertile imaginations. In addition I have had a careful investigation made and have an affidavit from Mr. Hickey to the effect that not only were there no such rooms or arrangements anywhere in the Hartford jail, but to his personal knowledge no practices were indulged in which could by any fair mind be considered cruel and harsh treatment.

This serious charge of punishment rooms, steam rooms, and that sort of thing, as I say, has gone about the country generally, and these distinguished lawyers who present this address declare in large type on page 11 of their book that there exist four punishment rooms, "all alike, unventilated and utterly dark, size 4 feet 3 inches by 8 feet 10 inches, with solid concrete floors, no furniture of any kind, and placed over the pump room of the boiler, so that the temperature in them becomes unbearably high. A number of the supposed anarchist or communist prisoners, probably 10 to 15, were confined in these rooms for periods of 36 to 60 hours;" and then they attach to this an affidavit by one of them, Anton Dimitroff, to prove the facts which they there state, but after the affidavit, in very small type, these gentlemen add this:

NOTE.—The hot cells in which these men and others were punished became known as the "steam room." A belief grew up among the prisoners that in some way steam could be turned on and off at will. We have found no apparatus for such a purpose and ascribe the belief to excessive unventilated heat, etc.

In other words, they take back in small type what they say in large type. It may be possible that there are some unventilated rooms in the jail and that some of these people got in them, but to charge the agents of the Department of Justice with deliberately putting them in steam rooms—

Mr. RALSTON. May I be permitted to interrupt the Attorney General long enough to call his attention to the fact that we have never said—

Mr. GARRETT. We have heard—

Mr. PALMER. I have no objection.

Mr. RALSTON. I would like to say that the statement is not made in this pamphlet and has never been made, so far as I know, by any of its signers that there was such a thing as a steam room; but I want to add this fact, if I may at this time—

Mr. PALMER. You call them punishment rooms.

Mr. RALSTON (continuing). That one of the agents of the Department of Immigration, of the highest personal character, has examined these rooms and I know would come before this committee or any other committee and describe them exactly as they are described in this affidavit.

Mr. PALMER. He would not describe them as they are described in the affidavit because you take that back yourselves.

Mr. RALSTON. They do not call them steam rooms.

Mr. PALMER. On page 11 they allege that these people were "denied the privilege of seeing their relatives or friends."

This general charge is untrue and I refer to my previous statement relative to the discipline of the institution.

Page 12: That there were no substantial charges against at least ten of them, is shown by the fact that after being held for two months and a half on \$10,000 bail they were released without bail January 24.

The fact that a man was released without bail does not establish the absence of substantial charges. This, of course, in view of the attitude of Mr. Post and the practice generally, as I have shown many cases in which there was conclusive evidence against the man and they have been released by the cancellation of the warrant.

Page 12: The foregoing statement, with many details is evidence by the statements of Isaac Shorr of the New York bar who represented this man. * * *

Mr. Shorr is well known to the department because of his activities as attorney for these people. He many times has appeared as attorney for aliens who had never seen him until the hearing and disclaimed any knowledge of his retainer. Mr. Shorr is one of the most active leaders of these people in the United States, and at the present time his office is the address at which persons in this country receive incendiary correspondence from persons deported on the *Buford*.

On page 12 these gentlemen present as Exhibit 1-A the case of Semeon Nakhwat, and it was Semeon Nakhwat that led the New Republic recently into such flaming editorial effusion. Coming over on the train from Baltimore a week or so ago I casually picked up a copy of the magazine entitled "The New Republic," and saw on the outside of the cover in flaming black and red letters, "Is Palmer guilty of high crimes?" Naturally being curious to discover the answer to that question, I bought the magazine and found that I was decidedly guilty according to Mr. Hard who wrote the article, which left no provision of the Constitution unviolated by the present Attorney General, and to prove it all he produced the story of Semeon Nakhwat, who suffered grievously in the Hartford jail.

This man admitted his membership in the Union of Russian Workers of Ansonia, Conn., and his membership card, No. 36, was in the possession of this department and was turned over to the immigrant inspector at the time of his hearing. He denies that he is an anarchist, socialist, or bolshevik. In my view this is immaterial, as under the terms of the statute the membership is sufficient. He claims that on November 8, 1919, he was attending a meeting of the Russians at Bridgeport, which had come together for the purpose of discussing ways and means of buying an automobile for instruction purposes. As I have already shown, the so-called automobile school was a camouflage for the Union of Russian Workers—and incidentally I might say this fact has been conclusively shown by the statement of organization officers in their testimony.

Nakhwat, in his affidavit, alleges that he was arrested by Edward J. Hickey, a special agent of the Department of Justice; that no warrant of arrest was shown him; that he was taken to a police station, asked many questions, held there six weeks, and that Hickey "struck me twice with his fist, once in the forehead and once in the jaw, whereupon I fell. He then kicked me and I became unconscious. Hickey is a big man, weighing 200 pounds. For three weeks after this I suffered severe pain where I was kicked in the back."

Nakhwat was not arrested by Agent Hickey, as stated in his affidavit, nor was Agent Hickey in the same section of the State when the affair opened. In addition I have an affidavit from Mr. Hickey, who is an entirely responsible agent of the Department of Justice, in which he states he has never entered the cell occupied by Nakhwat and never struck, kicked, or otherwise

abused Nakhwat. Before anyone could enter the cell the door must be opened by the guard.

The affidavits from the men confined at Hartford specifically complain about not being permitted to have reading matter or visitors. The rules of the institution prohibit daily newspapers to everyone—State and Federal prisoners alike—but permit magazines and books. The only magazines or books available which the aliens could have read or understood would have been the radical publications in their own language, and those were prohibited by the rules of the institution, and properly so.

So many visitors came to see the men that it was necessary to keep a book. So far as exercise was concerned they were given half an hour a day with a ball. There is no yard or other inclosure in the Hartford jail, so that it was impossible to take the men outside for airing. Most of the cases which were handled with counsel, were handled by Mr. Isaac Shorr, of New York, and Mr. Harry Edlin, of New Haven, and these attorneys were afforded every opportunity to confer with their clients. As to medical aid, there is at the institution a physician—Dr. Arthur M. Emmett, whose duty it is to care for persons confined and his records show that he rendered services to the aliens. Incidentally, the witness to these affidavits—one A. Manko, is well known to the department on account of his activities. Musek was examined in the presence of two other agents and it is denied that such tactics as are alleged in his affidavit were used. His statement that he was not allowed to speak to the man in the next cell also is untrue, for the men not only talked to their immediate neighbors but shouted to men in distant cells and all through the day and night the men sang. Musek requested Mr. Hickey to advise his nearest relative of his whereabouts and his request was complied with promptly. So far as money and property taken from these men is concerned—as each man was brought into the cell room he was searched—as all persons confined are searched—by or in the presence of three men—two immigration men and at least one from my department. Nearly all of them now say we stole their money. Money was counted and the total amount called out to the alien for his verification. The amount of money as well as a description of other property was written in ink on the outside of a large envelope, into which the property was placed and which was deposited in the safe after an entry was made in a record book. Money and valuables to the amount of \$30,000 were satisfactorily accounted for in this way at the Hartford jail.

I know that a number of men after being released have charged that money was taken from them when they never had any and I have every reason to believe the records made under the circumstances recited. Musek, by his own statement, is a thief, for he stole silverware which was later identified in part.

I wish to impress upon you that the Hartford jail situation has been investigated not only by the minister who appeared before the Immigration Committee and this committee of 12 attorneys—if they did investigate it, although I think probably not, but somebody for them may have done so—but I have seen to it that the persons charged with improper actions in these affidavits have come to Washington and have been subjected to personal examination on the charges against them.

I desire to insert in the record the affidavit made by Mr. Hickey, sworn to on the 29th of May, 1920:

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, *City of Washington*, ss:

Edward J. Hickey, being duly sworn according to law, deposes and says:

1. That he is a special agent of the Department of Justice, Bureau of Investigation, assigned to official duty in the district of Connecticut.

2. That he has read carefully the alleged affidavit of one Semeon Nakhwat as printed on page 12 of a "Report upon the illegal practices of the United States Department of Justice," published at Washington, D. C., by the so-called National Popular Government League, in which affidavit the said Semeon Nakhwat charges that on November 8, 1919, at Bridgeport, Conn., he was arrested by the said Edward J. Hickey; and further that about 13 weeks thereafter, while the said Semeon Nakhwat was confined in the Hartford County jail at Hartford, Conn., the said Edward J. Hickey, while in the cell occupied by the said Nakhwat, did strike the said Nakhwat twice with his fist, once in the forehead and once in the jaw, whereupon he fell and was kicked by the said Edward J. Hickey until he became unconscious.

3. Deponent further states that he was not in the city of Bridgeport, Conn., on the date given (Nov. 8, 1919), and did not participate in and had no knowledge of either the said Semeon Nakhwat or his arrest; that deponent never even visited the meeting place referred to and had no knowledge of its character or location.

4. Deponent further states that at no time has he entered the cell in the Hartford jail occupied by the said Semeon Nakhwat, and that he has never struck or otherwise abused him.

EDWARD J. HICKEY.

Sworn to and subscribed before me at Washington, D. C., this 29th day of May, 1920.

[SEAL.]

J. ARTHUR RUSSELL,
Notary Public.

Of course, as I said a moment ago, believe this anarchist if you want to. He says our agent beat him up, tried to kill him, and all that kind of thing, and he gives the name of the agent who did it; but the agent says he has lied, and I believe the agent.

CASES OF BARTHOLOMEW ISCHENKA AND SEMEON E. KRAVOCHUCK.

I want, while I am on the subject of these fellows who claim they were beaten up so badly, to refer to the case of Bartholomew Ischenko. On page 19 of the report that I am discussing appears an affidavit made by one Bartholomew Ischenko alleging that he was struck on the head with a blackjack and thrown downstairs. I desire to insert in the record the affidavit of Special Agent Valjavec, who examined Ischenko and who states that he showed no evidence whatever of having been abused or mistreated, nor did he make any statement to the special agent that he had been abused.

Not satisfied with that, however, Mr. Chairman, I directed that an agent in New York whom I personally know and have known for a long time of the highest character and reputation, John L. Haas, should examine this man Ischenko himself and get his statement direct as to what actually happened, and I will insert in the record an affidavit he made. In the affidavit he states that he interviewed Ischenko in the presence of another agent and that Ischenko stated that he was at the Russian People's House on the night of November 7, 1919, but that he had not been struck or assaulted by anyone and that he had not been hit by a blackjack. Apparently, of course, he swore at some time to these lawyers that he had been, but the agent who arrested him says that there is nothing to it, that he made no complaint at the time, and that there was nothing in his appearance

that showed he had been injured. Mr. Haas went to great lengths to get him to tell the story again, and he denies that anything of the kind ever happened to him. I am reluctantly obliged to believe that somebody has planted something on these distinguished lawyers.

(The affidavits of Special Agent Valjavec and Special Agent Haas follow:)

STATE OF NEW YORK,

County of New York, ss:

Victor J. Valjavec, of lawful age, being duly sworn, deposes and says:

That he is a special agent of the Bureau of Investigation, U. S. Department of Justice, attached to the New York office of the said bureau; that on the evening of November 7, 1919, he was engaged at the office of the said bureau examining and questioning various persons supposed to be members of the Union of Russian Workers, who had been brought to this office by special agents of the Department of Justice and members of the New York Police Department; that as these persons were brought to the office of the said bureau in groups they were placed in a certain room to await examination, and it is therefore not within the knowledge of deponent to state the names of agents or officers who brought them to the office; that during said evening deponent questioned Bartholomew Ischenko, and that he, Ischenko, showed no evidence whatever of having been abused or mistreated, nor did he at that time make any statement to the effect that he had been abused or mistreated by anyone, either at the office of the bureau or elsewhere.

VICTOR J. VALJAVEC.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 29th day of May, A. D. 1920.

[SEAL.]

GRAHAM S. RICE,

Notary Public, New York County, No. 82.

Term expires March 30, 1922.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

County of New York, ss:

John L. Haas, of lawful age, being duly sworn, deposes and says:

I am an agent of the Department of Justice, assigned to the Bureau of Investigation at New York City. Under instructions from Agent Scully, I proceeded this day to the house at 94 East Seventh Street, New York City, to investigate a charge said to have been made by one Someone Kravchuk that on the night of November 7, 1919, while he was at 133 East Fifteenth Street, New York City, know as the "Russian Peoples House," he was assaulted by an agent or agents of the Department of Justice; was struck on the head and had some teeth knocked out.

Kravchuk formerly boarded with an aged Jewish couple named Rosenfeld who have an apartment on the top floor rear of 94 East Seventh Street. When we were admitted to the apartment and inquired for Kravchuk we were informed by Mrs. Rosenfeld that Kravchuk had lived in her apartment only one week; that he had moved away some time ago, and she had no knowledge whatever of his present whereabouts. A man who was lying on a sofa arose to a sitting position as we entered the room. I suspected that he might be Kravchuk and asked him his name, which he stated was Ischenko. There were present in the room at this time Mr. and Mrs. Rosenfeld, Ischenko, Agent Anderson, and myself.

We left the apartment and telephoned Agent Scully, telling him that Kravchuk no longer lived at the address given but that there was a man there named Ischenko. Agent Scully then informed us that Ischenko had also been reported as having charged that on the night of November 7, while at the "Russian Peoples House," 133 East Fifteenth Street, he was struck over the head with a blackjack and thrown downstairs, and directed that we return immediately to the house at 94 East Seventh Street and take a statement from Ischenko relative to the alleged assault.

We returned to the Rosenfeld apartment and were admitted by Mrs. Rosenfeld. Another couple arrived immediately after our arrival, whom I believe to be related to the Rosenfelds, as the woman said: "Please excuse us for interrupting you, we have come to visit my aunt and uncle (meaning the Rosenfelds); we come from the Bronx."

Ischenko apparently understood no English nor did the Rosenfelds speak any. I asked the couple who arrived with us if they could speak Ischenko's language. The woman said that they could. I then asked them if they would act as interpreters, which they agreed to do. I asked Ischenko, through the female interpreter, if he

had been present at the "Russian Peoples House," 133 East Fifteenth Street on the night of November 7, 1919. He replied that he had been there on that evening. I then asked him if he had been struck or assaulted by anybody on that occasion. He replied that he had not. I asked him specifically if he had been struck on the head by anybody on that occasion with a club or other blunt instrument and he again replied that he had not. I then described to the interpreter what a blackjack looked like, at which she and her husband both informed me that they knew what a blackjack was. The interpreter then explained to Ishenko what a blackjack looked like and at my request asked him if he had been struck on the head with a blackjack on the night of November 7. He then stated that he had not been struck by anybody with anything on that occasion. I asked the interpreter to ask Mr. and Mrs. Rosenfeld if they had heard and understood the questions put to Ishenko and the answers he had made to those questions. Both of the Rosenfelds replied that they heard and understood both the questions put to Ishenko and the replies made by him.

On the occasion of my first visit to the Rosenfeld apartment I found that neither of the Rosenfelds spoke any English. I asked Mrs. Rosenfeld if she spoke German to which she replied that she understood it. I then asked her in German about Kravchuk and her replies were made in a kind of German-Yiddish dialect, which I understood but not very clearly. Because of this lack of clearness in the replies of Mrs. Rosenfeld I asked the woman who had interpreted for Ishenko to put to Mrs. Rosenfeld in the Russian language, the question about Kravchuk which I had asked her in German. This was done and she made the same replies that she had made on the first question.

I asked the woman who had acted as interpreter the name of her husband and herself and their residence but she absolutely refused to give either their names or residence, stating that she did not want to be mixed up in court proceedings. We reassured her on this point but she persisted in her refusal to give us the information. I did not think it wise to press this point further as I believe we can secure the desired information from the Rosenfelds, through an agent who can speak Russian.

JOHN L. HAAS.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 30th day of May, A. D., 1920.

[SEAL.]

GRAHAM L. RICE,

Notary Public, New York County No. 82.

Term expires March 30, 1922.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
County of New York, ss:

I, Edward Anderson, an agent of the Department of Justice, do hereby state that I accompanied Agent John L. Haas to No. 94 East Seventh Street, New York City, and that I was present during the questioning both of Mrs. Rosenfeld and of Mr. Ishenko. That the statement made above by Agent Haas is a true and correct recital of what took place on that occasion.

EDWARD ANDERSON.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 30th day of May, A. D., 1920.

[SEAL.]

GRAHAM L. RICE,

Notary Public, New York County No. 82.

Term expires March 30, 1922.

Here is another case, that of Semion Kravchuk. On page 19 of the report is an affidavit of Semion E. Kravchuk, who states that he was brutally beaten on the night of November 7, 1919, and was taken to the Department of Justice Building and questioned. I am filing the affidavit of special Agent Charles J. Scully, in charge of the radical division of the New York office of the Bureau of Investigation, who states that there is no record in the New York office of Semion Kravchuk being brought to that office at any time on the night of November 7. He was beaten up by somebody else, because he was not even taken by the Department of Justice people.

(Said affidavit follows:)

STATE OF NEW YORK,
County of New York, City of New York, ss.

I, Charles J. Scully, of lawful age, being duly sworn, doth depose and say:

I am a special agent of the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice.

That according to information received from the Washington office of bureau, one Semion Kravchuk, of 94 East Seventh Street, is reported as having made an affidavit

that he was hit on the head and that his teeth were knocked out on the night of November 7, 1919, at the Peoples House, and that he was taken to the office of bureau and immediately released.

I have cause inquiries to be made among the various agents employed in the Radical Division, and fail to find any agent who can recall having seen any person calling himself Semion Kravchuk, either at the Peoples House or at the New York office of the bureau, nor is there any record in the files of this office that would tend to show that any person named Semion Kravchuk was ever under investigation.

CHARLES J. SCULLY.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 30th day of May, 1920.

[SEAL.]

GRAHAM L. RICE,
Notary Public.

New York County No. 82; New York County Register's No. 2088; term expires March 30, 1922.

CASE OF PETER KARAS.

Here is the case of Peter Karas. On page 20 of the report of the National Popular Government League appears an affidavit of one Peter Karas, who states that he was arrested by Department of Justice agents and brutally beaten. I am filing the affidavit of special agent Joseph G. Tucker, of the New York office of the Bureau of Investigation, who questioned Peter Karas upon the night of November 7 and who states that during the course of the examination Karas made no statement to the effect that he was abused or mistreated, nor did he show any evidence of having been so treated. When the examination of Karas was completed he was in good humor and left the office smiling, shaking hands with the special agent.

(Said affidavit follows:)

STATE OF NEW YORK,
County of New York, ss:

Joseph G. Tucker, of lawful age, being duly sworn, deposes and says:

I am a special agent of the Bureau of Investigation of the United States Department of Justice, attached to the New York office of the said bureau.

On the afternoon and evening of November 7, 1919, I was engaged at the New York office of said bureau, examining and questioning various persons supposed to be members of the Union of Russian Workers who had been brought to the office by special agents of the Department of Justice and members of the New York police department. As these persons were brought to the office in groups they were placed in a large room awaiting examination, and it is therefore not within my knowledge to state the names of the particular agents or officers who brought them to the office.

During the said evening I questioned one Peter Karas, residence 624 East Eleventh Street, New York City, who denied membership in the Union of Russian Workers and was therefore released. In the course of the conversation I had with Karas, he made no statement whatever to the effect that he had been abused or mistreated by anyone, either at the office of this bureau or elsewhere, nor did he show any mark or evidence of having been abused or ill-treated in any way. In the course of the evening I had occasion to see most of the persons brought to the office, and at no time saw any agent of the Department of Justice or police officer abuse or attempt to abuse anyone, nor did I hear any foul language used toward them.

After having completed the examination of Karas, who answered all questions without hesitation and was smiling throughout the examination, I informed him that there was no necessity for him to remain any longer, and he bade me good night, at the same time shaking hands with me.

JOSEPH G. TUCKER.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 30th day of May, A. D. 1920.

[SEAL.]

GRAHAM L. RICE,
Notary Public.

New York County No. 82; New York County Register's No. 2088; term expires March 30, 1922.

CASE OF GASPARE CANNONE.

Considerable space is given in the report of the National Popular Government League to an affidavit signed by one Walter Nelles, concerning the case of one Gaspare Cannone. This is a case in which it is charged that the agent forged the name of Cannone to a statement. In view of the seriousness of the charges made in this affidavit I have directed a very thorough and searching inquiry to be made into this case in order to ascertain the real facts concerning Gaspare Cannone. I have not yet completed that investigation, Mr. Chairman, and I will ask leave to file a statement of the facts as made by my investigators as soon as it is returned.

Of course, it ought to be unnecessary for me to say that if any agent of the Department of Justice has been guilty of forgery that he will not only be discharged from the service but he will be punished. It ought not to be necessary for the head of any department of the Government to make a statement like that about his own office. I would not permit it and no other man, who has the responsibility of directing a great department of the Government, would condone an offense of that character.

To charge the Department of Justice with the violation of law because a certain agent may be a crook or a criminal, exhibits a narrowness of mind which shows some other purpose than eliciting the truth. I do not say that this name was forged; I do not know; I have only the record made by these gentlemen, and only because we have not been able to get in touch with all the agents concerned have we been unable to complete the investigation so as to make a positive statement in the case to you.

DE SILVER AFFIDAVIT.

On pages 20 and 21 of the report appears an affidavit of one Albert de Silver, concerning the raid made upon the office of the Novy Mir on January 6, 1920. Mr. de Silver states that Mr. Mortimer R. Davis, special agent of the Bureau of Investigation, who was in charge of the raiding party, as he puts it, told him that if he went inside he might get hit over the head. Mr. Davis has been communicated with by long distance, he now being located in the city of St. Louis, and he denies emphatically that he made any such statement to Mr. de Silver, and further states that there was no undue destruction of property in the offices of the Novy Mir by agents of the Department of Justice on the night of January 6.

DETROIT CONDITIONS.

A word further about conditions in Detroit. Pages 22 to 29, inclusive, of the report, are given over to a lurid description of the conditions in the city of Detroit, resulting from the arrests made of alien communists in that town. The principal phases of the arrests in Detroit I have already covered, and my statement had been prepared before my attention was called to the report of this league. I note, however, that considerable space is given to affidavits of one Alex Bukovitsky and that in the said affidavit mention is made of a Mr. August Hermann. I desire to file with your committee an affidavit made by one Josh Venable, to whom August Hermann and Alex

Bukovitsky made the statements that this Government would be overthrown and that the Government officers would be either placed in jail or killed and that it was a shame that the Attorney General had not been killed but that the anarchists would eventually get him yet. These are the statements made by Alex Bukovitsky, whose affidavit is given a space of four and one-half pages in the report of the National Government League. I believe there is no further need to commend upon the credibility of this individual nor to take up the time of this committee with an analysis of the charges made by one who has as his sole purpose the assassination of Government officers.

I am in receipt of a telegram from the Detroit office of the Bureau of Investigation stating that Bukovitsky at no time was shot. It was alleged in the affidavit of this individual that he was shot in the head. Likewise the other allegations contained in the affidavit of Bukovitsky are absolutely and emphatically denied by the Federal authorities in the city of Detroit.

STATE OF MICHIGAN,

County of Wayne, ss:

I, Josh Venable, being duly sworn, do depose and say: That between April 10, 1920, and May 17, 1920, I was held at the Wayne County jail pending the order of the United States court and have since been discharged from custody by order of Judge Tuttle.

That during the time I was at the Wayne County jail I saw and became acquainted with one Alex Bukovitsky who was also held there.

During the first night he was there Bukovitsky stated that he was an anarchist and that he was proud of it; that there was going to be a revolution in the United States and that there would be no more laws in this country and that all the small fellows would be alike and the big fellows would all be put in prison or put to death.

During other conversations he stated to me that all churches would be made into machine shops and prisons would be made into blacksmith shops, except Siberia where they would put all the American capitalists, and that the coming revolution would overthrow the Government of the United States and would down it.

Bukovitsky also stated to me that some time later some one would kill Attorney General Palmer, and that it was a shame that the fellow who shot at Attorney Content did not kill him, but that "we anarchists will get him later."

He also stated that he had been offered a parol, but that he would not accept it as they wanted him to sign papers to take his parole and that he would not do it because he had been told that if he got out on parol he would have to keep his mouth shut and this he would not do. He stated that if he did get out on parol he would leave this city at once and travel from one town to another and make speeches all the time. He also stated that the Government would never stop him from talking unless they killed him, because he was paid for talking by the revolutionists.

All the time that Bukovitsky was at the jail he attempted to convert every person who he met to a belief in anarchy.

JOSHUA VENABLE.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 18th day of May, 1920.

[SEAL.]

THOMAS C. WILCOX,

Notary Public, Wayne County, Mich.

My commission expires December 15, 1920.

STATE OF MICHIGAN,

County of Wayne, ss:

I, Josh Venable, being duly sworn, do depose and say: That between April 10, 1920, and May 17, 1920, I was held at the Wayne County jail pending the order of the United States court and have since been discharged by order of Judge Tuttle.

That during the time I was at the Wayne County jail I saw and became acquainted with one August Herrmann, who was also held there.

During the first night he was there Herrmann stated to me and to others present there that he was an anarchist and revolutionist and explained that that meant that he was one of those who were going to overthrow the capitalists and the Government of the United

States by means of a revolution and war. He asked me whether I ever had been in the United States Army, and when I replied that I had served in the United States Marines, he asked me further if I would help the revolutionists in the event a revolution should break out in this country, to which I replied: "That I would fight for the United States only." Upon this statement from me he called me crazy and a fool, saying: "You are fighting for the capitalists who are taking your money away."

He stated further: "No laws are necessary in this country, and that after the revolution, which would overthrow this Government, there would be no laws. All the Government officers would either be put to death or exiled and then all men would be equal."

Herrmann stated further that when he got out of jail he would continue his work against the Government and that he would start all over and they never would be stopped.

Herrmann, during the entire time that he was confined at the jail attempted by all means to convert every person with whom he came in contact to a belief in anarchy.

JOSHUA VENABLE.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 18th of May, 1920.

[SEAL.]

THOMAS C. WILCOX,
Notary Public, Wayne County, Mich

My commission expires December 15, 1923.

I have no doubt whatever that Bukovitsky is something of a liar, even to the extent of saying that he is going to get me yet, but he is not.

CASE OF JULIA PRATT.

On page 29 of this pamphlet, prepared by the 12 learned attorneys, is a statement concerning the case of Julia Pratt, and it is stated that Mr. Herman Bernhard appeared as a witness against Miss Pratt and testified that he was a secret agent of the Department of Justice, and as such he had joined the Communist Party of Buffalo, N. Y., and had become the recording secretary of that branch. This statement is a deliberate and unwarranted falsehood. I have at hand a transcript of the testimony taken before the board of education in the City of Buffalo, in the Pratt case, and it will be observed that Mr. Bernhard made no such allegation. I pointed out to the committee yesterday that Mr. Bernhard was employed as a special agent of the Department of Justice on January 20, 1920, after the arrest had been made of members of the Communist Party, and that at no time, while in the service of the Department of Justice, has he ever been an undercover employee. Mr. Bernhard was connected with the Lusk Committee prior to his employment by this department, but that committee in no official way is connected with the activities of the Department of Justice.

I would like to file, as proof of the falsity of that statement, the actual testimony taken in the Pratt case.

(Said testimony follows:)

[Before the Board of Education of the city of Buffalo. In the matter of the charges preferred by Supt. E. C. Hartwell against Julia D. Pratt.]

Hearing before the board, held at Room 1401, New York Telephone Building, commencing Monday, February 9, 1920, at 2 p. m.

Present: Edwards D. Emerson, Esq. (chairman); Louis E. Desbecker, Esq.; George J. Zimmerman, Esq.; Raymond Bissell, Esq.; Mrs. John W. Wickser, comprising the board; E. C. Hartwell, Esq., superintendent of education.

Appearances: William S. Rann, Esq., corporation counsel, by Andrew P. Ronan, assistant city attorney, for Board of education.

Hon. Adelbert Moot, counsel for Miss Pratt.

HERMAN E. M. BERNARD, called by the board and sworn, testified as follows:

Mr. ALTMAN. I would like my appearance noted here. I appear for one of the witnesses.

Examined by Mr. RONAN:

Q. What is your name?—A. H. E. M. Bernhard.

Q. Where do you live at the present time?—A. At the present time at the Lafayette Hotel.

Q. Where are you working—have been?—A. New Jersey, in Newark.

Q. Out of what headquarters?—A. Department of Justice of the United States.

Q. You are a special agent of the Department of Justice, are you?—A. Yes.

Q. Was there a time in the course of your professional duties that you saw fit to become a member of the Communist Party of the city of Buffalo?—A. Yes.

Q. I show you a pamphlet marked "Manifesto and program," and I ask you if that is the manifesto and program of the Communist Party of America?—A. Yes.

Mr. RONAN. I offer that in evidence.

Chairman EMERSON. Received.

(Pamphlet No. 1, manifesto and program and constitution—report of the Communist Party International, marked "Exhibit No. 1," of this date.)

Q. Were you present at a meeting of the Central Branch of the Communist Party in the city of Buffalo on the 23d day of November, when this manifesto and program was adopted by the central body or Central Branch?—A. That meeting on the 23d of November was not a meeting of the Central Branch; it was an emergency convention of local Buffalo for the purpose of adopting the program manifesto of the Communist Party of America.

Mr. RONAN. Do you wish me to read any excerpts from that?

Mr. DESBECKER. Suit yourself.

Q. You were present at that meeting of November 23, 1919, when the program was adopted?—A. Yes.

Q. Was Miss Julia D. Pratt, the defendant or respondent herein, present at that meeting?—A. Yes.

Q. Did she vote upon the question?—A. Yes.

Q. Did she vote in favor of or against the adoption of this manifesto and program?—A. In favor.

Q. Are you familiar with the minute book of the central branch?—A. Very much so. I used to keep it.

Q. Were you one of the officers at one time of the central body?—A. Yes; recording secretary.

Q. I show you a book, page 13, of the minute book under date October 1, 1919. Will you kindly read the resolution?—A. [Reading:] "The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved. The following applications were received and ordered to take the usual course: Peter Simeone, 239 Seventh Street; James Zeamer, 10 Pierson Street; Mrs. Mary Duelsch, 372 Hickory Street; Merritt Hershantz, 266 William Street; M. J. Horn, 363 Connecticut Street; John H. Marshall, 28 Mesmer Street; William Finlayson, 42 School Street; Julia D. Pratt, 945 West Ferry Street; Max Weinberg, 475 Jefferson Street."

Q. Is that all?—A. That is all I had, yes.

Q. That is the only part in which Miss Pratt's name is mentioned at that meeting?—A. Yes.

Q. It says her application there took "the usual course." Explain what that meant at that time.—A. In the other part of the organization of the Communist Party of America the procedure was a rather quick one. When I joined, when they first organized, all you had to do was pay a quarter, present an application indorsed by a few members, and within the next 10 days you would receive your membership card. Later on, after the adoption of the program manifesto, it was necessary that the application be "laid on the table," as the expression was, and take its regular course.

Q. Was that prior to or after this meeting?—A. That was after November 23, after the actual convention.

Q. But prior to November 23?—A. Prior to that, in some parts of the country they called it "being a charter member." They did not term it such here. The regular course was to file the application and receive the money and, in about 5 or 10 days, as soon as the secretary could find time, they would send out the card.

Q. Before a name was presented in the meeting as having made an application, it was customary and it was the rule—or was it customary and the rule—that they make out an application card?—A. Yes.

Q. Is this the form of the card that the constitution of the Communist Party called for [handing witness card, who examines name]? If you wish to refresh your recollection by looking at the constitution and comparing them, you may do so.—A. No; this is the later form of application.

Q. There was one prior to that?—A. Yes; there was an entirely different card.

Q. Is this the form [handing to witness]?—A. Yes.

Q. Was that the form of application that was made out at the time of October 1 or prior thereto?—A. Prior to November 23.

Q. Prior to the 23d of November?—A. Yes; because I was not quite sure whether it was the 23d of November or a few days ahead.

Q. Before a name was put on the minutes as having filed an application a card had to be made out?—A. An application card had to be made out; yes.

Q. And Miss Pratt, before her name was in there, undoubtedly made out an application card?—A. She must have. I personally don't know that she made out the application.

Q. You never saw her application card?—A. I never did; no.

Q. At that time it was customary to pay some money at the time the application was made, was it?—A. Yes; it was 25 cents around that time. Later on it was raised to 50 cents initiation fee.

Q. I show you a book and ask you if you recognize this book?—A. (Examining same) Yes.

Q. What book was that?—A. Well, I really couldn't tell you, frankly, what they called that book—but I have seen it up to the party headquarters. It seems an account book. I really don't know what they called it up there.

Q. It was one of the books of the organization?—A. Yes—I went through it repeatedly and extracted from it.

Q. Looking at page 2, what is the heading?—A. "Application."

Q. Then different dates are given?—A. Yes.

Q. Under date September 28, 1919, what is shown?—A. There were four applications.

Q. Read the four applications as of the 28th.—A. "Nathen Yosvitz, Max Weinberg, Julia D. Pratt, William Findayson,"—and 25 cents is received for every one of them.

By Mr. DESBECKER:

Q. What date is that?—A. September 28, 1919.

By Mr. RONAN:

Q. When a person became a member of the Communist Party was there issued to them a membership card?—A. Yes.

Q. I show you a form of card entitled "Membership card," and ask you if that was the form that was issued to the members of the organization?—A. In the early part of the organization they had different cards, what they called—

Q. "Temporary Membership"?—A. "Temporary Membership" cards.

Q. I show you one of these. That was the form that was used in the early part?—A. Yes. [Referring to red card.]

Q. Was that the form used in 1919?—A. That has been used in the very early stage of the organization. I joined before October, and I never had this card here [referring to red card]; I always had this here card [referring to red membership card].

Mr. RONAN. I offer in evidence this membership card of the Communist Party of America, form card.

Chairman EMERSON. Received.

(Red membership card, Communist party of America, marked "Exhibit No. 2" of this date.)

Mr. RONAN. I offer in evidence the form of the application in so far as it is a form, without the wording put in of the person whose name is on there.

Chairman EMERSON. Received.

(Form of application for membership in the Communist Party of America, marked "Exhibit No. 3" of this date.)

Q. There came a time in the history of the central council when application was made to the headquarters at Chicago for a charter?—A. Yes.

Q. Have you seen the charter?—A. Yes.

Q. I show you a photograph stating "Communist Party of America charter. To the comrades of the local Buffalo branch, greeting: Your application for a charter as a branch of the Communist Party of America has been approved and the charter granted. The name of your branch is entered upon the rolls of the party as stated above. We welcome you to the comradeship of the workers who are pledged to the struggle to abolish the capitalist system and establish the Communist Society. Dated Chicago this 8th day of October, 1919. Central executive committee, Communist Party of America, C. E. Ruthenberg, executive secretary: (signed) J. E. Ferguson, member of executive council." Is that a photograph or photostat of the charter of the local Buffalo?—A. Yes.

Q. Was the original of that in the rooms of the Communist Party local body at Buffalo?—A. The original of this charter was in the top drawer of the financial secretary's desk. It was never exposed to the eye of anybody who might come in.

Mr. RONAN. I offer that photostat or photographic charter in evidence.

Chairman EMERSON. Received.

(Photostat or photograph of Communist Party of America charter to local Buffalo branch, marked "Exhibit No. 4," of this date.)

Q. It was accepted, however, by the local Buffalo branch?—A. Yes, and they made various motions to have it framed, but they apparently did not have the money to have it framed.

Q. I show you a photograph or photostat of the charter of the Communist Party of America, reading as follows: "To the Comrades of the Central Branch, Buffalo City ——— County, New York State, Greetings: Your application for a charter as a branch of the Communist Party of America has been approved and the charter granted. The name of your branch is entered upon the rolls of the party as stated above. We welcome you to the comradeship of the workers who are pledged to the struggle to abolish the capitalist system and establish the Communist Society. Dated, Chicago, this 22d day of October, 1919. Central Executive Committee, Communist Party; (signed) C. E. Ruthenberg, executive secretary; (signed) H. M. Wicks, member executive council." I ask you is that a photograph of the charter of the Central Branch of the Communist Party of America, Buffalo, N. Y.?—A. Yes.

Mr. RONAN. I offer that in evidence.

Chairman EMERSON. Received.

(Photograph of charter of Central Branch of Communist Party of America, Buffalo, N. Y., marked "Exhibit No. 5" of this date.)

Q. For the information of the board, please explain the difference between "Local Buffalo" and the "branch," the two charters.—A. "Local Buffalo" is the city of Buffalo and surrounding territories, like Tonawanda, Depew, and close to the city; divided into various branches: We had the Lithuanian branch, the East Side, Western, Hungarian, German, Polish branch, and various branches. Every one of the branches was subordinate to the laws of the Local Buffalo branch, which was the head of the organization as far as Buffalo was concerned. Furthermore, the various branches elected delegates to the executive council, which met every Monday night, and the membership to this council was elected according to the number of the members of the various branches. If I am not mistaken, there were two members for the first 20, and then one to every additional 10 members of the party.

Q. The branch that Miss Pratt made the application to was the central branch, was it not?—A. So I understood it to be.

Q. That was the English-speaking branch of the society?—A. English-speaking.

Q. Have you seen Miss Pratt at some of the open forums of the party?—A. I have seen Miss Pratt evenings, Sunday evenings, when there was some out-of-town speakers present; and I have seen Miss Pratt up in the headquarters, on November 23, the general emergency convention.

Q. Just forget the general emergency convention, temporarily. Have you heard her addressed by the chairmen of meetings in the open forum?—A. Yes.

Q. What form of salutation was used in introducing Miss Pratt?—A. I do remember very clearly one instance—

Q. You do or don't?—A. I do—when, I think it was, James Campbell, who acted as chairman of that meeting, addressed the audience and said: "I now introduce Comrade Julia Pratt, who will entertain us with two solos on the harp."

Q. Was that subsequent to October 1, 1919?—A. You mean was it during October?

Q. Was it during October, after the 1st?—A. It was in the month of October, yes.

Q. And subsequent to the 1st of October?—A. Yes.

Q. The 1st of October being the date when her application was signed?—A. Yes.

Q. Are you acquainted with the signature of Miss Pratt?—A. Yes.

Q. Just for the purpose of identification, I show you a book called "The Ripsaw Mother Goose," and ask you if that is Miss Pratt's signature upon it?—A. Yes.

Q. What does it say?—A. "Julia D. Pratt—please return."

Mr. RONAN. Just mark that for identification.

Q. You are not personally familiar with what that is?—A. No, not at all.

(Booklet "The Ripsaw Mother Goose," with alleged signature of defendant upon it, marked "Exhibit No. 6" for identification.)

Q. Are you familiar in any way with the leanings, tendencies, and habits of thought of Julia Pratt in regard to communism?—A. Yes, I am.

Q. Prior to the 1st of October, 1919, did you have any occasion, in the performance of your professional duties, to attend at any private meetings at which Miss Pratt was present?—A. I attended several private meetings held at Miss Edith Harris's home in Kenmore.

Q. Among other people at that time Miss Pratt was present?—A. Yes.

Q. Were there two meetings?—A. Well, I have only a record in my report of two meetings—or three; I don't remember exactly. I know there have been more than that, but I only kept record of two specific meetings, I believe.

Q. The first meeting was on what date?—A. Eighteenth of July, 1919.

Q. Will you tell us the discussions that took place at that time—in the first place, the meeting was at Miss Harris's home in Kenmore?—A. Yes.

Q. There were other people present besides Miss Pratt?—A. There were; yes—some friends of mine.

Q. And yourself?—A. And myself and others.

Q. If you wish to, you may refer to your notes to assist your recollection. Will you give us the topics that were discussed and concurred in and advocated at that time by Miss Pratt?

Mr. DESBECKER. Hadn't he better tell you just what was said and what she did, rather than conclusions?

Mr. RONAN. Well, all right.

Q. Just give your recollection—I don't wish you to use any other names except Miss Pratt and your own, if you can possibly avoid it.—A. I can not fairly give the thing verbatim because it is too long ago and I have considerable other matters in my mind; but the general conversation was discussion between the "Left Wing" and the "Right Wing" movement, the forming of a communist party, the struggle between the proletariat and the capitalist; the tactics and methods to be applied to change the present economic conditions of the working class; it was spoken of using tactics of direct action, tactics of overthrowing the present form of government by violence, etc. This is the sum and substance of the conversation held, while at the same time also intellectual topics, as literature and art, etc., were contributed along; but the main topic was along those lines, of changing the present form of government.

Q. Did all those present, and Miss Pratt included among them, at that time say that she was a Bolshevik?—A. Yes; almost everybody, except Bob Hoffman didn't claim to be a Bolshevik.

Q. In so far as you can, I wish you would refrain from mentioning any names except Miss Pratt's and your own, because the other people are not in here on charges. At that time did the people present, including Miss Pratt, also state that they were I. W. W.?—A. They all favored the idea of being I. W. W.'s and are in sympathy with the organization, while none of them claimed to have any affiliation whatsoever—and as a matter of fact I did not know none of them were members of the I. W. W.

Q. That was a meeting of July 18, 1919?—A. July 18 and 25.

Q. On the meeting of the 25th was the following topic discussed: That the time was ripe now for a revolution; that there was great dissatisfaction among the laboring class; that on account of the soldiers returning, they were all sore, and that a revolution at this time would be a success and the overthrow of the Government a certainty?—A. Yes, that was spoken of.

Q. You may refresh your recollection, if you wish, by looking at your reports.—A. I know it is verbatim.

By Mr. DESBECKER:

Q. Was Miss Pratt present then?—A. Very much so.

Q. She participated in the discussions?—A. Decidedly.

By Mr. RONAN:

Q. At that time also was the following matter discussed: That "the main step to be taken is to get as big as possible an organization in the Communist Party in order to spread the necessary propaganda, and then when the party is formed and all in the party, strike when the iron is hot"?—A. Yes.

Q. Was it also discussed at that meeting of July 25, 1919, that the plan should be "to organize all the unions and other radical organizations into one party, and then at the opportune time overturn the Government"?—A. Yes.

Q. And Miss Pratt participated in that discussion?—A. Yes.

Q. And was one of the parties to it?—A. Yes.

By Mr. DESBECKER:

Q. Do you remember anything that Miss Pratt said on any of those occasions?—A. Anything verbatim that she said?

Q. No. Did she talk herself?—A. Oh, yes; she is very talkative; very much so. It is a continuous ramble. At those meetings held at Kenmore everybody spoke at the same time.

By Mr. RONAN:

Q. Do you remember any particular conversation or any statements that Miss Pratt herself made at that time?—A. I couldn't really give, honestly, anything else verbatim. All those conversations were so much to the effect of the overthrow of the present Government and control of the proletariats, that to remember anything specifically—if I say, generally speaking, that was the topic of the conversation, I hit the nail right on the head.

By Mr. DESBECKER:

Q. Did she voice those sentiments?—A. Decidedly so.
Mr. DESBECKER. That is the first time we have had that.

By Mr. RONAN:

Q. This was prior to the time that the books show that her application was made to the Communist Party?—A. Oh, yes.

Q. And prior to the time that the 25 cents was paid by her at the time her application was made?—A. Well, of course, I personally don't know anything of the money having been paid. I only know what is in the record.

Q. So far as the books show?—A. Yes—it happened in July, 1919, and August, 1919, at the various meetings.

Mr. RONAN. I offer this account book in evidence that has been referred to.

Chairman EMERSON. Received.

(Account book, before referred to, page 2, marked "Exhibit No. 7," of this date.)

Q. At that time 25 cents was the proper amount to pay to accompany an application.—A. Yes. That was the initiation fee. I paid 25 cents.

By Mr. ZIMMERMAN:

Q. Were there any honorary members?—A. Not to my knowledge. They all had to pay a quarter.

By Mr. RONAN:

Q. Was the party in such financial shape that they could afford an honorary membership?—A. No; not at all.

By Mr. DESBECKER:

Q. Do you know whether a card was ever issued to her or not?—A. That I couldn't tell you. But I can answer definitely yes, because she was present at the emergency convention, that no one could enter the hall or remain seated in the hall or vote that did not hold a membership card, because everybody was examined.

By Mr. RONAN:

Q. That was the emergency convention of November 23?—A. Yes.

By Mr. DESBECKER:

Q. Was that by some rule that they have, or some rule adopted by them?—A. When the meeting was opened the chairman requested that a sergeant at arms be appointed, and requested of everyone present to show his membership card—and they had to be in good standing before they could be seated and vote.

By Mr. RONAN:

Q. At that time Miss Pratt participated?—A. She was present November 23, and she voted.

Q. That was Sunday afternoon, November 23?—A. Yes.

Q. She was present also that evening at the open forum?—A. Yes—well, at the lecture, they called it.

Q. There came a time, about the 25th of November, 1919, when you were in the office of Mr. Sheppard in this city. Will you tell what you saw in the office on that day, anything pertaining to Miss Pratt?—A. That day, I believe it was, that the Express carried the accusation by Mr. Price of Julia Pratt—the "Four-Minute man."

Q. Mr. Price?—A. Yes, I think it was. I had just been speaking to Mr. Sheppard about the matter—

Q. Mr. Sheppard was also a member of the Communist Party?—A. Yes.

Q. And you, yourself, were a member?—A. Yes—when a letter arrived from Miss Julia Pratt. The letter was opened in my presence, and Mr. Sheppard read it, and turned it over to me to read.

Q. Did you read it?—A. I read the letter and I can give you the sum and substance of the contents of the letter, which was to the effect that Fred Sheppard was requested to communicate with the Communist headquarters and take steps to have her application card and any record that may prove her to be a member of the party destroyed.

Q. That you read?—A. Yes.

By Mr. DESBECKER:

Q. Did you make every effort to get that letter?—A. Yes; and have the men after it now.

Mr. DESBECKER. That letter should be in evidence.

By Mr. RONAN:

Q. Have you made any efforts, in connection with myself, to obtain this original letter?—A. Yes.

Q. Will you tell the court what we have searched through and what efforts we have made to obtain the letter, if it is in existence now?—A. I went through a large wooden box of the personal effects of Mr. Fred Sheppard, consisting mostly of letters received, dating back as far as 1914. I felt that there was a possibility that the letter was still in existence. I did not find it there. I called at his brother's home on Main Street.

Mr. DESBECKER. Where is he, Fred Sheppard?

Mr. RONAN. He is in Pensacola, Fla.

Mr. DESBECKER. He is not where he can be subpoenaed?

Mr. RONAN. No.

The WITNESS. It is impossible to subpoena him. He is a fugitive from justice and is now under arrest.

Mr. RONAN. He is now under arrest at Pensacola, Fla.

Q. Now, you may give the contents of the letter as you recall.—A. As I stated before, to the effect that Miss Julia Pratt requested Fred Sheppard to go to the headquarters of the Communist Party and make arrangements with some one there that her application card be destroyed, as well as any other record that proved her to be a member of the party.

By Chairman EMERSON:

Q. Was there a signature to the letter?—A. Yes.

Q. What was the signature?—A. "Julia."

By Mr. RONAN:

Q. Just the word "Julia"?—A. Yes.

Q. Did it make any reference in the letter to the charge having been made against her by Mr. Price?—A. Yes; it was touched upon. She called on the phone a few minutes afterwards—that was the next thing that happened.

By Mr. DESBECKER:

Q. Do you know that writing to have been hers; did you recognize the writing of the letter signed "Julia"?—A. Yes; I recognized the letter because I used to receive letters from her occasionally.

Q. Who wrote the letter signed "Julia"?—A. Miss Pratt.

By Mr. RONAN:

Q. Was there a telephone conversation following that?—A. Yes.

Q. Was the conversation alleged to have been between Mr. Sheppard and Miss Pratt?—A. It was between Mr. Sheppard and Miss Pratt.

Q. You don't know whether it was Miss Pratt at the other end, only from what Mr. Sheppard said?—A. I can only testify as to what she said she told him over the telephone.

Mr. DESBECKER. I don't think that is admissible here.

Mr. RONAN. I don't wish to offer that.

Q. There came a time after that when there was another letter sent by Miss Pratt to Mr. Sheppard?—A. Yes.

Q. Who was Mr. Fred Sheppard at that time in the organization?—A. I think at the time he was financial secretary.

Q. Did he have access to the books?—A. Yes; he held the bank books and those books were in his immediate command, because he was a member of the party and very much acquainted with the leaders of the organization.

Q. There came a time when there was another letter, purporting to come from Miss Pratt sent to Mr. Sheppard?—A. Yes.

Q. Have we made any efforts to recover that letter?—A. Very much so.

Q. We have made the same efforts that we made to recover the original of the first letter?—A. Yes.

Q. And we did not find it?—A. No.

Q. You might tell the board what the contents of the letter was—in the first place, was it a letter from Julia Pratt?—A. Yes.

Q. How do you know that?—A. It was signed "Julia."

Q. Do you know her handwriting?—A. Yes.

Q. What were the contents of that letter?—A. The letter was very brief, and to the effect that "The inclosed letter"—I think it was three or four receipts made out, and requesting Mr. Sheppard to take them up to the headquarters of the Communist Party. Those receipts were for money that she received for the entertainment given at the Communist Party.

Q. Do you know whether she received any money for those entertainments?—A. I do not. As I understand from hearsay or conversation I had about the matter, or as I have been told by the organizer, that she never received any pay. As a matter of fact, I tried to ascertain—

Mr. DESBECKER. I don't think that is admissible.

Mr. RONAN. Let us strike that out as hearsay.

Q. She did not say anything to you herself?—A. No.

Q. Did it say anything in either one of those two letters about a plan to put those receipts in the files of the party?—A. Yes; that is what they were sent for.

Q. Was this part of the plan to show that she was not a member of the party, as shown by the letter?—A. Yes.

Mr. DESBECKER. Just a minute. I think you should tell what is in it. That is a conclusion.

Q. Tell what was in the letter, if anything was in the letter, in regard to the plan, or if there was a plan.

Mr. DESBECKER. Tell what was in the letter.

Mr. RONAN. All right.

A. I have stated the substance of the letter. There was no plan discussed as to just how the thing should be framed up. The letter was just "Enclosed find the receipts. Please take them up to the Communist headquarters and have them placed on file." That was the substance of the letter, tending to bear out the "frame-up."

Q. Don't use that word "frame-up."—A. That is what it is.

Q. Subsequently to November 25, 1919, did you see Miss Pratt up at the headquarters of the Communist party at the Teck Building?—A. The last I saw her at the Communist headquarters was November 23.

Q. That was the date when the manifesto and program of the organization was ratified?—A. Yes.

Mr. BISSELL. What date did this article come out in the Express, referred to a minute ago?

Mr. RONAN. The charges?

Mr. BISSELL. Yes.

The WITNESS. Right after, I think it was the 24th or 25th of November.

By Mr. BISSELL:

Q. What is the last day you say you saw her up there?—A. The 23d. I saw her at the headquarters. I have seen her afterwards.

Mr. RONAN. Mr. Miller, do you wish to ask the witness any questions?

Mr. MILLER. I don't represent the defendant. I am only here to secure an adjournment. I am not in a position to intelligently put any questions to anybody.

By Mr. BISSELL:

Q. At the meetings at the Teck Theater did Miss Pratt used to join in discussion there; did she have something to say?—A. Miss Pratt—the only time I saw her at the Communist headquarters was at lectures, when some one was present from out of town, speakers. Here is the list [showing card]. I have never seen her any other time at the headquarters. There were questions and answers after the lecture, and she asked questions of the speaker. Does that answer your question?

Q. She never entered into any discussion herself?—A. She did not have the floor. The speaker had the floor.

Q. At any of the meetings you never heard her express any opinions?—A. Not at the Communist headquarters.

By Mr. ZIMMERMAN:

Q. Not on the night of November 23?—A. Yes, she did, on the afternoon, at the emergency convention—pardon me.

By Mr. RONAN:

Q. What did she say at that time?—A. There were various questions raised in regard to the adoption of the manifesto and program, and I am unable to say just what it was.

By Mr. ZIMMERMAN:

Q. Did she seem to be in accord with the general sentiment?—A. She seemed to be with the ruling power.

By Mr. RONAN:

Q. She voted in accordance with the manifesto?—A. Yes.

By Chairman EMERSON:

Q. How many times, altogether, did you see Miss Pratt?—A. I have seen her many times.

Q. A dozen?—A. More than that, undoubtedly.

Mr. DESBECKER. Any other questions?

Mr. RONAN. No.

Chairman EMERSON. Next witness.

STATE OF NEW YORK.

County of Erie, ss:

Arthur R. Jenkins, being duly sworn, deposes and says that he is a duly certified stenographer for the courts of New York; that he took the minutes of the trial of Julia Pratt before the board of education of the city of Buffalo, February 9, 1920, and took the testimony of Herman E. M. Bernhard, a witness examined in said trial, and hereby certifies that the foregoing is a full, true and correct transcript of his minutes taken on such trial.

Sworn to before me this 29th day of May, 1920.

[SEAL.]

GEO. F. CADY,

Notary Public, Erie County, New York.

Commission expires March 30, 1921.

CASE OF HENRY PETZOLD.

Upon page 30, of the pamphlet, is a statement concerning the case of Henry Petzold, and it is stated that evidence against this individual was given by two undercover agents of this department, one of them being Herman Bernhard, and the other one being George F. Cummerow.

It will be noted that Mr. Bernhard did not testify that he had been appointed by the Department of Justice to watch the radical movement, and as an agent of the department, became the recording secretary of the Communist Party at Buffalo. In point of fact he has never been assigned by the Department of Justice to watch the radical movement. His duty at the time of his testimony in the Pratt and Petzold cases, was that of investigation, as any other agent in the department. He has never performed any undercover work for the Department of Justice.

In connection with the charge of Cummerow, I desire to have made a part of the record, an affidavit of Cummerow's, which shows that he at no time was a confidential employee of the Department of Justice, and that his attendance at the Communist Labor Party was for the purpose of observation as to the proceedings of this party and that he gained entrance thereto by no fraudulent means and at no time has he been a member of or affiliated with the Communist Labor Party.

His testimony in the Petzold case was based upon his observation in the Communist Labor Party, which could have been witnessed by anyone desiring to do so.

It will thus be seen that the Pratt and Petzold cases are wholly without foundation when you examine the records.

STATE OF ILLINOIS.

County of Cook, ss:

George F. R. Cummerow, of the city of Chicago, county of Cook and State of Illinois, being first duly sworn, on oath deposes and says that he is a special agent of the Bureau of Investigation, United States Department of Justice, with headquarters at Chicago, Ill.; that his immediate superior officer in said department at Chicago, Ill., is Edward J. Brennan, whose official title is division superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, United States Department of Justice, for Chicago and surrounding territory.

Affiant further says that he is not a member of the Communist Labor Party or any other party or organization with radical tendencies, nor has he ever been at any time a member of such organizations.

Affiant further says that on the 1st day of September, 1919, he was instructed by Edward J. Brennan, heretofore mentioned, to attend a convention of the Communist Labor Party, then being held in the city of Chicago; that this affiant was instructed by said Edward J. Brennan to attend each and every session of said convention and make a report of the proceedings of the same; that this affiant was also instructed by said Edward J. Brennan to take no part in the proceedings of said convention, but merely to attend the same for the purpose of making a report; that in attending said convention this affiant took particular pains to observe the personnel of the delegates.

Affiant further states that Henry Petzold, of New Jersey, attended said convention as a delegate from said State of New Jersey; that said Petzold attended said convention from September 1 to September 5, 1919, inclusive, on which day said convention adjourned.

That said Petzold was a member of the constitution committee of said convention, took part in the proceedings of said convention, and was in full accord and approved the adoption of the constitution, platform, and program of said Communist Labor Party.

This affiant further says that said convention was an open convention that affiant did not attend "under cover" and was at no time questioned as to his identity.

Affiant further states in the case of *People v. Petzold*, tried at Jersey City, Hudson County, N. J., in March, 1920, he appeared as a witness for the prosecution; that the said prosecution was a State prosecution; that the affiant was informed on his arrival at Jersey City by Col. Vickers, assistant prosecuting attorney of said county, who had charge of said prosecution that he had made a request at Washington asking if a witness could be furnished him who could testify to the adoption of the platform and program at the convention of the Communist Labor Party held in Chicago September 1 to 5, 1919.

This affiant further says that he was instructed by said Edward J. Brennan on March 5, 1920, to proceed to Newark, N. J., and there report to Agent Stone, in charge of the Newark bureau office of the Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice; that on arriving in said city of Newark, N. J., this affiant was informed by Agent Stone that he was wanted to testify in a case pending and on trial at that time at Jersey City; that when this affiant arrived at Jersey City this affiant was asked by the prosecutor of Hudson County, N. J., if this affiant had attended the Chicago convention of the Communist Labor Party and could identify the platform and program of said party for the purpose of introducing the same in evidence. To this this affiant replied in the affirmative and without further questioning took the witness stand and testified as stated heretofore. This affiant identified said Petzold immediately on entering court room as being at said convention; also identified defendant Petzold's counsel Boudin, of New York, who also attended said convention as a delegate and was a member of the organization committee at said convention.

Affiant further says that said Boudin appeared as a witness on behalf of defendant Petzold and admitted that the testimony given by this affiant in said case was true.

And further affiant sayeth not.

GEORGE F. R. CUMMEROW.

STATE OF ILLINOIS,

County of Cook, ss:

Subscribed and sworn to before me at Chicago, Ill., this 28th day of May, A. D. 1920.

[SEAL.]

AUGUST H. LOULA,
Notary Public.

STATE OF ILLINOIS,

County of Cook, ss:

Edward J. Brennan, of the city of Chicago, county of Cook and State of Illinois, being duly sworn, on oath deposes and says that he is the division superintendent of the Bureau of Investigation, United States Department of Justice, for Chicago and the surrounding territory, that he has read the affidavit of George F. R. Cummerow attached hereto, that the matters contained in the said affidavit relative to this affiant are true.

And further affiant saith not.

EDWARD J. BRENNAN.

STATE OF ILLINOIS,

County of Cook, ss:

Subscribed and sworn to before me at Chicago, Ill., this 28th day of May, A. D. 1920.

[SEAL.]

AUGUST H. LOULA,
Notary Public.

Herman E. M. Bernhard, sworn on behalf of the State, testified as follows:

Direct examination by Mr. DREWEN:

Q. What is your full name?—A. Herman E. M. Bernhard.

Mr. BOUDIN. I would call your honor's attention to the testimony of the witness, Lawrence.

The COURT. The court will strike that question and answer from the record and charge the jury to disregard as to what Lawrence said as to Wolf; that is, as to what his duty as secretary and treasurer of the Communist Labor Party was. Now, I think, we can proceed.

Q. What is your occupation?—A. Special agent, Department of Justice.

Q. How long have you been in the employ of the Government?—A. Well, you mean altogether?

Q. Yes.—A. I left the department for a while and then came back in January.

Q. When did you first come with the department?—A. 1918.

Q. How long were you employed with the department the first time?—A. 1917 and 1918.

The COURT. That is October 11, 1918, to be accurate?

The WITNESS. Yes.

Q. And you went back when?—A. January, 1919.

Q. And are you still employed by the department?—A. Yes; as an investigator.

Q. And as such investigator what have been your duties from the period of your employment?—A. Well, I have been requested—

Q. Never mind what you have been requested to do.—A. Investigate radical movements.

Q. By that you mean you have investigated the activities and constitutions of various radical movements and groups in the United States?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And do you know from your work whether there is such a party in the United States as the Communist Labor Party?

Mr. BOUDIN. I object to that as calling for conclusion.

The COURT. I will allow it.

(Exception.)

A. Yes, sir.

Q. You say there is such a party?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You are a member of the Communist Labor Party?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long have you been a member of the Communist Labor Party.—A. Since June, 1919.

Q. Do you know of a convention held by the Communist Labor Party in the city of Chicago?—A. Yes, I am—

Mr. DREWEN. One minute; that question has not been finished yet.

Mr. BOUDIN. I would like to have a chance to object.

The COURT. Don't answer, Mr. Witness, until the question has been fully asked you.

Q. On or about the 29th of August, 1919—

Mr. BOUDIN. I object—

Mr. DREWEN. I have not finished the question yet.

Q. And continuing until about the 5th day of September, 1919?

Mr. BOUDIN. I object on the ground that this is calling for a conclusion of the witness.

The COURT. I am rather inclined to think that it is; I will allow him to answer yes or no.

Mr. BOUDIN. May I ask for an exception?

The COURT. You may have an exception.

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And was there such a convention?

Mr. BOUDIN. I object to that on the ground that it calls for a conclusion.

The COURT. I will permit you now to cross-examine him on the question of his knowledge.

Mr. BOUDIN. I should say it would be in place for them to bring out the facts; I don't like to open the door. If I ask the man how he knew, he is entitled to say anything he wants to say.

The COURT. Not if it turns out to be simply hearsay.

Mr. BOUDIN. With that understanding—

The COURT. Oh, yes; this court is here to protect both you and the State.

Cross-examination by Mr. BOUDIN:

Q. Now, Mr. Bernhard, you say you have been a member of the Communist Labor Party since June, 1919?—A. Well—

Q. Just answer it, you was or was not?—A. I don't have to answer that question yes or no; I am going to give an explanation.

The COURT. No; just answer it.

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, where was the Communist Party to be formed?—A. In Chicago.

Q. When?

Mr. DREWEN. I don't think that is a material question or necessary in view of the fact that this man said he was a member of it.

Mr. BOUDIN. I say he was not a member since June; I know there was no such party.

Q. When was that party formed, Mr. Bernhard?—A. It was formed in Chicago at the convention.

Q. When was that convention held—the Communist Party of which you claim to be a member?—A. August 31, I believe.

Q. Now, how have you been a member of it since June if it was only formed in Chicago August 31; I suppose you are speaking of 1919?—A. Decidedly. Very simple; I consider myself a member of the Communist Party of America because I made out my application in June.

Q. How could you have made out your application in June before it was ever formed?—A. I made application to the Socialist Party which later called themselves the Communist Party. Will you allow me to state the business of that convention—

The COURT. I understand.

Q. Now, Mr. Bernhard, did you ever see a call issued for calling a convention of the Communist Labor Party?—A. No; I have not.

Q. Were you a delegate in such convention?—A. No, sir.

Q. You were a delegate?—A. No, sir.

Q. You were not. Were you in Chicago in September or August or October of 1919?—A. I was not.

Q. And all you know about the alleged organization of the Communist Labor Party there was what you read in newspapers?—A. No.

Q. Or what somebody told you?—A. A delegate told me.

Mr. BOUDIN. I move to strike that out, the word "delegate."

The COURT. No; I will not strike out the word "delegate," but it's apparent that this man knew that such a convention was to be held by hearsay evidence. You make that apparent; that is the purpose of your cross-examination.

Further direct examination by Mr. DREWEN:

Q. Mr. Bernhard, you—

The COURT. You better withdraw that question, so that there will be no mistake. I will strike out both questions and answer of this witness as to his knowledge of the Communist Labor Party convention in August, 1919; I will strike that out and direct the jury to disregard it.

Q. Mr. Bernhard, when did this rupture between the Socialist and Communist Party which you have described take place?

Mr. BOUDIN. I object to that as calling for a conclusion.

The COURT. I will allow it.

Mr. BOUDIN. May I have an exception?

The COURT. Yes; you may have an exception.

A. The Communist Party or Communist Labor Party?

Mr. BOUDIN. There is no evidence that it was the Communist Labor Party.

The COURT. His answer regarding his knowledge of the convention was stricken out.

Q. Mr. Bernhard, when did this rupture between the Socialist and Communist Party which you have described take place?

Mr. BOUDIN. I object to that.

The COURT. I will allow it and you may have an exception.

A. Well, to my knowledge of the split, it was begun between the Communist Party and the Socialist Party, and only dates back as far, I would say, as June, 1919. There was at that time—I want to elaborate on that because your question is very hard to answer—

Q. Answer it in your own way.—A. There was a split in the Socialist Party, I understand, the latter part of 1917; my knowledge of it was when I was in Buffalo in the year 1919. That's where I was actually interested in radical movement, and there was no Communist Party up to that time, but there was a split in the camp of the Socialist Party.

Q. Do you know whether any party such as the Communist Party ever came in existence?

Mr. BOUDIN. I object to that as having no ground in this case.

The COURT. He is asked if he knows.

Q. Do you know whether any party such as the Communist Party ever came in existence?—A. Yes, sir.

The COURT. How do you know that?

The WITNESS. I happen to be an officer of the party, your honor.

Q. Officer of the Communist Party?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And that was at Buffalo, N. Y?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And what was your business?—A. Recording secretary.

Q. Now, have you ever known members of the Communist Labor Party?

Mr. BOUDIN. I object. That is calling for a conclusion and is also irrelevant.

The COURT. I will allow him to answer yes or no.

A. Yes, sir.

Q. In what State and over what territory have you known members of the Communist Labor Party?

Mr. BOUDIN. Same objection.

Q. I mean to speak to and associate with these members.—A. I have known members from Detroit and Syracuse.

Q. Were they members of that party in Buffalo?—A. No; one was organized over in Syracuse and others were—

Mr. BOUDIN. That I move to strike out; I assume it is referring to the Communist Labor Party.

The COURT. I will allow it.

Mr. BOUDIN. May I have an exception?

The COURT. Yes.

Q. Do you know any members of that party in the city of Chicago?—A. No, I am not acquainted in Chicago.

Q. Do you know any members in Buffalo?—A. We did not have the Communist Labor Party there at all.

Q. How about New York City?—A. Not acquainted in New York City.

Q. Now, have you ever discussed with these men with whom you associated, whom you know to be members of the Communist Labor Party, the constitution and progress of that party?

The COURT. Yes or no.

A. Yes, sir.

Q. How often have you done that, and with how many different members would you say?—A. Well, I have seen approximately 100 of the Communist Labor Party.

Mr. BOUDIN. I would like to enter an objection for the same reason. If what counsel really means is people purporting to be members of the party and if it were put in that form, I would have no objection; but in the form it is put, I think there is objection.

The COURT. You are on very tender ground, I admit. I will allow it.

(Previous question and answer read by stenographer.)

Q. Now, I didn't ask how many you saw; I asked how many you met to speak to and discuss the progress of the party. Will you answer that please?—A. Well, I believe that I talked with almost every one of the members about the constitution or general management of the party.

Q. Did these men ever exhibit what purported to be the constitution of the Communist Labor Party?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Would you know that constitution if you saw it?—A. Very much so.

Q. Your speak and read German, do you not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. I show you a paper pamphlet "Marked S-1" for identification, and ask you if you can state whether or not that is the constitution of the Communist Labor Party?

Mr. BOUDIN. I object. It is not competent and not binding upon the defendant.

The COURT. I will sustain the objection.

Mr. BREWIN. Of course, the theory of the State is that this point, if the court please, to prove this paper and its contents and meaning by members and persons claiming to be members of the Communist Labor Party so as to give this paper a standing as such, at least until it is contradicted by anyone seeking to upset it.

The COURT. Is that the way to prove this? First you lay the foundation by a question asking this man whether he knew any members of the Communist Labor Party of America and whether or not he had discussed with them what purported to be the constitution and principles of this organization, and he says yes. You then offer him a paper and say, "Is that the constitution and principles of the Communist Labor Party of America?"

Mr. BREWIN. If that is the point, I will reframe it.

Q. Have you discussed with these men whom you knew to be members of the Communist Labor Party the constitution and program of that party?

Mr. BOUDIN. I object.

The COURT. Objection sustained.

Mr. BREWIN. That is all.

(No cross-examination.)

The charge of the use of undercover agents in entering the Communist Party and stimulating its action in violation of the law has gone throughout the country and it is based upon cases of that character. Cummerow is evidently the same man that Mr. Ralston was inquiring about when he asked, in his letter to the chairman, that I should be told to describe Mr. Cameron, an undercover agent. There is no undercover agent, there is no agent of any kind, and there is no employee of the Department of Justice by the name of Cameron, and I suppose Cummerow was meant. Cummerow testified in the case as to the proceedings of the Communist Labor Party which he had entered as you or I or anybody could have entered, because it was an open convention. He went in with a notebook, sat in the convention, took down the proceedings, and turned them over to the Department of Justice. I make no apology for that; I did not direct that it should be done, but I knew that sort of thing was being done by the Bureau of Investigation. I know it has to be done; we must have information about these things and we propose to continue it.

CASE OF THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE'S HOUSE.

Now, as to the raid on the Russian People's House, New York, referred to on page 16 of the report. I have had a thorough investigation made of this so-called raid and have in my possession affidavits from a number of individuals. Agent Francisco, who was in charge of the affair, with Sergt. Geegan, of the New York bomb squad, had entered the building and made known their identity. The two left one of the rooms to procure assistance, and as they left several bottles were thrown at them. Agent Edward Anderson, who participated, was on the third floor, where there were about 25 men in one room. After stating the purpose of his visit, and it appearing that the aliens involved were willing to accompany him, Anderson led the way. Upon reaching the head of the steps he was violently pushed and fell down the entire flight, causing bruises on his arm and leg. These two instances started a general disorder of the persons in the house, and it was necessary to call additional assistance in order to handle the men, who openly declared they were ready to fight. Under these conditions it was necessary to take all of the parties involved in the affair to the offices of the department, where they could be examined with some order.

The destruction of property in the building was caused chiefly by boys in the neighborhood who entered the building some time after the officers had left the place.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

County of New York, City of New York, ss:

Frank Francisco, of lawful age, being duly sworn, deposes and says that he is a special agent of the Department of Justice of the United States; that on the night of November 7, 1919, he was in charge of a squad of special agents, and, accompanied by Sergt. James Gegan, of the New York bomb squad of the police department, city of New York, the latter commanding about 25 detectives, proceeded to and entered a house known as the People's House, at 133 East Fifteenth Street, the door of which was wide open, and upon entering the first floor Sergt. Gegan and myself showed our shields and told the occupants who we were. When Sergt. Gegan and myself left the room to secure the help of other detectives, and our backs being turned, several pop bottles were thrown at us, same coming from the rear of the room. While Sergt. Gegan was obtaining assistance, agent informed these men that there was to be no violence or resistance; that we were there to make an investigation, and we wanted their cooperation; that we did not want to apprehend anybody that was innocent.

After I had finished talking, I heard several voices in the rear call the Department of Justice and the police "sons of b——" and other vile names, and one individual shouted: "We are ready to fight." At this time there was a commotion upstairs, and Sergt. Gegan left the ground floor to investigate the matter upstairs, and in his absence several detectives, whose names are unknown to me, came to my assistance, probably saving me from assault, and it was necessary for the police to resist about a dozen men who were in the rear pushing and crowding others in front of them to attack the police and myself. No violence was used on the men in the front of the room, but we forced our way to the rear, where we found the disturbers, and they were immediately taken out of the room, placed in a patrol wagon, and sent to the office of the bureau of investigation, at 15 Park Row, this city.

After these disturbers had been sent to the office of the Department of Justice there was no more trouble on this floor. Investigation showed that a number of these men were prepared for trouble as various parts of the room contained various instruments, such as blackjacks and small "billyes."

Deponent then went to the third floor, which was being used as a school, and found in the front part of the building a class of about 25 men together with a teacher. They were guarded by either police officers or special agents of this department, and I informed them they were to be taken to the office of the Department of Justice where they would be questioned as to their identity. When conveyances were ready, these men were passed out in single file, marched down the stairs, being counted as they left the room, also being counted at the door up to a number as high as 22, as the patrol wagons would not accommodate more than 22 persons. It was necessary to take these precautions in order to get the number of prisoners apprehended, and great caution was taken so as not to cause confusion or a miscount. The stairs used were very narrow and steep, and I recall that I mentioned this fact to Sergt. Gegan, and he had one of his men light a gas jet that had not been lighted, so the prisoners could see where they were going. There was no confusion in removing these 22 men.

As near as I can recall the school teacher was not sent away with these men, but was held downstairs and was brought to the office in a separate cab, accompanied by several women, including Ethel Bernstein and several others.

Deponent then went to the fourth floor and to the best of my recollection there were about four men on this floor, and they were sent downstairs unaccompanied to the ground floor, I notifying Sergt. Gegan and the rest of his men that four men were coming down unaccompanied.

Deponent was instructed by Agent Charles J. Scully to obtain evidence, such as books, records, and cards of the organization known as the Union of Russian Workers, and in a small room on the top floor I found a quantity of books, cards which were confiscated and brought to the office. In this room were two typewriters with Russian keyboards. The typewriters not being evidence, same were left behind. I was one of the last persons to leave this building, and as I was leaving there was a crowd of about 100 people on the outside and I was asked if any objection would be made to their entering the building. I saw at least 25 people enter the building including two reporters of the New York Call, the latter information being obtained from the two men themselves, but none of their credentials were shown to deponent.

After all the prisoners had been sent away I returned to the office of the Department of Justice. On the following day, November 8, 1919, en route to the office of the Workmen and Peasant, a newspaper, at 241 West Thirteenth Street, I stopped at the People's House, found the door open and there saw two men sitting in the room who had been brought to the office on the night before and questioned and later released. I asked these men what they were doing there and they stated they had chased some boys out of the place after they had found them destroying the property. They said the boys had been kicking pictures, cooking utensils, etc., around the floors of the different rooms, and also had broken a number of windows in the rear of the house. I then went upstairs where I had secured the organization records and found the typewriters above mentioned, had been destroyed. Upon my arrival I noticed that the gas had never been turned out, but had remained lighted all night, making it possible for anyone to enter the building at any time they so chose, especially as the house was mainly a place of curiosity for the people in the neighborhood, especially the children.

In several bookcases where we had removed books, the same had been thrown on the floor, thereby breaking same.

FRANK FRANCISCO.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 28th day of May, 1920.

[SEAL.]

GRAHAM L. RICE,
Notary Public.

Term expires March 30, 1922.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

County of New York, City of New York, ss:

Edward Anderson, of lawful age, being duly sworn, deposes and says:

That he is a special agent of the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice.

That on the night of November 7, 1919, pursuant to instructions received, he, with other agents of the New York office of bureau, proceeded to 133 East Fifteenth Street, New York City, which number designates a building known as the Russian People's House, which building was known to me as being the headquarters of the Union of Russian Workers; that upon arriving at the aforementioned People's House I was directed by Agent Francisco to proceed to the third floor of this house, where there were collected some 25 men, said men being together in a large room; that in order to ascertain the identity of these men to determine whether or not they were members of the Union of Russian Workers, I requested all of them to follow me downstairs.

Deponent further states that upon noticing the willingness of the aforementioned persons to follow him downstairs, he led the way, and upon reaching the head of the stairs was violently pushed and thrown down the entire flight, causing bruises on his arm and leg; that about this time some person lighted a light and the men then came down the stairs in a single file and in an orderly manner, which showed that deponent was deliberately pushed down the stairs.

Deponent further sets forth that neither at the People's House, located at 133 East Fifteenth Street, nor at the bureau office, located at 15 Park Row, did he see any assault committed on any person.

EDWARD ANDERSON.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 28th day of May, 1920.

[SEAL.]

GRAHAM L. RICE,
Notary Public.

Term expires March 30, 1922.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

County of New York, City of New York, ss:

Harry C. Leslie, of lawful age, being duly sworn, deposes and says:

That he is a special agent of the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice.

That on the night of November 7, 1919, he reported to Agent Francisco at the People's House, 133 East Fifteenth Street, New York City, and was assigned to the front door to count prisoners as they were about to enter automobiles to be brought to the Department of Justice office. I was accompanied by several police officers, whose names I do not know, and remained at this post until Agent Francisco left, we being the last of the Department of Justice agents to leave. I saw every prisoner leave the People's House, but did not see any acts of violence.

On November 8, 1919, the following morning, I accompanied Agent Francisco to the People's House, and from the condition of the house it appeared as if some persons had been there after the agents and police had left the place on the night of November 7, as papers and books were strewn all about the floor.

HARRY C. LESLIE.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 28th day of May, 1920.

[SEAL.]

GRAHAM L. RICE, Notary Public.

Term expires March 30, 1922.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

County of New York, City of New York, ss:

John L. Haas, of lawful age, being duly sworn, doth depose and say:

I am a special agent of the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice that on the night of November 7, 1919, pursuant to instructions from Special Agent Scully of this bureau, I proceeded to 133 East Fifteenth Street, known as the People's House, of the Union of Russian Workers, accompanied by other agents of the Department of Justice, and members of the New York police department, at about 9 p. m. I entered this house together with these officers and proceeded to the top floor, where a number of men and women were congregated, and assisted in the search of the men for weapons. I then proceeded to the floor below, still accompanied by officers and other agents, where a similar search was made of the persons on this floor. I then proceeded to the lower, or parlor, floor, and while standing in the hallway, saw a group of men coming down the stairs in what appeared to be an effort to escape by the front door,

which was guarded by two police officers, who held them back and caused a crowding on the stairs, some of them climbed over and jumped over the banisters, landing in the lower hall; some of them fell to the floor and others landed on top of them. They were all finally put into the large rooms on the parlor floor; this crowding caused the banisters to break. One of these men struck me on the chest and attempted to get down the basement stairs, but I held him until one of the officers assisted in putting him into the parlor-floor room.

I did not strike or assault any person during the proceedings on the night of November 7, nor did I see any other agent of the Department of Justice strike or assault any person, either at the People's House, or while en route to the bureau office, or after arrival at the bureau office; nor did I see any agent of the Department of Justice break any furniture or equipment at the People's House. I was the last man to leave this place, carrying the papers and seized literature to the office of the bureau.

JOHN L. HAAS.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 30th day of May, 1920.

[SEAL.]

GRAHAM L. RICE,
Notary Public.

Term expires March 30, 1922.

CASE OF NICOLAI MELIKOFF.

Page 19, exhibit 2c, Nicolai Melikoff: I have the affidavits from individuals present at the time, all of which state unqualifiedly that at no time were any moneys taken from Melikoff, nor was he, either at the time of arrest, en route to the office, at the office, or thereafter in any manner assaulted.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

County of New York, City of New York, ss:

Frank Francisco, of lawful age, being duly sworn, deposes and says:

That he is a special agent of the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice, and attached to the New York Division;

That on March 3, 1920, in company with Mr. James A. Kennedy, a special agent of this bureau, and in the presence of James W. Dillon and Miss Eva Brice, stenographers, a statement was taken from one Nick Melnikoff, residence 342 East Thirteenth Street, New York City;

That at no time were any moneys whatsoever taken from said Melnikoff, neither was Melnikoff assaulted by any person, either prior to coming to this office, at the office of bureau, or until the time of his delivery to Ellis Island; that to the contrary Melnikoff was treated in a very courteous manner. He readily answered all questions asked of him, admitted membership in the Union of Russian Workers; also that he was an organizer; that he apparently welcomed the fact that he would probably be deported to Russia.

FRANK FRANCISCO.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 26th day of May, 1920.

[SEAL.]

GRAHAM L. RICE,
Notary Public.

Term expires March 30, 1922.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

County of New York, City of New York, ss:

Harry C. Leslie, of lawful age, being duly sworn, deposes and says:

That he is a special agent of the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice, attached to the New York Division:

That on March 3, 1920, in company with Special Agent James A. Kennedy, he proceeded to Greenpoint, Brooklyn, where he located one Nick Melnikoff, and with Agent Kennedy brought said Melnikoff to the New York office of the bureau, where Melnikoff was questioned by Agent Francisco; that neither at the time of arrest, en route to the office, nor at the office, was any assault made upon the person of said Melnikoff, nor at no time was any moneys taken from Melnikoff.

HARRY C. LESLIE.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 28th day of May, 1920.

[SEAL.]

GRAHAM L. RICE,
Notary Public.

Term expires March 30, 1922.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

County of New York, City of New York, ss:

James A. Kennedy, of lawful age, being duly sworn, deposes and says:

That he is a special agent of the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice and attached to the New York Office.

That on March 3, 1920, in company with Agent Harry C. Lealie, he brought to the office of bureau, one Nick Melnikoff, residence 342 East Thirteenth Street, New York City; that at the office of bureau said Melnikoff was questioned in deponent's presence, by Agent Frank Francisco, and his statement was taken in shorthand notes by James W. Dillon and Miss Eva Brice, stenographers.

Deponent further states that at no time were any moneys taken from Melnikoff, nor was he assaulted, either at the time of arrest, en route to the office, at the office, nor at any other time to the best of deponent's knowledge and belief.

JAMES A. KENNEDY.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 28th day of May, 1920.

[SEAL.]

GRAHAM L. RICE,
Notary Public.

Term expires March 30, 1922.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

County of New York, City of New York, ss:

Charles J. Scully, of lawful age, being duly sworn, deposes and says:

That he is an agent of the New York office of the Bureau of Investigation, of the Department of Justice; that on March 3, 1920, he was in the office of bureau at the time Nick Melnikoff, residence 342 East Thirteenth Street, New York City, was being questioned by agents Francisco and Kennedy, and that at no time was said Melnikoff threatened or assaulted, nor was any money whatsoever taken from said Melnikoff.

Deponent further states that Melnikoff advised that he was pleased with the possibility of an early return to Russia, and the only question he asked of the agents of this bureau was the means whereby his hiding place was known.

Deponent further states that a copy of the statement made by said Melnikoff under date of March 3, 1920, was forwarded to the Washington office of bureau, for the attention of Mr. J. E. Hoover.

CHARLES J. SCULLY.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 28th day of May, 1920.

[SEAL.]

GRAHAM L. RICE,
Notary Public.

Term expires March 30, 1922.

CHARGE OF BRUTALITY IN NEW YORK.

A large portion of the contents of the report of the 12 self-constituted guardians of the American liberties issued by the National Popular Government League, is given over to a description of the conditions existing in New York City, following the arrests of members of the anarchistic organization, the union of Russian workers, and members of the Communist Parties of America.

I have at hand affidavits made by the division superintendent, George F. Lamb, of the New York City office of the Bureau of Investigation and by special agent Charles A. Scully, in charge of the radical division of the New York office of the Bureau of Investigation. It will be noted from these affidavits, made by men whose reputation for integrity I do not believe can be questioned by the radicals themselves, state that their attention had been called to the charges of certain persons that brutality had been indulged in by agents of that office, and as a result of these charges thorough inquiries were made and that there has not been disclosed up to the present time any foundation for such charges.

It is further stated that both of these officers of the Department of Justice were present in the New York office during the entire course of the examinations on the nights stated and that at no time was any brutality witnessed nor observation made of the use of improper language.

Likewise considerable space is given in this report of the National Popular Government League, to the conditions existing at the People's House on the night of the raid and statements made that the Department of Justice agents brutally beat up persons found in that place. It will be seen from the affidavits that none of the agents of the Department of Justice committed any assault upon any person found at the People's House or was any assault committed en route to the Department of Justice office or at the office.

Cases of individual aliens mentioned in this report of the 12 learned attorneys I shall deal with in detail and it will be seen from the affidavits referred to in each of these cases that there is no foundation for the statements.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

County of New York, City of New York, ss:

George F. Lamb, being duly sworn, states as follows:

I am division superintendent in the Department of Justice, assigned to the Bureau of Investigation at New York City; that on November 7, 1919, numerous arrests on deportation warrants were made of members of the organization known as the Union of Russian Workers. These arrests were made with the aid of the local police, supervised by agents of the Department of Justice. The parties arrested were conveyed by automobiles to the bureau office at 15 Park Row, where the examination took place.

My attention has been called to charges made that various persons so arrested were assaulted by agents of the Department of Justice either at the place where the arrest was made or after being brought to the office of the Bureau of Investigation. These charges were made in various forms shortly after November 7, and were investigated by me at that time. I questioned all of the agents who had taken part in the arrests, and they denied having struck or otherwise assaulted any person on that occasion. The examination conducted at the bureau was under my immediate supervision. I was present throughout the whole period of the examination, which did not terminate until about 4.30 a. m., November 8.

A number of agents had been designated as examiners, the examinations taking place in the various rooms of the bureau. All of these rooms are connecting, and it would be practically impossible to make a noise or create a disturbance in one room which would not be heard in several of the adjacent rooms.

Mr. William J. Flynn, director of the Bureau of Investigation, was also present during the entire period of examination, and frequently walked through the offices to see how the examiners were progressing.

Being in charge of the bureau, I felt that I was personally responsible for the proper conduct of the examinations, and all through the night visited each examiner in turn to see how he was progressing. At no time did I see or hear of anyone being assaulted, nor did I hear any improper language applied to any of the persons being examined. I have inquired of every agent who was connected in any way with the Union of Russian Workers matter on November 7, if he struck or assaulted, or encouraged anybody else to strike or assault any of the parties arrested on that occasion, either in the rooms of the Bureau of Investigation at 15 Park Row or at any place outside of said bureau, and each agent has denied having struck or assaulted anyone on that occasion or having subjected a prisoner to improper treatment of any kind.

GEORGE F. LAMB,
Division Superintendent.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 2d day of June, 1920.

[SEAL.]

JOS. P. RUDY,
Notary Public, District of Columbia.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

County of New York, City of New York, ss:

Charles J. Scully, of lawful age, being duly sworn, doth depose and say:

I am a special agent of the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice, and that during the past year I have been engaged as special agent in charge of the Radical Division; that in answer to charges made by an organization known as the National Popular Government League in a recent publication issued by said league, to the effect that certain persons and members of an organization known as the Union of Russian Workers were assaulted at the time of arrest at a so-called raid at the Peoples House, located at 133 East Fifteenth Street, New York City, N. Y., and also that said persons and members of the Union of Russian Workers when brought to the office of bureau were subjected to what the aforementioned publication characterizes "Third degree of inquisition," I hereby state that I have made inquiries of various agents acting under my direction, who were present at the aforementioned Peoples House on the evening of November 7, 1919, and that I have been informed by said agents that they did not commit any assault upon any person found at said Peoples House, or was any person assaulted by them en route from the aforesaid Peoples House to the office of bureau located at 21 Park Row, New York City, nor did they witness any assault made on any person at the office of bureau during or after the examination of the persons brought to said office.

That as agent in charge of the Radical Division, acting under the supervision of Director William J. Flynn and Division Superintendent George F. Lamb, I directed the examinations of the various persons brought to the office of bureau on the night of November 7, 1919, and on succeeding days, and that at no time did I witness an assault made on any person at the office of bureau, in the street, or elsewhere, either by an agent of the Department of Justice or by any police officer, nor was I informed by an agent of the Department of Justice or police officer that any person had been assaulted at the New York office of bureau, nor was there any complaint registered with me by any person or member of the Union of Russian Workers that said person or member had been assaulted at the office of bureau.

I have also made inquiries to ascertain if threats or abusive language was used against any person or member of the Union of Russian Workers, and I have been advised that neither threats nor abusive language was used.

I further state that prior to the visit of the agents engaged under my direction, to the Peoples House at 133 East Fifteenth Street, New York, I cautioned against resorting to violence when taking into custody those persons for whom warrants of deportation had been issued, which warrants had been furnished me by the officials of the Department of Labor.

I further state that several days following November 7, in company with Agents Leslie and Davis, I visited Ellis Island to return to those members of the Union of Russian Workers who were held for deportation proceedings, such property as had been taken from them prior to their being held, and while on Ellis Island I saw the various persons held as Union of Russian Workers leave the rooms in which they were confined to visit the dining room, and I failed to see any person bearing marks or bruises indicating that they had been assaulted.

CHARLES J. SCULLY.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 30th day of May, 1920.

[SEAL.]

GRAHAM L. RICE, *Notary Public.*

Mr. Lamb, who is the head of the New York Bureau of Investigation and who makes this affidavit, is—as I think even these ultra-radical gentlemen themselves will say—a man of high character, great ability, and large experience as an investigator; he has been in various branches of the Government service for a great many years, first in the Treasury Department and finally in the Department of Justice, and my remark about my willingness to accept the statement of a sworn agent of the Government in a matter of this kind has peculiar force with reference to Mr. Lamb, whose statements, in my judgment, are entitled to the fullest weight.

BOSTON CONDITIONS.

Pages 54 to 56, inclusive, of this pamphlet are given over to a discussion of the individual cases in the Boston territory. I do not think I will take the time to read the reports of our agents in reference to these matters and the affidavits I have collected which effectively, completely, and thoroughly refute the charges of the aliens which have been turned over to your committee by this committee of lawyers but will have them go in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. You desire that they shall go in the record?

Mr. PALMER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That may be done.

(Reports and affidavits referred to follow:)

[Case of Mrs. Stanislas Vasiliewska.]

This woman was secretary of the Chelsea branch (Russian) of the Communist Party. No guns were displayed and no handcuffs were placed upon anyone in this party until the men were taken from the police station to the immigration station the following morning. When the daughter was sent home at about midnight, an offer was made to Mrs. Vasiliewska, to have an officer accompany the child but the mother insisted it was needless on account of the very short distance the girl would have to go. So far as conditions of her confinement after being delivered to the immigration authorities at the dock, where she claims she was locked in a certain place, this department was not at that time responsible for her, but I have had this matter looked into also and have affidavits from at least two of the agents who participated in the case, which deny the charges.

[Case of Charles Michaelson.]

The hall referred to was a well-known meeting place for the local branch of the Communist Party and contained all the usual appurtenances, including the library and records. Those men taken were asked to go to the police station, five of them who preferred to ride were taken in an auto, and the others walked. They were "booked" as suspicious persons under the local statute as referred to above. The following morning they were released. While detained, none of the men were denied food or water, and they were permitted to use the telephone to communicate with relatives or friends. I have here affidavits substantiating this.

[Case of Minnie Federman.]

Minnie Federman, an American citizen; arrested 6 a. m. January 3, in her bedroom by six or seven men. No warrant shown. Was refused permission to dress in the next room; dressed in the closet while officer held the handle of the door. Room searched, mattress ripped up; witness detained several hours at the police station and city prison, and then released.

She was one of the most prominent members of the I. W. W. in the Boston district; was taken into custody upon United States immigration warrant No. 54810/137, dated December 29, 1919, from the Department of Labor, duly shown to her. She was given ample and appropriate opportunity to dress, following which she was conveyed to the nearest police station, where shortly afterwards, and upon verification of her naturalization, she was released from custody. All property taken from her was returned at the time of her release, excepting certain Communist literature. I have affidavits supporting the above.

[Case of Annie Valinskas.]

The next case cited on page 55, of the printed report, was an active member of the Lithuanian branch of the Communist Party. Her husband was an organizer. None of the persons taken into custody at the hall were handcuffed until they were leaving the police station for the train on which the trip was made from Nashua to Boston, and during the trip the handcuffs were removed. Oral permission was given by Annie Valinskas for the search of her room, and she admitted ownership of the suitcase referred to. With regard to the rooms in which the women were confined, I have to say that commodious quarters had been provided for them, but were shamefully abused by the occupants, who also indulged in indecent language. I also have affidavits covering this case.

[Case of Frank Mack.]

Also, on page 55, there are charges from one Frank Mack to the effect that an unsigned warrant which did not name him was served, and certain other features which appear in the text. The arrest warrant for this man was numbered 54810-71, and was duly signed at Washington, and contained the name of Frank Mack. It was served by a deputy United States marshal. There was no coercion or violence in any form. Mack answered questions freely, and later openly commended the conduct of the representatives of the Department of Justice. As to conditions on Deer Island, Mack testified he received three blankets on the night of his first day there, and on the following day three additional ones, and a cot and mattress. Attention here is called to the fact that the Department of Justice has no control over sanitary or other conditions at Deer Island, as that is a station under the jurisdiction of the Department of Labor. However, both Commissioner O'Brien and his assistant, George W. Holden, in direct charge at Deer Island, testified under oath that ample provision for sanitary arrangements, food, and bedding, was made in advance. I offer the affidavit of the officer who served the warrant upon Mack.

[Case of Ernest Liberman.]

The next case, on page 55, is that of Ernest Liberman, the only charge not answered in another part of my reply being his objection to being photographed while in chains. In the habeas corpus proceedings before Judge Anderson it was shown that representatives of the Department of Justice were not responsible for these photographs, which were made after the aliens had been turned over to the Department of Labor. Some of the newspaper photographers who made the photographs have also made affidavits which explain the matter satisfactorily.

[Case of Oluf L. Root.]

The case of Oluf L. Root does not differ materially from those just discussed. However, I have an affidavit covering this case thoroughly, and offer the same.

EXHIBIT 1.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,

Suffolk, ss:

I, the undersigned, Fred J. Weyand, a resident of the city of Boston and the State of Massachusetts, on oath depose and say:

That I am a special agent of the Bureau of Investigation of the United States Department of Justice, and, under instructions, was assigned during the Communist raids, so-called, on the night of January 2, 1920, to the city of Chelsea, Mass.

That I was accompanied at that time by special agent Ernest Irish of the Washington, D. C., office of the bureau.

That, in accordance with instructions issued, I visited the hall of the Chelsea, Mass., Russian branch of the Communist Party of America, situated at Loew's Hall, in said Chelsea, where I took into custody Stella Wesolowska, alias Vasiliewska, the secretary of that local.

That at the time of visiting the above hall about 20 persons found therein were questioned by me and those found to be aliens and who admitted being members of the Communist Party were removed to the police station.

That approximately 13 such persons were taken to the police station and their names given to the bureau office for telegraphic warrants of arrest in cases in which warrants did not exist.

That the persons taken from the hall were not handcuffed and that no handcuffs were placed on any men until they were conveyed from there to the immigration station next morning.

That there were no guns displayed and that I did not carry a gun.

That I offered to send an officer home with the daughter of Mrs. Wesolowska but was informed by Mrs. Wesolowska there was no need of so doing as she had but a short distance to go, and the child was permitted to go home unaccompanied for that reason.

That I saw no woman at the police station who was in a pregnant condition and that the only other woman taken with Mrs. Wesolowska was permitted to go with her husband, who had also been found at the hall, at about 11.30 p. m.

That the next morning, January 3, I took Mrs. Wesolowska to the boat landing of the Deer Island boat, at Boston, and delivered her at the wharf into the custody of the officials of the United States Immigration Service, to Inspector of Immigration

M. C. Macomber in charge there, and I at no time saw her placed in any so-called toilet but understood she was taken in charge by the matron from Deer Island and placed in the women's detention room.

And I further, on oath, depose and say that I conducted myself in a gentlemanly manner, used violence toward no person, and did everything I could do to assist and to make easy the burdens of those arrested.

FRED J. WEYAND, *Special Agent*.

Personally appeared before me at Boston, Mass., this 28th day of May, 1920, the above-named Fred J. Weyand, who made oath and subscribed to the above statements.

[SEAL.]

JOHN M. CARNEY, *Notary Public*.

EXHIBIT 2.

CITY OF WASHINGTON,
District of Columbia, ss:

I, the undersigned, Ernest O. Irish, a resident of the city of Washington, D. C., on oath depose and say:

That I am a special agent of the Bureau of Investigation of the United States Department of Justice, and under instructions was assigned to the Communist raids, so called, on the night of January 2, 1920, to Chelsea, Mass., to assist Special Agent Fred J. Weyand, of the Boston (Mass.) office of the bureau.

That the Chelsea, Mass., Russian branch of the Communist Party of America at Loew's Hall was visited, where Stella Wesolowska, alias Vasiliewska, the secretary of the Chelsea local branch, was taken into custody.

That no one of those taken into custody at this time was handcuffed during the period between the arrest and lodgment at the police station.

That there were no guns displayed at any time during the period from the visit to the hall at Chelsea (Mass.) and confinement at the police station.

That I personally know that an offer was made through Special Agent Weyand to Mrs. Wesolowska to have a police officer accompany the daughter of Mrs. Wesolowska to her home, but that this offer was declined as the latter declared that there would be no necessity to have anyone accompany her.

And it is also my impression that friends of the Wesolowskas were present who accompanied the daughter from the police station upon her departure.

That I had no further participation in the Chelsea matter after the night of January 2 and therefore am uninformed as to the possible basis for any of the charges made in connection with Mrs. Wesolowska other than that I have never heard anything which would give me the slightest reason to believe that there is any basis for any of the charges made.

ERNEST O. IRISH, *Special Agent*.

Personally appeared before me at Washington, D. C., this 29th day of May, 1920, the above-named Ernest O. Irish, who made oath and subscribed to the above statements.

[SEAL.]

J. ARTHUR RUSSELL, *Notary Public*.

EXHIBIT 3.

I, Clarence D. McKean, of Portland, in the county of Cumberland, and State of Maine, on oath depose and say:

That I am a special agent of the Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, and on January 2, 1920, was in charge of the Communists raids at Lynn, Mass.

I further depose and say that the hall located at 120 Market Street, Lynn, Mass., is the headquarters of the Lynn branch of the Communist Party of America and a well known meeting place of members of this party; that on January 2, prior to the raid, I received information that a meeting of the Lynn local of the Communist Party was being held at 120 Market Street; that acting upon this information, Martin T. Tevlin, special agent of this bureau, proceeded, at my direction, to the hall at 120 Market Street, accompanied by several officers of the Lynn police department, where a mass of Communist literature was uncovered and 39 men found assembled; that these persons, together with the literature, were taken to the Lynn police station and the men regularly booked on the police blotter as "suspects" pursuant to a statute of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, authorizing the arrest of suspicious persons.

I further depose and say that on the following morning, January 3, it having been ascertained that these men had met for lawful purposes, to wit, to discuss the organization of a corporation to engage in the baking business, and that only one of them was member of the Communist Party, the remaining persons, 38 in all, were taken before the judge of the municipal court for the city of Lynn and discharged according to law.

I further depose and say that to my knowledge, food and water were not denied them and that no requests came to my attention from persons arrested, to use the telephone; that no guns, handcuffs, or clubs were displayed or violence of any kind used.

CLARENCE D. MCKEAN.

STATE OF MAINE,
County of Cumberland, ss:

MAY 28, 1920.

Personally appeared the above-named Clarence D. McKean and made oath to the truth of the foregoing declaration by him subscribed before me.

[SEAL.]

EDMUND P. MAHONEY, *Notary Public.*

EXHIBIT 4.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,
Suffolk, ss:

BOSTON, MASS., May 28, 1920.

I, the undersigned, Martin T. Tevlin, on oath, depose and say:

That I am a special agent of the Bureau of Investigation of the United States Department of Justice, assigned to duty at the Boston divisional office of the said bureau.

That on the night of January 2, 1920, in pursuance of my duties, I was assigned to the city of Lynn, Mass.

That while there it was ascertained that a meeting was in progress at the hall situated at 120 Market Street in said Lynn, which hall has been well-known as the meeting place of a local of the Communist Party of America.

That, pursuant to instructions, I, in company with about five police officers from the city of Lynn, visited the said hall where 39 persons were found conducting a meeting.

That in this hall were found several hundred applications for membership in the Communist Party of America, a library of Communist literature, and other papers and publications bearing the mark of being the property of the Lynn branch of the Communist Party.

That in view of the fact that the records of the meeting then in progress were in a foreign tongue with which I was unacquainted, the persons there assembled were taken to the Lynn police station, five who signified their desire to ride being taken in a Ford touring car, while the remainder walked to the police station with myself and two officers.

That at the police station these men, in accordance with the Massachusetts statute, were booked as suspicious persons, and the next morning, in accordance with the same statute, taken before the police court and all but one discharged.

That these men were at no time denied food nor water.

That they were during the night permitted the freedom of the cell room and were not locked in the cells; and that at no time during the night did anyone of these men request me for permission to use the telephone to speak to his wife, nor did any one of these men, at any time during the night, request me to notify his wife.

And I further, on oath, depose and say:

That at the time of visiting the hall at 120 Market Street there was no gun display, nor did I even have a gun on my person, nor did I, myself, nor anybody else to my knowledge, use any violence toward any person taken into custody.

MARTIN T. TEVLIN,

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 28th day of May, 1920.

[SEAL.]

JOHN M. CARNEY, *Notary Public.*

EXHIBIT 5.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,
Suffolk, ss:

I, the undersigned, William J. West, assistant division superintendent of the Bureau of Investigation of the United States Department of Justice, at Boston, Mass., on oath, depose and say:

That, under supervision of my chief, Division Superintendent George E. Kelleher, I was in charge of the arrests made in this district.

That on January 2, 1920, immigration warrant No. 54810/71, issued at Washington, D. C., on December 29, 1919, for the arrest of one Frank Mack, was handed to then Deputy United States Marshal Backus for execution; that I saw this warrant, saw that it contained the name of the alien Mack, and, from 10 years' experience in the United States Immigration Service, recognized it as an immigration warrant properly issued, and that when Mr. Mack states the warrant was unsigned and did not include his name, he is at least laboring under a misapprehension.

That I was present throughout the entire proceedings in the habeas corpus petitions brought before Judge George W. Anderson, in April, 1919, and heard Mr. Mack testify under oath that on the first day of his confinement at Deer Island immigrant station he received three blankets but did not receive them until about 11 that night, and that the next day he received three more, making a total of six blankets which he had in his cell, and also heard him state he had a mattress on his cot.

That during the above habeas corpus proceedings I talked with Mr. Mack, who informed me that the agents "were all real men," that they were all gentlemanly, and that absolutely no fault could be found with the agents of the Department of Justice, and his only objection to anything in the whole affair was the appearance of photographs in the newspapers.

That at a protest meeting held in Convention Hall, Boston, Mass., February 23, 1920, one Charles Bauman, an alien who had been arrested, although finding fault with the immigration proceedings, openly lauded the agents of the Department of Justice and testified to the good treatment received while in their custody.

That during the above-mentioned habeas corpus proceedings, the undersigned talked with Morris Katzeff, counsel for the alien Communists, and was informed by Mr. Katzeff that while the proceedings in general were objected to he had no criticism to make of the agents of the Department of Justice, which was confirmed by his statement to this effect in open court and also by the statement of Lawrence G. Brooks, who assisted him during these proceedings.

That, with reference to the case of Miss Minnie Federman, a member of the Communist Party and known to the affiant as one of the most prominent members of the I. W. W. in this district, and a person concerning whose activities we have received complaints again within the last few days, an immigration warrant, No. 54810/137, bearing date of December 29, 1919, was issued by Acting Secretary of Labor John W. Abercrombie for her arrest and by the affiant delivered to Agent R. W. Valkenburgh for execution; that Miss Federman was taken into custody at her home, 173 Braddock Park, Boston, Mass., on January 3, 1920, conveyed to the nearest police station, No. 5, and shortly afterwards when her naturalization was verified, was released from custody; and that I, of my own knowledge, saw Miss Federman later at the bureau office receive from Agent Valkenburgh the papers taken from her, or at least such papers belonging to her as were at the bureau office.

And I further depose and say that instructions issued by me to the agents operating in this district were to conduct themselves in a manner becoming officers of the department, to take into custody under no consideration any American citizens, and if any through mistake should be taken to release them immediately, and at no time has there come to my attention any complaint relative to any harsh treatment or violence of any degree toward those taken into custody on January 2, but, to the contrary, as enumerated above, in talks with persons arrested I have been informed they had no criticism to make concerning the conduct of the agents of this bureau.

WILLIAM J. WEST.

Then personally appeared before me, at Boston, Mass., this 28th day of May, 1920, the above-named William J. West, who made oath and subscribed to the above statements.

[SEAL.]

JOHN M. CARNEY, Notary Public.

EXHIBIT C.

MAY 28, 1920.

STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE,
County of Cheshire, ss:

I, the undersigned, M. Robert Valkenburgh, special agent, Bureau of Investigation, United States Department of Justice, attached to the Boston office of that bureau, on oath depose and say:

That on January 3, 1920, having in my possession warrant No. 54810-173, issued at Washington, D. C., December 29, 1919, by Acting Secretary of Labor John W. Abercrombie, for the arrest of one Minnie Federman, I took into custody at 6.20 a. m. January 3, 1920, at 173 Braddock Park, Boston, Mass., the said Minnie Federman.

That at the time I showed her the warrant and took her to police station No. 5, Boston, Mass., and upon her informing me that she was a citizen, I verified the same from the naturalization record, and immediately discharged her.

That at the time of her arrest I took certain Communist literature and correspondence and have since returned to her all of the same with the exception of one bundle of Communist literature.

That at the time of locating her at her boarding place I was accompanied by a lieutenant of police and two police officers, and every opportunity was afforded her to dress decently, and every request of hers was granted.

M. ROBERT VALKENBURGH.

Personally appeared the above-named M. Robert Valkenburgh, and made oath that the above certificate, by him subscribed, is true. Before me,

[SEAL.]

GEORGE H. DUNCAN, *Notary Public*.

EXHIBIT 7.

AFFIDAVIT.

CITY OF WASHINGTON,
District of Columbia, ss:

I, the undersigned, Edward L. McLaren, on oath depose and say:

That I am a special agent of the Bureau of Investigation of the United States Department of Justice, and under instructions was assigned to the Communist raids, so called, on the night of January 2, 1920 at Nashua, N. H.

That the Nashua (N. H.) Lithuanian branch of the Communist Party of America, which held a meeting at St. John the Baptist's Hall on the night of January 2, 1920, was visited, where, among others, Annie Valinskas was taken into custody.

That no one taken into custody at this time was handcuffed during the period between the arrest and arrival at the police station at Nashua, N. H., the only handcuffing having been done when the prisoners were taken from the police station to the train and from the train upon its arrival in Boston to the immigration wharf, the handcuffs having been meanwhile removed during the period of travel from Nashua to Boston.

That permission for the search of the premises occupied by Annie Valinskas was permitted orally, at which time a suit case containing Communist literature was taken, the ownership of which she first denied, despite the presence of her name and other means of identification within the suit case, which later led to her admission of ownership.

That the prayer books referred to were not written in the English language, but inasmuch as they resembled prayer books and were found among Communist literature a question as to ownership was predicated thereon.

That the police search warrant had been issued and used at the time of the search in addition to the fact that the search had been permitted orally.

That commodious quarters were furnished for the women arrestees at Nashua, N. H., including Annie Valinskas, which were, however, shamefully abused by the occupants, who gave themselves over also to indecent and abusive language.

E. L. McLAREN, *Special Agent*.

Personally appeared before me at Washington, D. C., this 28th day of May, 1920, the above-named Edward L. McLaren, who made oath and subscribed to the above statements.

_____, *Notary Public*.

EXHIBIT 8.

I, Florian Christy, of Nashua, N. H., do on oath depose and say that I acted as interpreter at the police station on the night of January 2, 1920, when a raid was made by the police department at a meeting of the Communist Party at St. John the Baptist Hall in said city of Nashua, that I assisted at the examination given Anna Valiniskas; that I personally know said Anna Valiniskas to be one of the very active members of the Communist Party and that a large amount of radical literature was taken from the home of said Anna Valiniskas in dress-suit cases belonging to said Anna Valiniskas and her husband, Stanilous Valiniskas; that I know that said Stanilous Valiniskas was the local organizer of the Communist Party in said Nashua.

FLORIAN CHRISTY.

MAY 28, 1920.

Personally appeared before me, Florian Christy and made oath before me that the foregoing statement is true to the best of his knowledge and belief.

GEORGE H. CAMPBELL,
Justice of the Peace.

EXHIBIT 9.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,
Suffolk, ss:

I, the undersigned, John H. Backus, assistant United States attorney, at Boston, Mass., on oath, depose and says:

That on January 2, 1920, while I then had the position of deputy United States marshal in this district, assisted the Bureau of Investigation of the United States Department of Justice in arrests made on that date.

That in the pursuance of my duties that night, I was given a warrant of the United States Immigration Service, numbered 54810/71, issued at Washington, D. C., December 29, 1919, for the arrest of an alien named Frank Mack;

That I, in company with another officer of the above-mentioned bureau, visited the residence of Frank Mack at 10 Hartwell Street, in the Roxbury district, of said Boston, for the purpose of arresting said Mack and not finding him at home left the warrant of arrest with the officer who remained at the Mack home and continued the search for him at other places in the vicinity.

That a search was made of his room, wherein was found his membership card in the Communist Party of America and Communist and other radical literature.

That subsequently I met Mr. Mack at police station No. 9 at Roxbury district of Boston and was present while the questions contained in the usual questionnaire prepared for that purpose were answered by Mr. Mack and saw him affix his signature to the same.

That absolutely no coercion or force of any kind was used in the questioning of Mr. Mack and that he answered all questions asked of him freely and without objection and that he was not put through any so-called "third degree."

JOHN H. BACKUS.

Sworn and subscribed to before me at Boston, Mass., this 28th day of May, 1920.

[SEAL.]

JOHN M. CARNEY, *Notary Public.*

EXHIBIT 10.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,
Suffolk, ss:

I, Matthew L. McGrath, on oath depose and say:

That I am a duly accredited special agent of the Bureau of Investigation of the United States Department of Justice assigned to duty at the Boston divisional office of the said bureau.

That on the night of January 2, 1920, in pursuance of my duties, I was assigned in charge of arrests made of alien members of the Communist Party and of the Communist Labor Party in the city of Worcester, Mass.

That I was assisted at Worcester by Special Agent William E. Hill, of the Boston office, and by United States Immigration Inspector J. G. Hagberg, of the Boston office of the United States Immigration Service.

That we were provided with immigration warrants for the arrest of certain persons in Worcester, which warrants were duly executed.

That I also secured from the United States commissioner search warrants properly issued for the search of premises entered by me.

That I visited, with the police of the city of Worcester, one hall in which there was in progress at the time a meeting of the Communist Labor Party and upon entering that hall questioned various persons as to whether they were aliens or citizens and as to whether they were members of the Communist Party or of the Communist Labor Party, and those who admitted being alien members of either of the above organizations were asked to step aside and were later removed to the police station and taken into custody.

That there was absolutely no semblance of force or coercion in the above procedure and the few persons removed to the police station were escorted there without being handcuffed or bound in any way.

And I further depose and say that at no time, either while in Worcester, or in conveying such aliens to Boston, did I pose any such aliens for the purpose of being photographed.

MATTHEW L. MCGRATH.

Then personally appeared before me at Boston, Mass., this 29th day of May, 1920, the above-named Matthew L. McGrath, who made oath and subscribed to the above.

[SEAL.]

JOHN M. CARNEY, *Notary Public*.

EXHIBIT 11.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,
Suffolk, ss.:

I, the undersigned, Raymond A. Kierman, of No. 3 Bird Street, Dorchester, district of Boston, Mass., on oath depose and say:

That I am employed as a reporter for the Boston Traveler and have been with that paper since leaving the United States Marine Corps, in September of 1919.

That on the morning of January 3, 1920, in pursuance of instructions received from my paper, I visited the office of the Bureau of Investigation of the United States Department of Justice and the office of the commissioner of immigration, both located at Boston, Mass., for the purpose of securing information relative to the raids made on the Communist Party members.

That I commenced work that morning at 6 o'clock, which was my usual hour of commencing work, and continued at work until 2 p. m., which was my usual hour of being relieved, and was relieved at that time by another reporter.

That, first calling at the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice, I found I could secure no information, in view of which I proceeded to the immigration station, where I met reporters from other newspapers and learned that the persons arrested were to be sent to Deer Island, Boston Harbor.

That, knowing then they were to be sent to Deer Island, I, of my own knowledge, knew they would have to be transported there on the usual city department boat which leaves from the Eastern Avenue Wharf.

That I then secured the services of our photographer and went to the Eastern Avenue Wharf, where the photographer and the photographer who relieved him snapped pictures from the roof of the ferryboat landing.

That the taking of photographs from the roof of the ferry building was something over which none of the officials had any jurisdiction, nor could they remove us therefrom nor in any way prevent us taking photographs from that point of vantage, which was on a public highway.

That I emphatically state no official of the Department of Justice or of the Department of Labor at any time posed or requested any person to pose for a photograph, and that the only instance in which anything approaching such occurred was once when a city police officer in uniform with about four to six persons stopped for a short interval while the photographers snapped the picture.

And I further, on oath, depose and say that none of the Federal officials in any way, directly or indirectly, had anything to do with the posing of persons for photographs, nor could they do anything to prevent the taking of the photographs which were taken.

And that a personal inspection of the wharf, street, and ferry landing would convince any person that the newspapers could take such photographs without posing people, and could not be prevented from taking such photographs as were taken by the newspapers.

RAYMOND A. KIERMAN.

Personally appeared before me, at Boston, Mass., this 28th day of May, 1920, the above-named Raymond A. Kierman, who made oath and subscribed to the above statements.

[SEAL.]

JOHN M. CARNEY, *Notary Public*.

The same is true of the Colyer case, in which, to put it mildly, the facts are greatly distorted.

(Statement in the Colyer case follows:)

THE COLYER CASE.

[Pp. 42-52 of printed report of National Popular Government League.]

This portion of the publication is grossly unfair, to put it mildly, and the facts are distorted. Not only are the methods of the department attacked, but also the type of men in the service and their Americanism. Here I might add that the Boston division of the department is under the supervision of university-trained men—attorneys, and the men in the smaller cities in the division, not only in charge of the office, but members of the staff, are university graduates and some of them attorneys of long standing. The criticisms of Judge Anderson as published on page 43 are not interesting because at the time they were not material to the case and certainly can not be established in fact.

Concerning the suffering of the families, the Boston office immediately instituted an investigation into the financial condition of the families and advised the proper charitable authorities. In numerous cases the aliens after being released stated they had been fairly treated and that the agents of the Department of Justice had given them every possible consideration.

On page 45 reference is made to the testimony of one Ivan T. Hrynychuk, which, incidentally, is not a "typical" case at all. As soon as a complete list of names of persons who were not identified with the warrants was made up, telegraphic request was made by the Boston office to the department at Washington for the issuance of the warrants by telegraph and at the same time a similar list and similar request was made on the immigration authorities at Boston to permit them to take up the matter with their own department direct.

Regarding searches and seizures, in every instance where practicable search warrants were procured from either city authorities or the United States commissioner. In no instance can it be shown that any person or place was searched over the objection of the individual. Mr. and Mrs. Colyer admitted at the hearing that they had permitted the search.

As to handcuffing; this was done only where the guard was insufficient. The instruments used were those at present being used throughout the country and the "chains" were nothing more than the usual light chain which police run through the cuffs where they have a large number of men to handle.

I remind you that nowhere in the entire Boston division is there a single charge of brutality or abuse.

So far as the criticism of the judge on the use of under-cover agents or informants, I have covered that matter generally in another portion of my reply. His statements to the effect that the Government owns and operates some part of the Communist Party are without foundation in any manner, shape, or form, so far as they may refer to the Department of Justice. His statement on Americanism was addressed directly at a man who is a war veteran, a man who wore the uniform, the badge of honorable distinction, and went away and offered his very life to prove his Americanism. It is unfortunate that I am compelled to criticize the statements or action of a justice on the bench, but when such statements as these are made in the spirit which is too evident from their wording and, in addition, are not true, I insist the truth be stated. I invite you to read the record in the Colyer case and to consider the many unusual and striking features of the entire affair: How certain of these same "12 prominent attorneys" became identified with the case; such tactics as the open coaching of a witness on the stand by a person not a witness or party but merely "interested;" the reasons for the many immaterial, unwarranted, and untrue statements. All these I think would be of interest if known. I really do not believe it is worth the time to go into detail about the Colyer case, as it involves generally those matters which I have covered previously. If you are interested in this particular case I will be glad to have a thorough, complete, and painfully true statement of the entire matter prepared for you.

I think, Mr. Chairman, those affidavits will cover all of the details in this report of alleged illegal practices filed by the lawyers with the exception of the charge of forgery and one other case which we are still investigating. We will later file the evidence with respect to that case.

I would like to put into the record a memorandum concerning the Communist Labor Party, together with a copy of "Communist Labor," the official organ of that party, showing that since the Secretary of Labor held that the Communist Labor Party is not covered by the

statute a reorganization of all these communist parties is to take place under the name of the Communist Labor Party. They propose to take advantage of that ruling to the limit.

Mr. VAILE. Is that the one which states there is no difference between the two?

Mr. PALMER. Yes; they repudiate the idea that there is any difference between the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party, and they say they know more what they believe in than the Department of Labor.

(The memorandum referred to follows:)

COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY.

Considerable comment has been made in the various papers in the country as to the ruling of the Department of Labor upon the status of the Communist Labor Party. It will be recalled that the Secretary of Labor ruled that this was an organization which did not advocate the use of force and violence for the accomplishment of its revolutionary purposes. I have at hand a brief prepared in the Department of Justice upon the various documents which have been collected, dealing with this organization as well as a brief of evidence prepared by the Chicago office of the Bureau of Investigation, in which city this organization had its inception. I believe that both of these documents should be made a part of your records for your information.

I do want to call the committee's attention to the fact that all of the outlawed revolutionary organizations in the United States are now intent upon the merger of their organizations into the Communist Labor Party. The memorandums prepared in the Department of Justice, I believe, will lead the committee to but one conclusion, that is, that this organization, the Communist Labor Party, has for its sole purpose, the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence. It in the issue of Communist Labor for May 15, 1920, announces the call of a convention to be held on or before June 15 with the Communist Party, and agrees upon the call for the joint convention upon the basis of the manifesto and program of the Communist Party, a document which the Secretary of Labor has ruled advocates the use of force and violence. In the same issue there is also a repudiation of the attorneys who appeared on behalf of the Communist Labor Party in argument before the Secretary of Labor and a statement that any assertions made by these attorneys before the Secretary of Labor contrary to the principles of communism were repudiated, as the attorneys had been appearing without any authority from the Communist Labor Party. It is this same organization, the Communist Labor Party, which has been ruled by three State courts and one Federal court as being an organization which has for its purpose the overthrow of our Government by force and violence. Yet, under the ruling of the Department of Labor, its organization is a lawful body and can carry on its pernicious and insidious activities, aiming directly at the vitals of our Constitution.

(The documents referred to follow:)

STATEMENT OF FACTS SHOWING THAT THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY OF AMERICA IS AN UNLAWFUL ORGANIZATION.

The Communist Labor Party of America, as well as the Communist Party of America, grew out of the radical faction of the Socialist Party, commonly known as the left-wing movement.

In furtherance of this left-wing movement, the Communist Propaganda League of Chicago was organized on November 7, 1918. Its sole purpose was to issue and circulate revolutionary propaganda. The editorial board of said league comprised prominent members of the Socialist left wing, who later became the organizers and leaders of both the Communist Labor Party and the Communist Party of America.

The reason for the creation of two Communist parties was found in the personal jealousy and not in the principle, as it will be seen that both organizations are built and based on the same theory and reasoning.

This brief will be confined to the unlawful standing of the Communist Labor Party and will therefore eliminate all matter pertaining to the activity of the Communist Party, excepting such matter which applied to both organizations alike.

It is contended by the Government that the Communist Labor Party is an organization that entertains a belief in the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States; that this organization advocates the overthrow by force or violence of all forms of law; that this organization teaches the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States; that this organization teaches opposition to all organized government; that this organization entertains opposition to all organized government.

The evidence in support of the foregoing contention consists:

First. In official basic documents such as the Platform—Party and labor program—constitution of the Communist Labor Party—and also the manifesto of the Communist Internationale.

Second. In official publications issued by and under the direct supervision of the authorized officials of said Communist Labor Party—which publications discuss the tactics of the organization as well as give instructions to locals, branches, and members, and also serve to interpret the meaning of the above-named basic documents.

Third. Speeches made and correspondence emanating from the members of said organization in the regular course of party affairs and business.

Fourth. In quotations from so-called textbooks and lectures used and employed in furtherance of the communist movement, explanatory in nature, by which confusion as to the exact meaning of technical terms employed by said party, such as revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat, is to be avoided.

(a) The Government contends that the Communist Labor Party by force and violence intends to deprive the citizens of the United States of private property lawfully in their possession in violation of section 1, article 5, of the Constitution of the United States of America:

"That no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law."

(b) The Government further contends that the Communist Labor Party directly repudiates parliamentary action for the purpose of obtaining control of the Government but to all intents and purposes believes in, teaches, and advocates the use of force and violence for the purpose of accomplishing the end desired in direct violation of the preamble of the Constitution of the United States of America:

"That we, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity do ordain, and establish this, the Constitution of the United States of America."

And section 1, Article I:

"That all legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States which shall consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives."

And clause 18, section 8, Article I:

"That the Congress shall have power to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for the carrying into execution the foregoing powers and all powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or any department or official thereof."

And section 2, Article VI:

"That this Constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made or which shall be made under the authority of the United States shall be the supreme law of the land, and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding."

And section 1, article 2:

"That the executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America."

And also in violation of section 6 of the Criminal Code of the United States:

"That if two or more persons in any State or Territory, or any place subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, conspire to overthrow, put down, or to destroy by force the Government of the United States, or levy war against them, or to oppose by force authority thereof, or by force to prevent, hinder, or delay the execution of any law of the United States, or by force to seize, take, or possess any property of the United States, contrary to authority thereof, etc."

For the purpose of showing the fundamental principles on which the Communist Labor Party was founded, excerpts from *The Communist*, under date of Chicago, April 1, 1919, published and circulated by the Communist Propaganda League of Chicago—referred to above—are hereby quoted. On page 1, column 1, paragraph 4, the following appears:

"The Communist League is a response to world socialism in revolutionary action—a response impelled by the urge of the masses for decisive action against brutal oppres-

sion, and of the 'rank and file' against Socialist Party officialdom which is halting in performance and hesitant in giving voice to the mass revolutionary proletariat finds inspiration in the slogans of bolshevism and of Spartacism, because these are true to the mass impulses inherent in the heroic temper of revolt. Where the revolution has yet to advance to the stage of crisis, as in America, the mass protest seeks its expression in a socialism which brings us into oneness of spirit and understanding with the fighting and bleeding proletariat of Germany and Russia."

On page 3, under the heading "Program of Communist Propaganda League," appears the following:

"The Communist Propaganda League of Chicago came into existence on November 7, 1918, first anniversary of the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic, and the very day of the German Revolution.

"A group of Socialist party officials and active party members came together for consultation as to ways and means for giving the American Socialist movement a revolutionary character in harmony with all the significance of November 7, the most glorious date in all history. At the hour of that little meeting bedlam reigned in the streets of Chicago by premature celebration of peace. The calling of this meeting during the mass tumult of November 7 is prophetic of the revolutionary vision which brought these comrades together. On that day the seething proletariat ruled Chicago by sheer force of numbers. One thing alone was needed to give this mass expression identity with the proletarian uprisings of Europe—one thing: The revolutionary idea.

"The Communist Propaganda League is an organization for the propagation of the revolutionary idea. The civilization of to-morrow is with unorganized masses who greeted the news of peace and revolution in Germany with what may safely be described as the greatest spontaneous expression of mass sentiment ever witnessed in America. To give direction and inspiration to the advancing and irresistible army of the proletariat is the mission to which this league is dedicated.

"PROGRAM.

"We speak as members of the Socialist Party to other Socialists, primarily in the interests of the party itself; fundamentally in the interest of a truly revolutionary proletarian movement in the United States.

"There are certain well-defined lines of criticism of Socialist Party tactics and principles which have long been familiar to all thoughtful American Socialists; that the party proceeds on a too narrow understanding of political action for a party of revolution; that its programs and platforms have been reformist and petty bourgeois in character, instead of being definitely directed toward the goal of social revolution; that the party has failed to achieve unity with the revolutionary movement on the industrial field; that the party organization of itself is too cumbersome for quick response to new situations and opportunities for propaganda; that the stand against proletarian participation in imperialistic wars has not gone the full length of its own logic; that there has been compromising reservation in accepting the international leadership of the Bolsheviks of Russia; and, generally, that the modes of socialist functioning have not taken sufficiently into account the mass action of the proletariat which alone can bring revolution, but instead there has been blind reliance on balloting and pure parliamentarism as the weapons of revolution—a reliance which the experience of the past two years makes particularly empty.

"Converting these different criticisms into affirmative proposition, we present the following program as the immediate basis of our activities:

"1. Alliance and cooperation only with revolutionary socialist and labor elements in international affairs, such as the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Russia.

"2. Socialist propaganda only as the basis of the revolutionary class struggle; a socialist movement built only on revolutionary proletarian adherents. An end of petty bourgeois reformism as the basis of the Socialist Party activity.

"3. Party policies and platforms free from hypocrisies and "planks" to catch votes; platforms only as statements of revolutionary aims.

"4. Furtherance of such changes in political forms as are in line with the needs of proletarian-controlled industry, not of political changes based on bourgeois "democracy."

"5. Identification of the Socialist Party with class-conscious industrial unionism.

"6. Unity of all kinds of proletarian action and protest forming part of the revolutionary class struggle. Political action, to include political strikes and demonstrations, and to be in cooperation with industrial mass action.

"7. No compromising with any groups not inherently committed to the revolutionary class struggle, such as labor parties, people's councils, non partisan leagues, municipal ownership leagues, and the like.

"8. The proletariat to be organized to oppose all wars of imperialism, though declared for "defense of country" or for "democracy" and to carry this opposition to the extent of refusal of service under conscription, and to general strikes. The workers to engage only in wars of proletarian revolution and in wars to repel attacks against proletarian governments.

"9. A sense of realism as to the limited possibilities of the ballot as a weapon of revolution, or fights for "justice" in capitalist courts and dependence primarily on mass power and mass action of the proletariat.

"10. Centralized party organization, corresponding to the highly centralized imperialist control to be overthrown."

To lay the foundation of the affiliation of the Communist Labor Party with the so-called Third International of Moscow, section 1 of the platform and program of the Communist Labor Party is quoted, which reads:

"The Communist Labor Party of the United States of America declares itself in full harmony with the revolutionary working-class parties of all countries and stands by the principles stated by the Third International formed at Moscow."

Further, part 1 of the party labor program reads as follows:

"The Communist Labor Party of America declares itself in complete accord with the principles of communism as laid down in the manifesto of the Third International formed at Moscow."

Section 3, clause 2, of said party and labor program reads as follows (in a sense these principles are as follows):

"Communist society is not like the present fraudulent capitalist democracy—which, with all its pretensions to equality, is merely a disguise for the rule of the financial oligarchy—but it is a proletarian democracy based on the control of industry and the State by the workers, who are thereby free to work out their own destiny. It does not mean capitalist institutions of government which are controlled by the great financial and industrial interests, but organs of administration created and controlled by the masses themselves; such as, for example, the soviets of Russia."

Section 5 of the party and labor program reads as follows:

"The present world situation demands that the revolutionary working-class movements of all countries shall closely unite."

Further, section 1 of the program reads as follows:

"We favor international alliance of the Communist Labor Party only with the communist groups of other countries—those which have affiliated with the Communist International."

"For the purpose of conveying a clear meaning of technical terms used and employed by the Communist Labor Party, such as revolution, "proletariat dictatorship," "political action," and "capitalistic state," the following is quoted from The Communist, official organ of the Communist Propaganda League of Chicago, under date of April 1, 1919, on page 5, under the heading "Force and Evolution" is quoted:

"The antisocialist propaganda now goes almost entirely on the method of revolution. Apparently there is hardly anyone, even of the subsidized press or in the museum of mental mummery known as the American Congress, willing to come out in open and direct defense of capitalism. But these agents of murderous Mommonism realize that the world is already sickened with the thought of bloodshed; that the horror of four and a half years of imperialist slaughter has resulted in a sort of universal near insanity. They seek to capitalize against the aspirations of the working class the danger of violence—a tiny speck of the violence which yesterday they proclaimed as the highest glory of mankind."

"All these 'investigations' of bolshevism, all these laws against 'violence' as a means of ending the life-crushing tributes of capitalism, go right in the face of the fact that the Government of the United States has busied itself to send thousands of socialists to jail for their antimitilism whereas every person who thinks at all knows that the first and last principle of capitalist government is violence—police, military, and judicial violence. When, for that matter, have these legislators and editors ever protested against lynchings and mob violence when the victims were spokesmen of the working class—even with all the 'legal' methods of violence at their service?

"The workers of the United States become a menace to capitalism, a menace to 'law and order,' or to 'civilization,' the moment their minds grasp the truth of their industrial enslavement and of their power to end it. That is bolshevism—and there is no question about it being a menace to something. But these workers have only their bare hands and the might of their arms. Violence, nowadays, expresses itself in terms of machine guns, hand grenades, cannon, or the dropping of bombs from airships. It is the professional specialty of soldiers and police; or, of the judges who order imprisonment and deportations. Nine and ninety per cent of the class war violence in this country has necessarily been capitalist violence; the odd per cent is

allowed for the possible stray case where the workingman gets hold of some weapon more deadly than bare hands. Or, in Europe, where the violence has come also from the working class side of the fight, that has meant a voluntary change of service by soldiers, sailors, and police. In other words, it has been the violence of mutiny, the servants of capitalistic government turning against their masters.

"But it is quite obvious that the military and police do not turn against their 'legal' masters short of a time when that control or government is thoroughly and quite universally discredited. That happens at the hour of the last gasp of a decrepit system; it is the death throttle of a 'law and order' which benefits a few at terrible cost to the many. It comes with an extreme revelation of incompetence and destructiveness of the old order combined with a fairly clear general consciousness of the direction of change. Never has any system of exploitation by a few of the labor of the many let go the reins of government and social control without using the 'legal' instrumentalities of force to the last ditch.

"In short, violence is an almost exclusive monopoly of the privileged few who are in control of 'law and order.' In most countries there is compulsory military service, armies of the national government. Under the soviets there is universal armament. The difference is this: Monopoly of the means of violence, available for the controllers of government against the people on the one hand and on the other all the people armed against the possibility of minority control through the coercive powers of government. Our forefathers were highly conscious of this difference when they provided against standing armies and in favor of universal bearing of arms by the people. But the Constitution in which this is plainly recorded is subject to a curious process of interpretation which makes it an evermore secure entrenchment of finance oligarchy, which accounts for the recent enthusiasm in the capitalist press for change of our Government by the process set forth in the Constitution, a process absolutely prohibitive of fundamental change in less than 10,000 years. It is not 'unconstitutional' to call for an entire new deal; also that interesting document of July 4, 1776, on this continent, and this document gives free leave to the people to make over their Government at their sweet will in their own peculiar way, no matter what the Constitution says about the method of change. But when it comes to the seditious Declaration of Independence that is where our 'violence' comes in, the violence of the idea that capitalism and its methods of government have not eternal sanctity."

Also, in addition to this, the following appears in the same issue, same page:

"The politics of the working class are comprised within the confines of the class struggle, and conversely the class struggle is necessarily waged on the political field."

This was further explained with the following statement:

"By this statement we do not imply that the political action of the working class is always confined within the bounds of parliamentary procedure, nor that the means employed in waging the class struggle must everywhere be the same. Political action we define as any action taken by the exploited against their exploiters to obtain control of the powers of state, or by the master class to retain control, using these powers to secure the means of life."

"This definition of political action is well worthy of careful study: It is perhaps not sufficiently explanatory, but it at least lifts us out of the rut of 'pure political action.'"

Special attention is called to the above definition of political action

Further, the following is an excerpt of a speech made by William Bross Lloyd, an organizer and member of the Communist Labor Party as well as the Communist Propaganda League, and now indicted in the State courts in the county of Cook, State of Illinois, for criminal syndicalism, which speech was made at 1248 West Fifty-ninth Street, Chicago, Ill., under date of March 21, 1919, as follows:

"That there is but one ruler in the world and that is force."

Speaking about revolutionary preparedness Lloyd stated:

"That there should be plenty of guns and dynamite to capture and blow up the banks to procure money for the revolution—and more dynamite to blow in the armory doors to obtain guns for the workers and to disarm the capitalists—that the Bolsheviks in Russia were too kind to their rulers—that when they were captured they were turned loose and were then able to find arms and again became counter-revolutionists—that the perfect revolutionist organization would mean less bloodshed."

He then urged the audience:

"To perfect this organization so that the revolution would be a matter not of time, but of one moment."

He further stated:

"That on the 11th day of November, when peace was declared, all men were of one mind in this country, and they had one idea of wanting to celebrate the peace celebra-

tion, and with one mind they walked out through the streets without the permission of their bosses, and this you can do when you make up your mind to overthrow the Government."

One H. O. Bliven and R. R. Hilliard, the latter formerly special agent of the Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, and now Assistant Attorney General of the United States, were present at this meeting.

Further, on January 12, 1919, said William Bross Lloyd at a meeting held at the Auditorium at Milwaukee, Wis., while addressing what is supposed to have been a radical audience stated:

"The Czar of Russia made the Socialist Party an illegal party, and who governs Russia now? Your brothers. Now, they, our rulers, mean to keep this espionage law up. It has been growing ever since I was a boy. They mean to keep in jail those they have in jail; those they have convicted. They mean to send a lot more of working class representatives and champions to jail to keep those fellows company. They mean to bless you with imperialism, militarism, conscription, and a democracy whose adherents refer to the real democracy of the world the soviet republic of Russia, as mob rule, anarchy, chaos, and a reign of terror. Now, on this proposition meetings, resolutions, speeches, begging, pleading, are not going to do you a bit of good. Force rules the world. The answer to this is preparedness. Now we have heard all about preparedness in this country.

"We know that the readier we are to fight, the bigger Army we have got, the bigger Navy, the more ammunition, the less chance there is for us to have to fight. So what we want is revolutionary preparedness. We want to organize so if we want to put a piece of propaganda in the hands of everybody in Milwaukee you can do it in three or four hours. If you want every Socialist in Milwaukee at a certain place at a certain time with a rifle in his hand, or a bad egg, he will be there. You want to get rifles, machine guns, field artillery, and the ammunition for it. You want to get dynamite. You want to tell of the men for the revolution when it starts here. You want to tell of the men who are to take the dynamite to the armory doors and blow them in and the guns and ammunition there, so that the capitalists won't have any. You want to tell of the men to dynamite the doors of the banks to get the money to finance the revolution. You want to have all this ready, because the capitalist propaganda on preparedness teaches that if you have it ready you won't need it, and you won't because you have that sort of an organization when you get a political victory, and you can get it, the other side will lay down. If they don't, you go take their laws, their police, and their military and use it against them. Let's see how they will like that. It is bourgeoisie to conspire to commit treason on every crime under the sun. A Bolshevik is a man that don't care whether school keeps or not, so long as the revolution goes on."

Further, the following quotation is made from a communist book entitled, "The Proletarian Revolution in Russia," by N. Lenin and Leon Trotsky, on page 233, paragraph 3, under the heading, "Lessons on the revolution":

"The lesson of the Russian revolution is this: There is for the toiling masses no way out of the iron ring of war, of hunger, of enslavement to the landholders and capitalists, except in a complete break with the parties of the Social-Revolutionists and Mensheviks, in a clear understanding of the treacherous rôle they have played, in the renunciation of every kind of coalition with the bourgeoisie, in a decisive stand by the side of the revolutionary workers. The revolutionary workers alone, if they are supported by the poorest peasants, will be in a position to break the resistance of the capitalists, lead the people to a seizure of the land without compensation, to full liberty, to a victory over hunger and over war, and to a just and permanent peace. Lenin."

Take into consideration this, said William Bross Lloyd, as a very prominent member of the revolutionary movement and Lenin being the leader of the Russian revolution, the foregoing statements must be accepted as authentic on the meaning of revolution as used by the Communist Labor Party.

To explain the phrase, "proletarian dictatorship," the following is quoted from the "Proletarian revolution in Russia, by N. Lenin and Leon Trotsky"—referred to above—on page 393, under the heading "Democracy and proletarian dictatorship"—and pages 394, 395, and 397:

"Those, who have not learned even from the course of the Russian revolution of 1917-18 that middle courses are impossible, must be given up as hopeless.

"On the other hand, it is not hard to see that during any transition from capitalism to socialism, a dictatorship is necessary for two main reasons or in two main directions. In the first place, it is impossible to conquer and destroy capitalism without the merciless suppression of the resistance of the exploiters, who can not be at once deprived of their wealth, of their advantages in organization and knowledge, and

who will, therefore, during a quite long period, inevitably attempt to overthrow the hateful (to them) authority of the poor. Secondly, every great revolution, and especially a Socialist revolution, even if there was no external war, is inconceivable without an internal war, thousands and millions in cases of wavering and of desertion from one side to the other and a state of the greatest uncertainty, instability, and chaos. And, of course, all the decadent elements of the old order, inevitably very numerous and connected largely with the petty bourgeoisie (for the petty bourgeoisie is the first victim of every war and every crisis) can not fail to 'show up', during such a profound transformation. And these elements of decay can not 'show up' otherwise than through the increase of crimes, hooliganism, bribery, speculation, and other indecencies. It takes time and an iron hand to get rid of this.

"This historical experience of all revolutions, this universal historical—economic, and political—lesson was summed up by Marx in his brief, sharp, exact, and vivid formula: the dictatorship of the proletariat. And that the Russian revolution correctly approached this universal historical problem has been proven by the victorious march of the Soviet organization among all peoples and tongues of Russia. For the Soviet rule is nothing else than the organized form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the dictatorship of the class conscious proletariat, rousing to a new democracy, to independent participation in the administration of the State, tens and tens of millions of exploited toilers, who, through their experience, are discovering that the disciplined and class-conscious vanguard of the proletariat is their most reliable leader.

"But 'dictatorship' is a great word. And great words must not be used lightly. A dictatorship is an iron rule, with revolutionary daring, and swift and merciless in the suppression of the exploiters as well as of the hooligans."

For the purpose of explaining the meaning of the word capitalism, section 2 of platform of the Communist Labor Party is quoted, which reads as follows:

"With them it thoroughly appreciates the complete development of capitalism into its present form of capitalist imperialism with its dictatorship of the capitalist class and its absolute suppression of the working class."

And further extract published in the "Communist Labor," official organ of the Communist Labor Party of America, under date of February 25, 1920, under the heading "The Red Ruby" which is supposed to be an address by one Benjamin Gitlow—member of the labor committee of the Communist Labor Party—while being on trial for criminal anarchy in the State of New York stated:

"The Socialists have always maintained and the manifesto that has been printed in the revolutionary age maintains that capitalism as it developed, would be unable to solve the contradictions that spring up in the body politic of capitalism. What is capitalism? Capitalism is that system of society in which the means of production and distribution are owned by a few individuals for their own profit."

This clearly shows that by capitalism as used by the Communist Labor Party is meant the Government and the laws on which the Government was founded, therefore the term capitalism as used by said party means the Government and all laws on which the Government is founded.

Excerpts from the constitution—and the platform and program of the Communist Labor Party read as follows:

Under the heading Main Points in the New Constitution, section 4, as follows:

"An official national weekly paper, which shall go to each member, to be paid for out of his dues.

"This paper shall publish not only organization news, and instructions to locals, branches, and members, but also discussions of tactics, news of the latest developments of Communist movements the world over, the changes in tactics dictated by revolutionary experience abroad, and other matters needed to make our membership well-informed, intelligent, and capable of acting as a unit in crises."

Excerpts from the Constitution:

"ARTICLE II.

"SECTION 1. Any person, 18 years of age or over, who has severed his connection with all other political parties and political organizations and who subscribes to the principles of the Communist Labor Party, shall be eligible to membership in the party.

"SEC. 2. No member of the party shall accept or hold any appointive public office, honorary or remunerative (civil-service positions excepted) without the consent of his State organization, nor be a candidate for public office without the consent of his city, county, or State organization, according to the nature of the office.

"SEC. 4. All persons joining the Communist Labor Party shall sign the following pledge.

"Application for membership in the Communist Labor Party:

"I, the undersigned, recognizing the class struggle between the capitalist class and the working class, and the necessity of the working class organizing itself politically and industrially for the establishment of communism, do hereby apply for membership in the Communist Labor Party.

"I am opposed to all political organizations that support the present capitalist profit system and am opposed to any form trading or fusing with any such organizations.

"In all my political actions while a member of the Communist Labor Party I agree to be guided by the constitution and platform of that party."

"III.

"NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

"SECTION 1. The policies of the Communist Labor Party shall be carried out by the national executive committee.

"V.

"SEC. 3. The national executive secretary shall publish a weekly official organ of the party, in which shall appear all important official reports and announcements.

VI.

"REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS.

"SEC. 3. In all legislative bodies, as Congress, State legislatures, boards of supervisors, or town council, Communist Labor Party members shall organize into a group separate and apart from all other parties. They shall elect a chairman and in the support of all measures definitely declared for in the platforms of the party they shall vote as a unit.

"VIII.

"STATE ORGANIZATIONS.

"SEC. 3. (a) The platform of the Communist Labor Party shall be the supreme declaration of the party, and all State and municipal platforms shall conform thereto.

"PLATFORM.

"1. The Communist Labor Party of the United States of America declares itself in full harmony with the revolutionary working class parties of all countries and stands by the principles stated by the Third International formed at Moscow.

"2. With them it thoroughly appreciates the complete development of capitalism into its present form of capitalist imperialism with its dictatorship of the capitalist class and its absolute suppression of the working class.

"3. With them it also fully realizes the crying need for an immediate change in the social system; it realizes that the time for parleying and compromise has passed; and that now it is only the question whether all power remains in the hands of the capitalist or is taken by the working class.

"4. The Communist Labor Party proposes the organization of the workers as a class, the overthrow of capitalist rule, and the conquest of political power by the workers. The workers, organized as the ruling class, shall through their government make and enforce the laws; they shall own and control land, factories, mills, mines, transportation systems, and financial institutions. All power to the workers.

"5. The Communist Labor Party has as its ultimate aim: The abolition of the present system of production, in which the working class is mercilessly exploited, and the creation of an industrial republic, wherein the machinery of production shall be socialized so as to guarantee to the workers the full social value of the product of their toil.

"6. To this end we ask the workers to unite with the Communist Labor Party for the conquest of political power to establish a government adapted to the communist transformation.

"PARTY AND LABOR PROGRAM (PART 1).

"The Communist Labor Party of America declares itself in complete accordance with the principles of communism, as laid down in the manifesto of the third international formed at Moscow.

"2. The working class must organize and train itself for the capture of State power. This capture means the establishment of the new working class government machinery, in place of the state machinery of the capitalists.

"3. This new working class government—the dictatorship of the proletariat—will reorganize society on the basis of communism, and accomplish the transition from capitalism to the communist commonwealth.

"6. The most important means of capturing state power for the workers is the action of the masses, proceeding from the place where the workers are gathered together—in the shops and factories. The use of the political machinery of the capitalist state for this purpose is only secondary.

"7. In those countries in which there is a possibility for the workers to use this machinery in the class struggle, they have, in the past, made effective use of it as a means of propaganda, and of defense. In all countries where the conditions for a working-class revolution are not ripe the same process must go on.

"8. We must rally all groups and proletarian organizations which have manifested and developed tendencies leading in the direction above indicated, and support and encourage the working class in every phase of its struggle against capitalism.

"PART II.

"1. The economic conditions in every country determine the form of organization and method of propaganda to be adopted. In order efficiently to organize our movement here, we must clearly understand the political and economic structure of the United States.

"2. Although the United States is called a political democracy there is no opportunity whatever for the working class through the regular political machinery to effectively oppose the will of the capitalist class.

"3. The years of Socialist activity of the political field have brought no increase of power to the workers. Even the million votes piled up by the Socialist Party in 1912, left the party without any proportionate representation. The Supreme Court, which is the only body in any Government in the world with the power to review legislation passed by the popular representative assembly, would be able to obstruct the will of the working class even if Congress registered it, which it does not. The Constitution, framed by the capitalist class for the benefit of the capitalist class, can not be amended in the workers' interest, no matter how large a majority may desire it.

"6. Not one of the great teachers of scientific Socialism has ever said that it is possible to achieve the Social Revolution by the ballot.

"7. However, we do not ignore the value of voting, or of electing candidates to public office—so long as these are of assistance to the workers in their economic struggle. Political campaigns, and the election of public officials, provide opportunities for showing up capitalist democracy, educating the workers to a realization of their class position, and of demonstrating the necessity for the overthrow of the capitalist system. But it must be clearly emphasized that the chance of winning even advanced reforms of the present capitalist system at the polls is extremely remote; and even if it were possible, these reforms would not weaken the capitalist system.

"PART III.

"1. In America the capitalist class has never had a feudal aristocracy to combat, but has always been free to concentrate its power against the working class. This has resulted in the development of the American capitalist class wholly out of proportion to the corresponding development in other countries. By their absolute control of the agencies of publicity and education the capitalists have gained a control over the political machinery which is impossible to break by resorting to this machinery.

"3. The economic conditions of society, as Marx foretold, are pushing the workers toward forms of organization which are, by the very nature of things, forced into activity on the industrial field with a political aim—the overthrow of capitalism.

"5. It is our duty as Communists to help this process, to hasten it, by supporting all efforts of the workers to create a centralized revolutionary industrial organization. It is our duty as Communists, who understand class struggle, to point out to the workers that upon the workers alone depends their own emancipation, and that it is impossible to accomplish this through capitalist political machinery, but only by the exercise of their united economic power.

"PROGRAM.

"1. We favor international alliance of the Communist Labor Party only with the communist groups of other countries, those which have affiliated with the Communist International.

"2. We are opposed to association with other groups not committed to the revolutionary class struggle.

"3. We maintain that the class struggle is essentially a political struggle; that is, a struggle by the proletariat to conquer the capitalist state, whether its form be monarchical or democratic-republican, and to replace it by a governmental structure adapted to the Communist transformation.

"4. Communist platforms, being based on the class struggle, and recognizing that this is the historical period of the social revolution, can contain only one demand: The establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"5. We favor organized party activity and cooperation with class-conscious industrial unions, in order to unify industrial and political class-conscious propaganda and action. Locals and branches shall organize shop branches to conduct the communist propaganda and organization in the shops and to encourage the workers to organize in one big union.

"6. The party shall propagandize industrial unionism and industrial union organization, pointing out their revolutionary nature and possibilities.

"7. The party shall make the great industrial battles its major campaigns, to show the value of the strike as a political weapon.

"9. In order that the party shall be a centralized organization, capable of united action, no autonomous groups of federations independent of the will of the entire party shall be permitted.

"10. All party papers and publications indorsed by the party; and all educational and propaganda institutions indorsed by the party shall be owned and controlled by the regular party organization.

"SPECIAL REPORT ON LABOR ORGANIZATION.

"The purpose of the party is to create a unified revolutionary working-class movement in America. In this crisis the American working class is facing an alternative. Either the workers will be unprepared, in which case they will be reduced to abject slavery, or they will be sufficiently conscious and sufficiently organized to save society by reconstructing it in accordance with the principles of communism.

"II.

"By the term 'revolutionary industrial unionism' is meant the organization of the workers into unions by industries with a revolutionary aim and purpose; that is to say, a purpose not merely to defend or strengthen the status of the workers as wage earners, but to gain control of industry.

"In any mention of revolutionary industrial unionism in this country, there must be recognized the immense effect upon the American labor movement of the propaganda and example of the Industrial Workers of the World, whose long and valiant struggles and heroic sacrifices in the class war have earned the respect and affection of all workers everywhere. We greet the revolutionary industrial proletariat of America, and pledge them our wholehearted support and cooperation in their struggles against the capitalist class. Elsewhere in the organized-labor movement a new tendency has recently manifested itself, as illustrated by the Seattle and Winnipeg strikes, the one big union and shop committee movements in Canada and the West, and the numerous strikes all over the country of the rank and file, which are proceeding without the authority of the old reactionary trade-union officials, and even against their orders. This tendency, an impulse of the workers toward unity for common action across the lines of craft divisions, if carried to its logical conclusion, would inevitably lead to workers' control of industry.

"This revolt of the rank and file must not be allowed to end in the disorganization of the ranks of organized labor. We must help to keep the workers together, and through rank and file control of the unions, assist the process of uniting all workers in one big union. With this purpose in view, the Communist Labor Party welcomes and supports, in whatever labor organization found, any tendency toward revolutionary industrial unionism. We urge all our members to join industrial unions. Where the job-control of the reactionary craft-unions compels them to become members of these craft-unions, they shall also join an industrial organization, if one exists. In districts where there are no industrial unions, our members shall take steps to organize one.

"III.

"4. We suggest that some plan of labor organization be inaugurated along the lines of the shop steward and shop committee movements. These committees can serve as a spur or check upon the officials of the unions; they will necessarily reflect the spirit and wishes of the rank and file, and will educate the workers on the job in preparation for the taking over of industry.

"RECOMMENDATIONS.

"We recommend the following measures:

"(a) To initiate or support the creation of shop committees in every industry in their district, the uniting of these committees in industrial councils, district councils, and the central councils of all industries.

"(b) To propagandize and assist in the combining of craft unions, by industries, in one big union.

"(c) To bring together in the centers of party activity—locals and branches—delegates from factories and shops to discuss tactics and policies of conducting the class struggle.

"(d) To propagandize directly among the workers on the job the principles of Communism and educate them to a realization of their class position.

"(e) To find a common basis for the uniting of all existing economic and political organizations based on the class struggle.

"(g) To direct the activities of local party organizations in assisting the workers whole-heartedly in their industrial battles and making use of these battles as opportunities for educating the workers.

"2. That a national committee on labor organization be elected by this convention which shall cooperate with the local committees above mentioned. In addition, the national committee shall be charged with the task of mobilizing national support for strikes of national importance and shall endeavor to give these a political character.

"(a) It shall collect information concerning the revolutionary labor movement from the different sections of the country and from other countries, and through a press service to labor and Socialist papers shall spread this information to all parts of the country.

"(b) It shall mobilize on a national scale all members who can serve as propagandists and organizers, who can not only teach, but actually help, to put into practice the principles of revolutionary industrial unionism and Communism."

In support of proposition A of the Government's contention, section 4 of the platform of the Communist Labor Party is quoted:

"The Communist Labor Party proposes the organization of the workers as a class, the overthrow of capitalist rule, and the conquest of political power by the workers. The workers organized as the ruling class, shall, through their government, make and enforce the laws; they shall own and control land, factories, mills, mines, transportation systems, and financial institutions. All power to the workers."

And further, section 4 of party and labor program, part 1, stated:

"The dictatorship of the proletariat shall transfer private property in the means of production and distribution to the working-class government, to be administered by the workers themselves. It shall nationalize the great trusts and financial institutions. It shall abolish capitalist agricultural production."

In further support of this contention, the following is quoted from "The manifesto and governing rules of the communist international," under the heading "Expropriation of the bourgeoisie and socialization of production:"

"In order to raise the standards of productivity, in order to crush the opposition on the part of the bourgeoisie (which only prolongs the death struggle of the old regime and thereby invites danger of total ruin), the proletarian dictatorship must carry out the expropriation of the greater bourgeoisie and junkerdom and convert the means of production and distribution into the common property of the proletarian State.

"As the first steps toward socialization of the entire economic system may be mentioned: The socialization of the great banks which now control production; the taking over by the State power of the proletariat of all Government-controlled economic utilities; the transferring of all communal enterprises; the socializing of the syndicated and trustified units of production, as well as all other branches of production in which the degree of concentration and centralization of capital makes this technically practicable; the socializing of agricultural estates and their conversion into cooperative establishments.

"As far as the smaller enterprises are concerned, the proletariat must gradually unite them, according to the degree of their importance.

"Besides expropriating the factories, mines, estates, etc., the proletariat must also abolish the exploitation of the people by capitalistic landlords, transfer the large mansions to the local workers councils, and move the working people into the bourgeois dwellings. During this great transition period the power of the councils must constantly build up the entire administrative organization into a more centralized structure, but on the other hand constantly draws ever increasing elements of the working people into the immediate control of the government."

In further support of the Government's contention (A) excerpts from the "Constitution of the Russian Soviet"—clauses C, D, and E—chapter 2 of article 1, are quoted:

"C. As a first step toward complete transfer of ownership to the Soviet Republic of all factories, mills, mines, railways, and other means of production and transportation, the Soviet law for the country by workmen and the establishment of the supreme Soviet of national economy is hereby confirmed, so as to assure the power of the workers over the exploiters.

"D. With reference to international banking and finance, the third Congress of Soviets is discussing the Soviet decree regarding the annulment of loans made by the Government of the Czar, by landowners and the bourgeoisie, and it trusts that the Soviet Government will firmly follow this course until the final victory of the international workers revolt against the oppression of capital.

"E. The transfer of all banks into the ownership of the workers' and peasants' government, as one of the conditions of the liberation of the toiling masses from the yoke of capital, is confirmed."

In support of the Government's contention (B) when the question as to the name of said party came before the convention on September 2, 1919, discussion was raised as to the word "communist," when Delegate Zimmerman, of Indiana, and Budin, of New York, stated that the name communist had no magic power at the present time. It signifies terror and it should not be adopted, but that when the revolution is on it may serve as a magnet—but while the revolution is in the making it should not be used. Said delegates further contended:

"That the dictatorship of the proletariat at the present time is a farce; it worked in Russia where the masses were prepared. The first thing to do here is to organize—educate and prepare the masses."

Delegates Tichenor and Carney favored the name "Communist Labor Party," saying:

"That the word socialism is going to be omitted from the next dictionary. That the officers of the Socialist Party had done such disgraceful work, and that the masses are too disgusted to use that name. That communism embodies the revolutionary movement and the Third International, and it is the only name for the future revolutionary party."

On September 3, 1919, when the platform of the Communist Labor Party was discussed, it appeared that some of the delegates did not understand the term "political action," as understood by the Communist Labor Party, and therefore opposed the term to be used in the platform, believing that it may mislead the workers, and conveying to them the impression that the Communist Labor Party was a political organization. To make this phrase clear Delegates M. Prevey, J. Zimmerman, J. Clifford and Benjamin Gitlow, and other leading communists, explained the term political action, stating:

"That it does not necessarily mean action by ballot, but may take in any action that has as its aim the overthrow of the present system of society."

The foregoing debates were had in the presence of Special Agent G. F. R. Cunnerow, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.

In further support of the Government's contention—proposition B—excerpts from a speech of one Charles Baker, of Cleveland, Ohio, Chief organizer of the Communist Labor Party, on September 28, 1919, at 119 South Throop Street, Chicago, at the Cook County convention of the Communist Labor Party, are quoted—saying among other things:

"That the Communist Labor Party is growing very rapidly and that he expected the party would have about 3,000,000 members in about 18 months, which would be sufficient to overthrow the capitalist society and establish the communist commonwealth."

Further, the Communist Labor Party, through its organization committee of the Cook County local, with headquarters at 204 North Clark Street, Chicago, Ill., issued a leaflet addressed to "revolutionary comrades in the Socialist Party and to all class conscious workers," which stated in part as follows:

"Comrades: It is time to get out. Let us abandon all the miserable compromises to their fate. Let us continue the great task so earnestly begun by Karl Marx and his valiant colleagues, and so heroically carried out by Lenin, Trotsky, Leibknecht,

and Luxembourg. Away with the compromise; on with the revolutionary class struggle."

Further, in support of this contention an excerpt from a mimeographed statement of the Illinois delegates who withdrew from the emergency convention and participated in the formation of the Communist Labor Party, which statement was addressed to the secretaries and comrades, reading as follows:

"For several months a controversy has been raging within the Socialist Party over matters of fundamental importance. It was hoped that at the national emergency convention in Chicago beginning August 30, that the matters of the controversy would be turned out and that the Socialist Party would follow your mandates as expressed in the referenda, a revolutionary policy affiliated with the Third International and repudiate the counter-revolutionary elements with the party. Recent referenda made it mandatory that the party here in the United States should align itself with the Bolsheviki of Russia, the Sparticides of Germany, and the communist groups in other parts of Europe. The membership had spoken and we have withdrawn from the convention, and proposed that the mandates of the membership should be carried out.

"Comrade Alfred Wagenknecht called us to order and we immediately got down to business. The Communist Labor Party was organized to carry out your mandates. It is affiliated with the Third International. It has repudiated the Scheidemanns of all countries, including our own. It is aligned with the Bolsheviki of Russia, the Sparticides of Germany, and the communist groups of the rest of Europe.

"It has done this because such was your mandate in the recent referenda. By a vote of more than 10 to 1 the Communist Labor Party has adopted a program based on the fact that we are living in a period of world revolution. It points out that if we would gain the support of the class-conscious workers of this country we must adopt our propaganda, education, and organization to the needs of the revolutionary proletariat.

"It not only indorses industrial unionism but proposes measures whereby one big union will become an accomplished fact."

This statement was circulated at Fleiner's Hall, at 1638 North Halsted Street, Chicago, Ill., while a meeting of all secretaries of the German branches of Cook County of the Socialist Party was held for the purpose of affiliating with either the Communist Labor Party or the Communist Party of America, and an original statement was obtained at said meeting by Special Agent M. F. Burger, of the Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, who was present to observe the conduct of said meeting.

This statement was signed by the following:

DR. CARL SANDBERG, *Chairman,*
SAMUEL F. HANKIN, *Secretary Cook County.*
EDGAR OWENS, *Secretary Down State,*
L. K. ENGLAND,
PERRY SHIPMAN,
WILLIAM LUGGE,
DR. O. J. BROWN,
O. A. OLSON,
WILLIAM BROSS LLOYD,
N. J. CHRISTENSEN,
CHARLES KRUMBINE, and
H. E. GREENWOOD.

In further support of the Government's contention—proposition B—extracts from the "Call for a mass membership convention for the purpose of organizing local Cook County of the Communist Labor Party of America" are quoted:

"In this, the most momentous period of the world's history, capitalism is tottering to its ruin. The working class is straining at the chains that bind it. A revolutionary spirit is spreading throughout the world. The workers are rising to answer the clarion call of the Third International.

"Only one socialism is possible in this crisis: A socialism that will express in action the needs of the working class. The time has passed for temporizing and hesitating. We must act. The communist call of the Third International, the echo of the communist manifesto of 1848, must be answered.

"2. The working class must organize and train itself for the capture of State power. This capture means the establishment of the new working-class government machinery in place of the State machinery of the capitalists.

"3. The new working class government—the dictatorship of the proletariat—will reorganize society on the basis of communism and accomplish the transition from capitalism to the communist commonwealth. Communist society is not the present fraudulent capitalist democracy, which, with all its pretensions to equality, is merel

a disguise for the rule of the financial oligarchy, but proletarian democracy, based on the control of industry and the state by the workers, who are thereby free to work out their own salvation. It does not mean capitalist institutions of government, which are controlled by the great financial and industrial interests, but organs of administration created and controlled by the masses themselves; such as, for example, the soviets of Russia.

"4. The dictatorship of the proletariat shall transfer private property in the means of production and distribution to the working-class government, to be administered by the workers themselves. It shall nationalize the great trusts and financial institutions. It shall abolish capitalist agricultural production.

"5. The present world situation demands that the revolutionary working-class movement of all countries shall closely unite.

"6. The most important means of capturing state power for the workers is the direct action of the masses, proceeding from the place where the workers are gathered together in the shops and factories. The use of the political machinery of the capitalist state for this purpose is only secondary."

In further support of Government's contention—proposition B—excerpts from the official organ of the Communist Labor Party of America entitled "Communist Labor" under date of December 6, 1919, under the heading "Revolution or evolution" by J. Loriot are quoted:

"I am very certain that I am expressing the thoughts of some of these when I assert that the revolution is not that slow development at all that ends in the establishment of a new order, but that the old system can not be overthrown without the use of more or less violence, according to the strength of the opposition it meets and the degree of the conviction of its necessity on the part of the masses.

"Doubtlessly the development of society affords a striking analogy with the phenomena of the reproduction of species. Like the human embryo, so, too, the social embryo at first finds in its milieu the conditions and the material for its development. But just as the birth of the little human shakes the foundations of the life and health of the mother, so the birth of this new social being can take place only with severest shocks to the old body, so severe that the old body is ruined by it."

Further, on page 2, under the heading of "One of the incidents of the class struggle," appears the following:

"No doubt that the Louisiana lumber merchants have also attempted to sidetrack the struggle started against them by the workers into the channels of race hatred. Their hirelings intended to lynch a Negro, a labor agitator, and thus to impose upon them the wild notion that the Negro, calling upon them to fight against capital, is the alleged cause of their misery. But their provocation failed. The union leaders have responded to it in the only manner worthy of proletarians, who understand that the workers of all races and nationalities are their allies and brothers; that they are all equally suffering under the yoke of capitalism, and that only by uniting their forces can they put an end to this oppression.

"And realizing this, they could not stand by indifferently while the mercenaries of the capitalists attacked one of them under the pretext that their victim was a worker of another race, attempting to snatch him out of their midst, and thus cause confusion in their ranks. They had to take up the defense of their brother, the Negro, and they did.

"They did not hesitate to give their lives. They fell in an unequal fight.

"They have set a good example; and the more self-sacrificing workers of all nationalities we have ever ready to give their lives for the cause of the proletariat, the fewer victims we shall have and the sooner will the working class win its final victory over its enemies."

And on page 4 of the same issue, under the heading "To the proletariat of the world," the following excerpt is quoted:

"The imperialist pillagers, Clemenceau and Wilson at their head, have lost all their modesty. Their ultimatum was thus conceived: Overthrow the government of the soviets, and we will let you live in peace, and thus is revealed all the baseness of which the former Socialist Democratic Party was capable. It had given its oath of fidelity to the proletariat dictatorship. It had signed an agreement with the Communist Party of Hungary; more than that, it had amalgamated with that party. At solemn assemblies, at the congress of soviets, at the congress of the party, it had declared that it would fight for communism and the revolution to the last drop of blood. It had, after having amalgamated with the communists, adhered to the third communist international; now it carries the brand of Cain on its forehead."

Further, the following in the form of an editorial on page 4 of the same issue appears:

"What is the duty of the revolutionary proletariat in this crisis? Is it to recognize the existing state of revolution and clear the decks for action—or is it to continue the

sweet dream of socialism, content with the thought of it, wasting valuable time in scholastical hair-splitting, and exhausting its energies in the expensive but fruitless sport of reforming capitalism?

"On this decision depends victory or defeat.

"The revolutionary proletariat of the world realizes this. It realizes that the time for action has come. Not to merely talk about revolution, but to fight for it, has become the task of the socialist movement. It expresses this awakening in the communist movement the world over.

"As communism in the time of Marx stood for the socialism of science, so communism to-day stands for the socialism of action.

"The socialists of the second international expressed its condemnation of capitalism by the power of words, programs, and manifestos.

"The third international, born in the midst of revolutionary battles in Moscow, prepares for the destruction of capitalism by the revolutionary activity of the working class. It will not merely talk about revolution—it will fight for it.

"The Communist Labor Party of America together with communists the world over, realizes the necessity of revolutionary action by the working class.

"It realizes that this action must be by the masses of the workers.

"It realizes that the strength of the worker does not rest in his quality as a citizen of the capitalist state but in his social position as a worker.

"It realizes that this social position, that of the producer of all necessities of society, which makes society dependent upon the working class, is common to all workers and can be used by them in a mass, as a class, for the revolutionary purposes of the proletariat.

"It also realizes that the roots of a revolutionary organization of the workers must be where they can draw upon the strength and the revolutionary activity of the masses.

"It, therefore, proposes to create the contact between its organization and the toiling masses by means of shop and factory committees until it not only represents the revolutionary struggles and aspirations of the proletariat, but is the fighting working class itself.

"This is the program of Communist Labor, the national organ of the Communist Labor Party.

"Not from the pedestal of phrase mongering, but as a worker among the workers, it will endeavor to interpret current events in the light of communist understanding. It will further that understanding with the masses so that not only revolutionary action will be placed in the hands of these masses but also intelligence of decision as to when and how to act.

"The real fundamental basis of the Communist Labor Party conception of communism is also that of the Communist Labor, an uncompromising and unwavering onward march toward communism over the ruins of capitalism and over the bridge of a proletarian dictatorship.

"A compromise is a concession to the enemy, an acknowledgment of weakness. A victory gained by such a concession is, in the last analysis, a victory for the enemy.

"Though it realizes that the duty of the working class of America is to carry on its struggle upon the local fields of battle of class warfare, communist labor, nevertheless recognizes the international character of that struggle and will be guided in its educational and propaganda work by the needs of the international revolutionary movement. The third international will be the general staff directing its activities; our duty will be in the adaptation of its orders to the local needs of the revolutionary class struggle. These local needs are in all instances the strengthening of the position of the working class until that class can set up its own will and power as the governing force of society, using that power for the destruction of capitalism and the building of communism.

"The class struggle for us will be not an abstract theory but a live issue, the issue confronting the proletariat everywhere. To fight in it is our purpose; to end it is our aim."

Further, in the same issue, on page 7, under the heading of "Capitalism and Communism," the following appears:

"The Bolshevik revolution, almost overnight, threw into the foreground of party life questions of fundamental significance, that had hitherto received practically no attention from the rank and file of the membership. It showed that the social revolution, when once it comes, will be accomplished neither by pure and simple bourgeois parliamentarism, nor by the sort of promiscuous bomb throwing that figures in the American press whenever the word Bolshevik is mentioned, but that the overthrow of capitalist society can and will be accomplished by the action of a determined, class conscious, and united socialist proletariat. It showed the difference between mass

action which is the manifestation of power by large groups of the organized proletariat and the actions of individuals or small secret groups goaded to madness by oppression. The German revolution and its tragic fate at the hands of the German Social Democracy under the leadership of the superparliamentarians has but served to strengthen the impression the Russian revolution created.

"But in their blindness they fail to see that two heads are growing where there was one before; that every arrest will only add to the popular appeal of our cause, for in the Communist Labor Party capital opposes not an idea, but a living, breathing, vital fact; not a political program, but a revolution, the revolution that is taking possession of the proletariat, a revolution that will come not as a gift from the leaders in the parliaments of the land, but out of the mills and shops, the mines and the railroads, with the hearts and the hands of the working class."

In further support of contention B, under the heading "Capitalism, your days are numbered," the Communist Labor, official organ of the Communist Labor Party of America, under date of February 25, 1920, publishes the following:

"We know that traitorous labor leaders still hang onto your apron strings. We know that members of the working class still betray the workers to serve you.

"But we also know that labor sees a new light.

"It may be midnight in the United State, but dawn in the East tinges the world with crimson. Labor is also looking eastward. Labor is learning how.

"Capitalism—your 'hope for quiet days, fair issue, and a long life' is a hope you'll never realize.

"Your retainers will soon number but a handful. An army of millions will oppose you. The millions will establish their dictatorship.

"That will settle you, capitalism. You and your crimes, and lies and plunder and rape. Your exit will mean warmth, food, and smiles to millions and security to all. It will mean everything to the working class.

"To disregard your leadership down the crooked alleys of decrepit parliamentarism—that's the lesson we've been taught. To battle with our own weapons, fashioned to meet your criminal onslaughts—that's what we have learned to do. Through the dictatorship of the working class to everything—that's the way we shall proceed.

"Capitalism, we are onto you.

"Your days are numbered."

Further, in the same issue, under the heading "Tactics of the Communists," by Nicolai Lenin, the following is quoted:

"Only knaves and fools can believe that the proletariat must win the majority in elections taking place under the pressure of the bourgeois, under the pressure of wage slavery, and only then seize the power. This is the height of narrowness and hypocrisy. It is the attempt to substitute for the class struggle and the revolution, elections under the old social order, under the old government. The proletariat conducts its class struggle without waiting for a vote for the beginning of the strike, although for the full success of the strike the sympathy of the majority of the workers—and consequently also of the majority of the population, is necessary. The proletariat carried on its fight and overthrows the bourgeoisie without waiting for any preliminary vote (in which the bourgeoisie itself participates and which takes place under its pressure)—although at the same time the proletariat knows full well that for the success of its revolution, for the successful downing of the bourgeoisie, there is absolute necessity of the sympathy of the majority of the workers—and consequently also of the majority of the population.

"Parliamentary centrism and the modern Louis Blancs insist on the vote, and that a vote carried out by the bourgeoisie determines the sympathy of the majority. But that is the view of pedants, of political corpses, of cunning deceivers.

"Actual life, the history of the real revolution, shows that the 'sympathy of the majority of the workers' may often be proved without any vote (aside from such votes as are taken on a basis of 'equality' of the exploiter with the exploited). Very often the sympathy of the majority of the workers is revealed not through votes but through the growth of one of the parties in the number of members in the councils, through the success of a single strike which for some reason has gained great significance, through success in civil war, etc.

"The fight against the betrayers of Socialism, the Scheidemanns and Kautskyans must be a ruthless one, but it must not be fought on the basis of participation in bourgeois parliaments, reactionary unions, etc., or boycotting of these organs. That would be an absolute mistake. A still greater one would be deviate from the ideas of Marxism and its practical line (a strong centralized party) in favor of the ideas and practice that demands as a matter of principle participation in the bourgeois parliament, in the reactionary labor unions, in the factory councils organized and castrated by the Scheidemanns. Such a party must function wherever there are workers, wher-

ever workers may be spoken to, wherever the working class may be influenced. One must absolutely unite the illegal with the legal, systematically and without deviation establishing a strict party and its workers' organization. This is not easy. But there is not and can not be any "easy" task, any "easy" struggle for the proletarian revolution. But this problem must be solved at all costs.

"We differ from the Scheidemanns and Kautskyans not only—and not chiefly—in that they, unlike us, do not recognize the armed uprising; the most important and fundamental difference is that they in every field—in the bourgeois parliament, in the unions, in the press, etc.—carry on an inconsistent opportunistic and actually traitorous policy."

Further, in the same issue, under the heading "from Ellis Island," on page 3: "Advice to all comrades," and signed by the "Lettish group of communists, Ellis Island, N. Y.," the following is quoted:

"It is your duty to do everything you can to reach a unity of Communist parties in the nearest future. We here on the island, regardless of which of the two parties we belong to, are only Communists. If there are leaders who stand against unity, push them aside. Who still and knowingly propogates this unnecessary split, he is not worthy to be called a Communist.

"Spare no energies to spread the communist principles. Let the day soon come when the United States plutocracy will be overthrown and its hirelings swept aside.

"Down with capitalism. Long live the third internationals."

And further, under the heading "The white terror and communism," on page 6, in the same issue, the following is quoted:

"Old Berger in the sweat of his brow is trying to show that the Constitution exists, and that the workers have the right as citizens to be deprived of their rights on the basis of the same Constitution. Some of the 'mild reservationists' being afraid that their colleagues' madness may create a desertion of many and even 'loyal' workers to the camp of communists, are admitting the necessity for a new 'declaration of independence' and are ready to write one for the working class of their country.

"The class war is on. The communists are aware of it. The only declaration of independence the working class is going to write is already written in the manifesto of the third international: 'All power to the workers.'"

In further support of the Government's contention, proposition B, the following is quoted from the Communist Labor, official organ of the Communist Labor Party of America under date of March 25, 1920, under the heading "Caesar, beware of the ideas of March," on pages 2 and 3, reading as follows:

"A working-class government not only derives its powers from the workers but places the functions of government into the hands of the workers themselves. The control of the government by the workers through the ballot box is not sufficient. The capturing of the State power by the revolutionary working class means the destruction of the capitalist character of this State, means the building up of a working class state, giving dictatorial powers to the workers. The purpose of this dictatorship is its own destruction, is the abolishment of class rule.

"But, behold, the workers do rise; they do go on strike! To save their friends Ebert and Noske? Oh, no. They strike to set up a dictatorship of the working class. They strike to conquer the political power of the state by destroying the political state machinery of capitalism and by placing the function of government into the hands of the working class itself, into the hands of workers' committees, into the hands of soviets.

"But it again teaches something to the workers of the world: The class solidarity of the capitalists. There is only one force to combat that and combat it successfully—class solidarity of the workers."

And further in the same issue, on page 8, under the heading, "A call to action," the following appears:

"Comrades: The revolution marches forward in spite of Mitchell Palmer and all that. The spirit of revolution will march on until the prison doors burst open and the class-war prisoners march out, joining their victorious brothers in a triumphant revolution.

"But that day must find us prepared. The revolutionary power of the workers, when set in motion by the elementary forces of economic evolution must find a guide in a well-developed communist movement which consciously and knowingly leads the revolution along the path to communism.

"Comrades: We, the national executive committee of the Communist Labor Party call upon you to double your efforts for our cause in the same ration as the efforts of capitalism double to escape its destiny.

"We call upon you to rally under the banners of the Communist Labor Party.

"Comrades: Is the cause of communism, is the cause of soviet Russia, is the cause of the working class worth a day's wage to you every three months?

"The workers of Russia give their blood for it. Those unable to bring this supreme sacrifice in Russia, work. Half starving, they work every Saturday, without wages, for their government. They call it Communist Saturday.

"Comrades: This is your fight. Do your duty. Translate your enthusiasm into action so you need not keep on wishing to be in Russia to be in a free country."

In further support of the Government's contention proposition B, extracts from a letter dated April 21, 1919, at Chicago, Ill., and addressed to Mr. C. Feichtmeir at Wausau, Wis., and signed by William Brock Lloyd, are quoted:

"The one compelling force in the workers' interest is working-class power and the Socialist Party executives with the world in tumult—with the American proletariat saturated with unrest has done absolutely nothing to organize working-class power to compel the capitalists to give up hope and enable the workers to take over the government and industry of the world. It is time we tried a new deal and put in a bunch of men who would stick to their business—which is to organize working-class power to take over the Government and industry * * * peacefully if the rulers choose to give up—by force if they do not make that wise choice."

In further support of the Government contention B, the following is quoted from The Toiler, official organ of the Communist Labor Party of Ohio, at Cleveland, Ohio, under date of March 12, 1920, on page 3, under the heading "A communist—Almost," which article clearly shows that the Communist Labor Party, for the purpose of seizing the power of State, does not intend to use the ballot:

"While we have had no intentions of carrying on a week-to-week argument with the Miami Valley Socialist, we can not refrain from complimenting its editor upon his arrival at another milestone on the way to advocacy of communist principles and tactics. And while he continues to resort to comics we will have to smile in reply. In the last issue the editor says in reply to us:

"If we (the Socialist Party) aimed merely at putting socialists in legislatures to introduce reforms or to 'talk revolution,' the Berger and Albany incidents might be an argument against political action. But what socialists seek by political action is not to have a vote and voice in carrying on the capitalist state; on the contrary, it is to rally a majority for the abolition of the capitalist state."

"The editor of the Miami is perfectly aware that the Communist Labor Party has not dispensed with political action, so the intimation to that effect is without force. The editor goes on to give a reason for the Socialist Party's advocacy of political action in these words:

"Now, so long as the capitalist class can pose as the forces of 'law and order' the great inert American masses will cling blindly to them. And so long as the capitalist can hold out the ballot to them they will not believe the capitalists have deprived them of 'liberty.'" But by political action, by insisting upon the ballot as the means of accomplishing the transition from capitalism to industrial democracy, socialists force the hand of the capitalist class—

"to prove, he should have added, that political action by the working class is but of secondary value as a weapon to abolish the capitalist state. His statement amounts to this: That the use of the ballot to the workers is of more value as a propaganda weapon than as an actual political pry with which it may hope to gain power over the state. It is also in contradiction to his first statement quoted above. He does not expect to ever 'rally a majority' of votes with which to overthrow capitalism, but will use the ballot to 'force the hand of capitalism.'"

"The above statement comprises a near declaration of harmony with the position of the Communist Labor Party in regard to the uses and value of working-class political action. We had hardly hoped Comrade Sharts to ever make it. And therein lies our reason for smiling. Has not the logic of the 'Berger and Albany incidents' gotten a bit the best of Comrade Sharts's faith in the power of the ballot to abolish the capitalist State?

"It looks very much like it. To prove just how much, we quote from the platform of the Communist Labor Party and ask that you compare the above statement with what follows:

"The most important means of capturing State power for the workers is the action of the masses, proceeding from the place where the workers are gathered together—in the shops and factories. The use of the political machinery of the capitalist State for this purpose is only secondary."

"However, we do not ignore the value of voting, or of electing candidates to public office—so long as these are of assistance to the workers in their economic struggle. Political campaigns, and the election of public officials, provide opportunities for showing up capitalist democracy, educating the workers to a realization of their class position, and of demonstrating the necessity for the overthrow of the capitalist system. But it must be clearly emphasized that the chance of winning even ad-

vanced reforms of the present capitalist system at the polls is extremely remote; and even if it were possible these reforms would not weaken the capitalist system.

"That the Socialist Party advocates use of the ballot for the purpose of 'forcing the capitalist class' to prove the ballot's precise value is a new one. We really thought it took the ballot seriously, and can hardly accept Comrade Sharts's definition. It is much easier to believe that Comrade Sharts is somewhat out of sympathy with the present day attitude of the Socialist Party on this matter.

"Will we have to believe him a communist—almost?"

In further support of Government contention B, the following is quoted from *The Toiler*, official organ of the Communist Labor Party of the State of Ohio, published at Cleveland, Ohio, under date of May 14, 1920, under the heading "Trade-unionism, industrial unionism, and workers' committees," subheading, "Issued by the bureau of the third international":

"(c) By the formation of organization such as shop stewards, workers' committees, economic workers' councils, and direct branches of the Communist parties in the shops, mills, and mines, which are not alone means for moving the masses and the unions to more revolutionary action but which at the moment of the crisis may develop the soviets.

"14. The conquest of the power of the State is the objective of the revolutionaries proletariat. Neither the parliaments nor the industrial unions are the means for this conquest of power, but mass action and the soviets—mass action to rally the workers, organized and unorganized, in the open revolutionary struggle for power; the soviets to constitute the mechanism of the revolutionary proletarian State, the dictatorship of the proletariat. At the moment of active revolution the struggle becomes not a struggle for industrial unions, but for the construction of soviets.

"15. After the conquest of political power and under the protection of the soviet dictatorship, industrial unionism comes actually to function in the economic reconstruction of society on a communist basis; and the stronger the industrial unions the easier the process of reconstruction. The government of soviets, of proletarian dictatorship, is political and transitory in character, the necessary agency of repression to expropriate and crush capitalism. While industrial in its constituents and representation, the government of soviets functions geographically and politically; but alongside of itself it constructs a central administration of industry, wholly economic in character, equality in representation and functions, perfecting the organism proletarian control and management of industry on the basis of the industrially organized producers."

In further support of Government's contention B, the following is quoted from the *Voice of Labor*, published twice monthly by the Communist Labor Party of America, in its issue of April 20, 1920, under the subheading "Strike for peace with Russia May 1," on pages 2 and 3:

"Third, to strive in other countries toward Soviet Republics as the organs of dictatorship of the proletariat. This inspiring aim we must always have in mind in all our deeds, all our actions. We must fill our heads with revolutionary thoughts; we must dare to hope in the midst of our misery; we must understand more and more that the break-down of capitalism is in full process; we must be willing to destroy the weapons of our enemies; we must have confidence in our constructive power. All this we can only achieve in a constant fight with our exploiters by giving this fight a general revolutionary character. It means a complete break with bourgeois civilization bourgeois morals, bourgeois supremacy; it means labor as the basic principle of social and moral life. Therefore, under all circumstances, the action to support Soviet Russia must be uppermost in our minds, must form part of all our important proletarian action. And to make it clear to the world, that this is a paramount international issue, the idea of an international demonstrative strike must be propagated and prepared in all countries.

"The Amsterdam bureau of the Communist International considers it its main task to further international unity not only of thought but of action as well. It, therefore, submits for consideration to all Communist groups and revolutionary organizations, workers' committees, etc., the possibility of a demonstrative strike in favor of peace with Soviet Russia on an international scale.

"The third international has to perform the historical task which the second international only planned, must realize the vision which its predecessor only talked about. It is bound to realize the international internal and external unity of the world-proletariat, its unity of doctrine, of organization and of tactics. It must teach the workers to form a world front against the world front that imperialism is already developing, despite its internal deviations and dissensions.

"In suggesting that in 1920 the 1st of May be used for an International strike demonstration in favor of Soviet Russia (no matter whether at that time the im-

perialists talk peace and plan war), we want to avail ourselves of the traditions of working class solidarity and action in favor of peace already attached to May day and to use those traditions as a means of bringing on a new vigorous effort in the directions of international unity of action. We think the times are ripe for an effort of this kind. The idea of new forms of human life, of general comradeship and culture for all, and the common ownership of the means of production presents itself as an approaching reality for the first time since society was divided into a dominating and a dominated class, for the first time it takes hold of the masses. The outward façade of the bourgeois state and society still exists, but it may fall to pieces at any moment, although a long and severe struggle will doubtless still be necessary as much to finally crush the bourgeoisie as to effectuate in the mass of the people the moral and intellectual transformation that will make them able to institute the communist commonwealth and render them fit to live in it."

And further, in the same issue, on page 9:

"You strike against the boss. The boss strikes back at you through his government. What now becomes your duty? This—to give your mass action political significance by striking against the government."

In further support of government contention B, the following quotations are from the Manifesto of the Communist International, on pages 15, 16, 17, 20, and 22, under the heading "The Capture of Political Power"; 23 under the heading "Democracy and Dictatorship"; and 30 under the heading "The Way to Victory":

"Whenever the masses are awakened to consciousness, workers, soldiers, and peasant councils will be formed. To fortify these councils, to increase their authority, to oppose them to the State apparatus of the bourgeoisie, is now the chief task of the class-conscious and honest workers of all countries. By means of these councils the working class can counteract that disorganization which has been brought into it by the infernal anguish of the war, by hunger, by the violent deeds of the possessing classes, and by the betrayal of their former leaders. By means of these councils the working class will gain power in all countries most readily and most certainly when these councils gain the support of the majority of the laboring population. By means of these councils the working class, once attending power, will control all the fields of economic and cultural life, as in the case of Russia at the present time.

"Civil war is forced upon the laboring classes by their archenemies. The working class must answer blow for blow, if it will not renounce its own object and its own future which is at the same time the future of all humanity.

"The Communist parties, far from conjuring up civil war artificially, rather strive to shorten its duration as much as possible—in case it has become as iron necessity—to minimize the number of its victims, and above all to secure victory for the proletariat. This makes necessary the disarming of the bourgeoisie at the proper times, the arming of the laborers, and the formation of a communist army as the protector of the rule of the proletariat and the inviolability of the social structure. Such is the Red army of Soviet Russia which arose to protect the achievements of the working class against every assault from within or without. The soviet army is inseparable from the Soviet State.

"Proletarians of all lands! In the war against imperialistic barbarity, against monarchy, against the privileged classes, against the bourgeois State and bourgeois property against all forms and varieties of social and national oppression—unite! Under the standard of the Workingmen's Councils, under the banner of the Third International, in the revolutionary struggle for power and the dictatorship of the proletariat, proletarians of all countries, unite.

"THE CAPTURE OF THE POLITICAL POWER.

"Seizure of political power by the proletariat means destruction of the political power of the bourgeoisie. The organized power of the bourgeoisie is in the civil State, with its capitalistic army under control of bourgeois-junker officers, its police and gendarmes, jailers, and judges, its priests, government officials, etc. Conquest of the political power means not merely a change of the personnel of ministries, but annihilation of the enemy's apparatus of government; disarmament of the bourgeoisie, of the counterrevolutionary officers of the White Guard; arming of the proletariat, the revolutionary soldiers, the Red Guard of Workingmen; displacement of all bourgeois judges and organization of proletarian courts; elimination of control by reactionary government officials and substitution of new organs of management of the proletariat. Victory of the proletariat consists in shattering the enemy's organization and organizing the proletarian power; in the destruction of the bourgeois and upbuilding of the proletarian State apparatus. Not until the proletariat has achieved this victory and broken the resistance of the bourgeoisie can the former enemies of the new order be made useful, by bringing them under control of the communistic structure and gradually bringing them into accord with its work.

"DEMOCRACY AND DICTATORSHIP.

"The proletarian State, like every State, is an organ of suppression, but it arrays itself against the enemies of the working class. It aims to break the opposition of the despoilers of labor, who are using every means in a desperate effort to stifle the revolution in blood, and to make impossible further opposition. The dictatorship of the proletariat, which gives it the favored position in the community, is only a provisional institution. As the opposition of the bourgeoisie is broken, as it is expropriated and gradually absorbed into the working groups, the proletarian dictatorship disappears, until finally the State dies and there is no more class distinction.

THE WAY TO VICTORY.

"The revolutionary era compels the proletariat to make use of the means of battle which will concentrate its entire energies, namely, mass action, with its logical resultant, direct conflict with the governmental machinery in open combat. All other methods, such as revolutionary use of bourgeois parliamentarism, will be of only secondary significance.

"The indispensable condition for successful struggle is separation not only from the direct servitors of capitalism and enemies of the communist revolution, in which rôle the Social Democrats of the right appear, but also from the party of the center (Kautskians), who desert the proletariat at the critical moment in order to come to terms with its open antagonists. On the other hand, there are essential elements of the proletariat, heretofore not within the Socialist Party, who stand now completely and absolutely on the platform of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of council rule, for example, the corresponding elements among the Syndicalists."

In further support of Government's contention B, of clearly explaining the meaning of dictatorship of the proletariat, the following is quoted from a monthly publication entitled "The Class Struggle," edited by Eugene V. Debs, Louis C. Fraina, and Ludwig Lore, the latter a member of the Communist Labor Party—and Louis C. Fraina, the international delegate for the Communist Party of America—which publication is sold and circulated by Arthur Proctor—who is the local secretary for the Communist Labor Party—in the issue of August, 1919, under the heading Dictatorship of the proletariat appears the following:

"What does dictatorship mean? Dictatorship is the form of government by which one class forces its will ruthlessly on the other class. During the period of social evolution, in which one class is preparing itself for the struggle for power, it foregoes the use of force because it is too weak to use force. It is only gathering together, concentrating its powers, and on this account it is not necessary for the ruling class to use open force against it. The ruling class only holds its forces in readiness, but it gives the class which is striving upward a certain room for development, as long as it does not consider this class dangerous. From the moment when the ruling class lays burdens on the oppressed class, which are so heavy that the ruling class fears a possible uprising of the oppressed, it puts into play the machinery of force. The war laid burdens such as these on the masses of the workers, and on that account it brought with it the suspension of the few scanty rights enjoyed by the working class in the time of peace; that is, it brought the dictatorship of imperialism, which cost the workers millions of lives. In order to break the dictatorship of imperialism the working class must employ force; force brings about the revolution. But no hitherto existing ruling class can be conquered at one blow. Beaten once, it attempts to rise again, and it can do so because the victory of revolution is by no means able to alter the economic system of society in an instant, to tear out by the roots the power of the deposed class. The social revolution is a lengthy process, which begins with the dethronement of the capitalist class, but ends only with the transformation of the capitalist system into a workers' community. This process will require at least a generation in every country, and this space of time is precisely the period of the proletarian dictatorship, the period during which the proletariat must keep the capitalist in subjection with the one hand, while it can use only the other for the work of socialist construction.

"Everything that is being said, on the ground of principle, against the rule by force of the Russian working class, means nothing else than the disavowal not only of the teachings of Marx, but of the plainest facts of the past. When a Renner does not blush to assert the scientific mien that the political revolution, that is, the employment of brute forces, contradicts the character of the Socialist revolution, because the Socialist revolution demands the organization of a new economic system and not force, that only means, that this former Marxist, with the Lassalleian enthusiasm for the state, is not a worshipper of the state idea after the manner of Lassalle, as he has been char-

acterized, but an ordinary capitalistic sophist. Just because the social revolution must transform the entire economic system of capitalism which gave to one class unheard of privileges, it must necessarily arouse the strongest opposition of this class, an opposition which can only be broken by the use of guns. And the stronger capitalism is developed in a country, just so much more ruthless, just so much wilder will the defensive struggle be, just so much bloodier the proletarian revolution, and just so much more ruthless the measures, by means of which the victorious working class will hold down the defeated capitalist class."

For the purpose of attaining the end desired, namely, the capture of the power of state by means of a general strike, the Communist Labor Party committed the overt acts by sending one Charles Baker, official organizer of the Communist Labor Party, into the coal fields of the State of Illinois—while a strike of the coal miners was on—for the purpose of inciting the striking coal miners to remain idle—and at the opportune time seize the mines from the possession and control of their lawful owners and operate them under the principles of communism.

A further overt act was committed in sending one L. E. Katterfeld, official organizer for said Communist Labor Party, into the coal fields of Kansas, with the same intent and purpose as said Charles Baker was sent into the coal fields of Illinois—the strike of the coal miners having been by presidential proclamation declared to be illegal, wherefore the Communist Labor Party in its official tactics conspired to support an unlawful strike with the intent to commit a further unlawful act, to wit: The seizure of private property with the ultimate aim of capturing the power of state by usurping Government powers and authority contrary to the Constitution of the United States and laws thereunder made.

The Communist Labor Party committed a further overt act by causing to be printed, published, and circulated with the intent of said publication reaching the striking railroad workers under date of April 20, 1920, a pamphlet entitled "The Voice of Labor," published twice monthly by the Communist Labor Party of America, on page 16, under the heading "Railroad Workers—Fight on," reading as follows:

"YOU ARE OUT ON STRIKE.

"For a long time you were promised redress of your grievances, and you waited—you waited until this great truth dawned upon you: That the only power to force redress of your grievances is your own strength and not the 'good will' of Mr. Wilson, Mr. Hines, or Mr. Railroad President.

"All the powers of darkness have joined hands to combat you, because they realize full well that your present revolt threatens them with disaster. These vultures understand that such a strike as yours, a strike that paralyzes the railroads, the main artery of production, a strike against the will of the union 'leaders,' who are considered lawful because they are the servants of your capitalist masters—such a strike deals a powerful blow to their domination."

Fight on then—you railroad workers! Keep up the battle! Avoid compromise.

Remember that the meaning and purpose of your struggle is not merely a slight betterment of your slave conditions. These slight betterments were occasionally secured for you by your union "leaders." Have these crumbs helped you any?

Do not content yourself with crumbs from the sumptuous table of your masters. Fight on for more than crumbs. Fight on for the seizure of all the means of production, all the factories and mills, all the mines and railroads. All of these belong to you. All of these are the product of your labor. But all of them were grabbed by your exploiters, the capitalists, who maintain their grip upon you with the aid of the Government.

To own the industries you must unite your forces with those of other workers into one big union. Abandon your old, rotting, conservative unions with their treacherous leaders who sell you out to your enemies.

"Create a new organization, a real working class revolutionary organization, with which you can lay hold of the governmental powers, which at present are being used by the capitalist class to enslave you and bleed you to death.

"All power and all industries to the workers! The Communist Labor Party" thereby conspiring and attempting to incite and induce said railroad workers to violate the act of Congress of October 22, 1919, commonly known as the Lever Act.

The evidence clearly shows that this is the aim of the Communist Party of the United States in conjunction with all revolutionary working class parties to capture the bourgeois parliamentary state by mass action or economic power in the form of strikes. While it is conceded that some strikes are lawful, but strikes or combinations to incite employees without any dissatisfaction with the terms of their employment for the sole purpose of seizing political power is an unlawful conspiracy by reason of its purpose—whether such purpose is effected by means usually lawful or otherwise.

A strike directed and aimed at the powers of the Government by the employment of general strikes is unlawful and contrary to public policy.

It is the motive for quitting and the end sought thereby that makes the injury inflicted unlawful and the combination by which it is effected an unlawful conspiracy.

"The gigantic character of the conspiracy of the American Railway Union staggers the imagination. The railroads have become as necessary to life, health, and comfort of the people of this country as are the arteries of the human body—and they—Debs and Phelan—and their associates proposed by inciting the employees of all the railroads in the country to suddenly quit their service without any dissatisfaction with the terms of their employment—and to paralyze utterly all the traffic by which the people live. The purpose shortly stated was to starve the railroad companies and the public into compelling Pullman to do something which they had no lawful right to compel him to do. Certainly the starvation of a nation can not be a lawful purpose of a combination and it is utterly immaterial whether the purpose is effected by means usually lawful or otherwise.

"Something has been said about the right of assembly and free speech secured by the constitution of Ohio—it would be strange indeed if that right could be used to sustain the carrying out of such an unlawful and criminal conspiracy as we have seen, this to be. It never has been supposed to protect one from prosecution or suits of slander or for any of the many malicious and tortious injuries which the agency of the tongue has been so often employed to inflict.

"If the obstruction of the operation of a road by the receiver was unlawful and malicious, it is not less than a contempt because the instrument which he used to effect it was his tongue rather than his hand."

Thomas v. Cincinnati, N. O. & T. P. Ry. Co., in re Phelan Federal 62-803.

"The Government of the Union, then, is emphatically and truly a government of the people in form and in substance; it emanates from them; its powers are granted by them, and are to be exercised directly on them and for their benefit. We hold it to be an incontrovertible principle that the Government of the United States, made by means of physical force, exercises through its official agents executed on every foot of American soil the powers and functions that belong to it. This necessarily involves the power to command obedience to its laws and hence the power to keep peace to that extent. This power to enforce its laws and to execute its functions in all places does not derogate from the power of the State to execute its laws at the same time and in the same places. The one does not exclude the other except where both can not be executed at the same time. In that case the words of the Constitution show which is to yield. * * * This Constitution and all laws which shall be made in pursuance thereof shall be the supreme law of the land. Mr. Justice Bradley in *ex parte Siebold*, 100 U. S., 371, 395.

"It is obvious from these decisions that while it is not the province of the Government to interfere in any mere matter of private controversy between individuals or to use its great powers to enforce the rights of one against another, yet whenever the wrongs complained of are such as take the public at large and are in respect of matters which by the Constitution are intrusted to the care of the nation and concerning which the nation owes the duty to all the citizens of securing it for their common rights, then the mere fact that the Government has no pecuniary interest in the controversy is not sufficient to exclude it from the courts or prevent it from taking measures therein to fully discharge its constitutional duties.

"A most earnest and eloquent plea was made to us in the eulogy of the heroic spirit of those who threw up their employment and gave up their means of earning a livelihood not in defense of their own rights but in sympathy for and to assist others who they believe to be wronged.

"We yield to none in our admiration of any act of heroism or self-sacrifice but we may be permitted to add that it is a lesson which can not be learned too soon or too thoroughly—that under this government of and by the people the means of redress of all wrongs are through the courts and at the ballot box—and that no wrong, real or fancied, carries with it legal warrant to invite as means of redress the cooperation of a mob with its accompanying acts of violence.

"We have given to this case the most careful and anxious attention for we realize that it touches closely questions of supreme importance to the people of this country—summing up our conclusions, we hold that the Government of the United States is one having jurisdiction of every foot of soil within its territory and acting directly upon each citizen—while it is a government of enumerated powers it has within the limits of those powers all the attributes of sovereignty." In re Debs petition U. S. Rep. 158-364.

"An organization of workmen is in line with good government when it is intended as a legitimate instrumentality to promote the common good of its members. If it

militate against the general public interests—if its powers be directed toward the repression of individuals' freedom—then it is unlawful." 152 New York 33.

"A strike by a combination of railroad employees is in itself unlawful—if the concerted action be knowingly and willfully directed by the parties to it for the purpose of obstructing and retarding the passage of the mails or in restraint of trade and commerce among the States." 67 Fed. Rep. 698-63 Fed. Rep. 436.

The fact that government strength rests on its military power—industry becomes potential thereto. This fact was recognized by Congress during the war with Germany when it enacted the so-called sabotage act—Public No. 135, Sixty-fifth Congress, approved April 20, 1918.

Defining "war utilities" in said act it included all railroads, railways, electric lines, roads of whatever description, railroad or railway fixture, canal, lock, dam, wharf, pier, dock, bridge, structure, engine machine, mechanical contrivance, car, vehicle, boat, or aircraft, or any other means of transportation whatsoever, whereon or whereby such war material or any troops of the United States, or of any associate nation, are being or may be transported either within the limits of the United States or upon the high seas; and all dams, reservoirs, aqueducts, water and gas mains and pipes, structures and buildings, whereby or in connection with which water or gas is being furnished, or may be furnished, to any war premises or to the military or naval forces of the United States, or any associate nation, and all electric light and power, steam or pneumatic power, etc.

The word "war premises" is defined to include all buildings, grounds, mines, or other places wherein such war material is being produced, manufactured, repaired, stored, mined, extracted, distributed, loaded, unloaded, or transported, together with all machinery and appliances therein contained; and all forts, arsenals, navy yards, camps, prisoner, or other military or naval stations of the United States, or any associate nation, etc.

The scheme, therefore, contemplated by the Communist Labor Party aims at the control of recognized fundamental military power, which power (industry) if not accessible to the government would render it impotent and annul its ability of enforcing the laws and supporting the Constitution which is its duty as representatives of the people, for the the people, and by the people. It is contrary to the Constitution to overthrow the Government and its laws by any other means than the ballot. It is immaterial what other means are employed—the method by which the control of the United States Government can be lawfully obtained is clearly set out in the Constitution.

"A State can have no existence politically outside and independently of the Constitution of the United States. *Thompson v. Mankin*, 26 Ark. 586-7 am. rep. 628.

"Republican form of government, within this section is a government in which the supreme power resides in the whole body of the people and is exercised by representatives elected by them. *Downes v. Bidwell*, 21 sup. ct. 770, 784, 182 U. S. 244.

"In the exercise of the power conferred by the guaranty clause, as in the exercise of every other constitutional power a discretion in the choice of means is necessarily allowed. It is essential only that the means must be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the power conferred through the restoration of the State to its constitutional relations, under a republican form of government and that no acts be done; and no authority exerted, which is either prohibited or unsanctioned by the Constitution. *Texas v. White*, 74 U. S. (7 Wall)."

The foregoing decisions clearly show that the dictatorship of the proletariat as advocated by the Communist Labor Party is directly opposed to the Constitution and laws of the United States, and that the ballot is not secondary in our form of Government, but is the primary factor essential to a constitutional democracy, wherefore the means which the Communist Labor Party teaches and advocates to be employed for the purpose of seizing the power of State (general strike and mass action) is contrary to the Constitution, therefore unlawful.

The Secretary of Labor, W. B. Wilson, held that the Communist Party of America was an organization which believed in the overthrow of the Government by force and violence. The honorable Secretary contended that a difference existed between the Communist Party of America and the Communist Labor Party of America, which difference was of such a nature that the Communist Labor Party of America does not come within the scope of the act of October 18, 1918. This contention of the Secretary of Labor is directly repudiated by the Communist Labor Party as well as the Communist Party who both publicly agree that they are founded and based on the same principle.

In support of this contention, the following is quoted from the Toiler, published at Cleveland, Ohio, under date of May 14, 1920—entered as second-class matter under the heading of the Ohio Socialist, February 21, 1917, at the post office at Cleveland

under act of March 3, 1879, and published weekly by the Communist Labor Party of Ohio, under the heading "Secretary Wilson's Ruling:"

"Since the January raids upon radicals of all hues the exact legal status of the Communist Labor Party has been in doubt. Soon after the raids were instituted, Secretary Wilson ruled that membership in the Communist Party constituted sufficient grounds for deportation of alien members and some were deported and others indicted. It was only natural considering the similarity of the principles of the two parties that a like fate awaited the alien members of the Communist Labor Party. That the adherents of Attorney General Palmer and his methods should sharply disagree with the conclusions of the Secretary of Labor would be expected since it is known that there have developed radical differences of policy between them. Naturally enough the Palmerites are peeved at the ruling. Apparently Palmer and his fellows are slated for the scrap heap.

"What is beneath and behind the ruling of Secretary Wilson is not just now apparent. Communists have too much sense and knowledge of capitalism and capitalist governments to assume that the decision, however, favorable to them, is based either upon a sense of justice residing within the Secretary's breast or upon a liberal conception of the fundamentals of American law and constitutional guaranties. Communists and Communist laborites have stoutly disclaimed any fundamental differences in principle between them the readily admitting differences in tactics and internal organization. If Secretary Wilson has discovered vital differences perhaps he is to be congratulated upon his diligent researches. It is said that the Almighty moves in mysterious ways his wonders to perform. So it is with politicians. We must leave the future to reveal why Mr. Wilson discovers what all Communists have claimed—that we are legal and within the law in the statements of our platform and program, methods, and tactics."

In further support of this contention, the following appears in the official organ of the Communist Labor Party of America, under date of February 25, 1920, entitled, "Communist Labor," on page 7, under the heading "The question of unity with the Communist Party":

"This meeting took place January 17. Ferguson could not be present. The secretary of the Communist Party, Lettish Federation, and C. E. Ruthenberg were present for the Communist Party, and L. F. Katterfeld and Edward Lingren and A. Wagenknecht were present for the Communist Labor Party. Ruthenberg suggested that unity might be achieved if the Communist Labor Party would agree to adopt the Communist Party manifesto, program, and constitution, and a merging of the two national executive committees. The Communist Labor Party subcommittee suggested as a counter proposal that the Communist Labor Party platform be the platform of both parties, as well as the Communist Party manifesto and program; that new governing rules were necessary to meet the new situation; that a resolution be adopted which admitted that unity was being effected between two parties the same principle. It was understood, mutually, that the meeting was not official. Upon adjournment of this conference, the Communist Labor Party subcommittee was given to understand that word would be sent it as soon as the national executive committee of the Communist Party considered the question of unity unofficially at its meeting. "The Communist Labor Party subcommittee then proposed the following counter proposition:

"1. We recognize that there is no fundamental difference of principle between the Communist Labor Party and the Communist Party, and we agree to send out a call for a joint convention on the basis of the Communist Party manifesto and program and to elect a convention committee for this purpose."

The platform and program of the Communist Labor Party in unqualified language expressly declares that the party is in full harmony with the revolutionary working class parties of all countries and stands by the principle stated by the Third International formed at Moscow—and that it is in complete accord with the principles of communism as laid down in the manifesto of the Third International.

The manifesto of the Third International becomes part of the platform and program of the Communist Labor Party by express reference thereto, and is therefore necessarily incorporated therein. Therefore, any person subscribing to the principles of the Communist Labor Party and agreeing to be guided by the constitution and platform of that party expressly and without reservation accepts the tactics of the Communist International.

The Honorable Secretary of Labor W. B. Wilson, therefore, was clearly in error when he held that an agreement and pledge to be guided in all actions as a member of the Communist Labor Party by the constitution and platform of that party was not an intimation that the member was or is required to accept the tactics of the Communist International or the tactics of the Communist Labor Party.

In conclusion it may be said that from the evidence set forth above, the contention that the Communist Labor Party of America is an unlawful organization, organized for all intents and purposes to overthrow the Government of the United States by force and violence.

Respectfully submitted.

M. F. BURGER.

STATUS OF THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY UNDER THE ACT OF CONGRESS APPROVED
OCTOBER 16, 1918.

A. INTRODUCTION.

Federal statute applicable to the Communist Labor Party: The act of Congress approved October 16, 1918, amending the immigration laws of the United States provides, among other things, that (1) aliens who disbelieve in or advocate or teach the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States shall be deported; (2) aliens who are members or affiliated with any organization that entertains a belief in, teaches, or advocates the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States shall be deported.

The provisions of the statute named above are the ones under which aliens who are members of or affiliated with the Communist Labor Party should be proceeded against. It is noted that the provisions quoted do not set forth that the aliens charged with the offense disbelieve in all forms of organized government or that they are anarchists. Hence it is not to be assumed that the members of the Communist Labor Party are anarchists or are disbelievers in all forms of organized government. They may believe in some form of government. It is sufficient in this brief to merely prove their belief in the overthrow by force and violence of the Government of the United States or their membership in an organization advocating such belief to bring them within the provisions of the act of October 16, 1918.

The enforcement of the provisions of the act of October 16, 1918, falls under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of Labor. It is his function to interpret the law. The fact that an alien is a member of the Communist Labor Party is sufficient to warrant his deportation by the Secretary of Labor. The provision of the statute applicable to membership in the Communist Labor Party does not, in addition to requiring the proof of membership in an unlawful organization, require that the alien against whom membership is proven, personally believe in the doctrines of the organization to which he belongs. Congress assumed that an alien belonging to such an organization knows the purposes of that organization. It does not, therefore, lie within the province of any administrative officer to decide upon the propriety or impropriety of deporting an alien upon the membership charged, when the alien claims that he does not know the purposes of the organization. Congress has decided that such membership upon the part of an alien shall be followed by his deportation and it is mandatory upon the Secretary of Labor to deport any alien against whom the act set forth in the statutes are proven.

There will later be pointed out in this brief the fact that any member of the Communist Labor Party can not claim that he did not know the purposes of the organization to which he belonged, thus eliminating the contention which might be raised that aliens joined this organization without knowledge of its purposes.

B. PROPOSITION.

The sole question for discussion in this brief is as follows:

"Is the Communist Labor Party such an organization as is described in the act of Congress approved October 16, 1918, membership in which makes an alien subject to deportation?"

It will, therefore, be necessary to prove (1) that the Communist Labor Party advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States and (2) that such overthrow is to be accomplished by the use of force and violence.

C. RISE OF COMMUNISM.

In order that the principles of the Communist Labor Party, which are based upon the doctrines of communism, might be fully understood it is necessary to review briefly the rights of communism. We find in the platform and program of the Communist Labor Party, part 2, section 6, the following statement:

"Not one of the great teachers of scientific socialism has ever said that it is possible to achieve the social revolution by the ballot."

This is the fundamental doctrine running throughout communism ever since its enunciation by the founder thereof, Karl Marx. From the days of Marx, when there was first enunciated in concrete form a Communist manifesto, there has been from time to time certain communistic movements appearing in the political life of Europe. These movements have usually been short lived and have been sponsored by a few intellectual perverts blinded by the thought of achievement of a Utopian political commonwealth.

The present organized world-wide class struggle threatens the foundations of society and civilization itself, and is distinctly a modern development, although attempts to overthrow constituted authority are probably as old as humanity itself. The first expression of the International Socialists movement was in "The International Workmen's Association," or, as it is usually termed, the First International.

London, in the middle of the last century, had become the headquarters of radical thought and activity for middle Europe and numerous radical societies were in existence. One of these, known as the Communist League, in order to make clear its principles, decided to issue a manifesto in which its principles and program should be set forth. The commission to draw up this manifesto was given to Karl Marx and to his friend Frederick Engels, and from this point on the principles and doctrines of Marx absolutely dominated the Socialist movement.

The manifesto was published in 1848, and has since become one of the great classics of the international socialism.

The keynote of the manifesto is the universal class struggle, which must be realized at all times as a necessary phase of Socialist evolution; the classes were reduced to two; the proletariat on the one hand and the ruling class represented by the bourgeoisie on the other. The class struggle was to overthrow the bourgeoisie and create a Communist society on class distinction and private property rights would be abolished.

The Communist League survived but a few years, and the last great step in the movement was the organization of the International Workingmen's Association in London in 1864 by representatives of the workmen of England, France, Germany, Italy, Poland, and Switzerland. Marx was again the leading spirit in this the First International, which adopted as its motto: "Proletarians in all lands unite; you have nothing but your chains to lose; you have a world to gain."

The influences of the International spread rapidly and in a few years it had branches in practically every European country, as well as the United States and several South American countries. Due to internal dissension and the consequent loss of influence it was finally dissolved in 1876.

In 1889 a second international was organized at Paris. This new international in contradistinction to the first, admitted only parties recognizing the political struggle and especially participating in legislative and other elections as one of the means for liberating the working class. The Second International held regular congresses, from its foundation in 1889 until the outbreak of the war in 1914. At the congress in 1907 of the Second International it was agreed that if any war should break out in any country that such war should be opposed by the Communist hosts. This principle, however, was shattered by the outbreak of the World War. The German Social Democrats voted for a war credit and allied themselves with the policies of their government, as did also the French, the British, the Austrian, and the Belgian Social Democrats. With this action, the Second International came to an abrupt end. During the period of the World War several conferences were held in European countries by the Social Democrats for the purpose of forming a Third International, but owing to the diversity of views nothing definite was accomplished until March, 1919, when the Russian Communist Party, in conjunction with the Spartacus group of Germany, called the Third International at Moscow.

Simultaneously with the growth of the Communistic groups, which called the Third International, there arose in the Socialist Party in the United States considerable amount of dissension between the conservative and extreme elements. In February, 1919, there was organized in the city of New York the left-wing section of the Socialist Party. On February 16 of that year the foreign language branches and a few of the English branches of the left-wing section issued a manifesto to the members of the Socialist Party.

Attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 1 is a copy of the manifesto of the left-wing section of the Socialist Party. Examination of the manifesto throws considerable light upon the purposes of this organization, which later grew into the Communist Parties. This manifesto adopted the principles of Marx setting forth that the class struggle was essentially a political struggle in that its end was the destruction of the political state and that the means of accomplishing such an end was not to be accomplished through political means but through mass action.

In June of 1919, a program and manifesto of the left wing of the Socialist Party was prepared in New York, and a national convention was called for Chicago in September, 1919. The convention in New York lasted from June 21 to June 24, the principal discussion being whether a Communist Party should be organized at once or whether it would be more advisable to agitate in the Socialist Party until the special convention and then withdraw. It was finally decided to wage a storm in the Socialist Party until September in order to release all of the revolutionary elements for a Communist Party, meanwhile organizing temporarily as the left-wing section of the Socialist Party. At this conference, as stated, a manifesto and program was adopted. The predecessor of the left wing of the Socialist Party was the Finnish branch of the Socialist Party which had previously adopted a manifesto and which closed with the following statement: "To hell with the theory of a peaceful revolution." These words the left wing of the Socialist Party eliminated from their manifesto, but the spirit was just as clearly shown in its manifesto as when it was stated in those words in the Finnish manifesto.

Throughout the summer of 1919 the agitation in the Socialist ranks became acute, with the result that in August, 1919, the national executive committee of the Socialist Party called an emergency convention of that party in Chicago for the purpose to endeavor to settle the dissension within its ranks. The convention met in Chicago and there immediately seceded from the same, the left-wing branch of the Socialist Party which bolted the convention because of the fact that they were unable to gain control of the assembly. The left-wing section broke into two groups, one known as the Communist Party of America and the other as the Communist Labor Party, both identical in principles and tactics and differing only in the leadership and organization of the communist groups. The Communist Labor Party led by John Reed met at the headquarters of the recruiting union of the I. W. W. on September 3, 1919, and held their first convention. The delegates proceeded to adopt a platform and program which will later be discussed in detail in this brief.

In the platform and program the following statement appears:

"The Communist Labor Party of America declares itself in complete accordance with the principles of communism, as laid down in the manifesto of the Third International formed at Moscow."

Thus we see that this organization adopted as its framework the manifesto and program of the conference assembled in Moscow. It adopted it as its organic law, it printed it officially, and its leaders both in word and print flaunted its phrases throughout the length and breadth of the land.

So it is, therefore, necessary since the manifesto and program of the Third International has been accepted by the Communist Labor Party that we analyze it and examine the influences surrounding the assembly in Moscow and the result of the work performed at that conference.

D. THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY.

In 1917 after the overthrow of the Kerensky régime, the Bolshevik Party in Russia crystalized into what is now known as the Russian Communist Party. Joining hands with the Spartacus group of Germany it symbolized the Communist movement in Europe, which resulted in the calling of the Third International. On November 7, 1917, by propaganda, by urging disobedience by the soldiers, by urging workers to arm, by the same tactics urged by the Communists in the United States, to-day, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic came into being. It was the realization of the commonwealth proposed by the Russian Communist Party. Its leaders, its officials, and its speakers were all members of the Russian Communist Party and its policies have been dictated and directed by that party. The following are several quotations taken from the program of the Russian Communist Party which shows the purposes of that organization as enunciated later in the Third International:

"The growth of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in all progressive countries and the simultaneous appearance and development of the soviet form of this movement, * * *

"All this inevitably leads to the starting of civil war within separate states by revolutionary soldiers, both those defending proletarian countries and also the oppressed peoples against the yoke of imperialistic powers.

"Under these conditions the slogan of pacifism of international disarmament in the presence of capitalism, of recourse to arbitration and such are not only reactionary Utopias but a direct deception of the toilers with the aim of disarming the proletariat and distracting it from the task of disarming the exploiters."

Attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 2 there is a translation of a portion of the program of the Russian Communist Party, published in the *Severnaya Kommuna* for

February 28, 1919, which program was adopted at the eighth congress of the Russian Communist Party.

The leaders of the Russian Soviet Government realize that the only hope of its long continued safety in power was to upturn all other civilized countries into the same seething ruin of anarchy. Other communistic groups arose in various parts of Europe and the world and on February 24, 1919, a proclamation was issued called the Third International. Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit 3" is a copy of this proclamation. Examination of the contents of the same clearly show what its principles were to be. It was to be an embarkation upon the period of destruction of the governmental apparatus; of the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat by means of force and not by parliamentary methods. These are the words that run throughout the call for the Third International. It was signed by Lenin and Trotski. It was addressed to the Communist Party in all parts of the world and specifically invited the left wing elements of the Socialist Party of America and the Industrial Workers of the World to be represented at the Moscow conference. It enunciated as its purpose the establishment of a world-wide revolution for the accomplishment of the overthrow of Governments like our own by force and violence.

E. MANIFESTO OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL.

Answering the call issued on February 24, 1919, the communist hosts gathered in Moscow on March 2, 1919. At this congress there were representatives from all parts of Europe, as well as from the United States. It proceeded to draw up a manifesto known as the manifesto of the Communist International. Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit 4" is a copy of the manifesto of the Communist International printed in the Severnaya Kommuna for March 8, 1919. It might be stated that the Severnaya Kommuna is published in Petrograd and is the official organ of the executive committee of soviets and peasants and workmen's and red army deputies of the northern region. Its authenticity, therefore, can not be denied.

Turning to the manifesto of the Communist International, we note that throughout its contents specific mention is made of the United States, "The Government of Wilson," and "The Government of Washington." It will thus be seen that this document was not merely addressed to the proletarians of Russia, or of Europe, but was addressed specifically to the people of the United States, and, therefore, the principles and tactics enunciated in it must be taken as applicable to this country.

In its contents we find the statement that there will be no recognition of property rights, that labor is to be subservient to and a serf of the proletarian dictatorship; that the principles of destruction are to govern, and that no rules of ethics or morals are to prevail in the class warfare; that the working men of the United States should endeavor to imitate the governmental apparatus of Russia; that to do so they must arm themselves and that they must answer blow for blow.

F. PLATFORM OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL.

At the same time that the manifesto was drawn up at Moscow, there was also prepared and unanimously adopted a platform setting forth in greater detail the principles and tactics to be followed than were expressed in the manifesto. Attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 6 is a translation of the platform of the Communist International as printed in the Izvestia for March 6, 1919. The Izvestia is the official organ of the "All Russian central executive committee of soviets," which is the central legislature of soviet Russia.

In this document under the heading "Conquest of Political Power" we find the statement made that such conquest means the destruction of political power of the bourgeoisie, that it means not only the conquest of that power but the destruction of the State apparatus consisting of its judges, its preachers, and its civil officers. That to accomplish such destruction the workmen must be armed, and that they must enter into direct conflict with governmental authority. It states that there will be an expropriation of property without compensation, that the houses of the landowners will be turned over to the workmen, and that in order that all of these things might be accomplished that the workmen must enter into direct conflict in open battle with the governmental machinery. The platform closes with this significant statement: "Arms against arms, force against force."

Throughout the manifesto and platform of the Third International, which has to-day been printed in nearly every language spoken in United States and circulated by the Communist Labor Party among their members, there runs but one thought, namely, the seizure of political power is to be accomplished by not merely the conquest but also the destruction of the governmental apparatus, by the elimination of restraint,

by the creation of the red army, and by the expropriation of property. All these purposes are to be accomplished not by parliamentary action but by mass action and by resorting to the use of force and violence. Such are the words of the Third International itself.

In order that there might be an intelligent conception of the influences at work in the Third International, it is interesting to note some of the leaders responsible for its convening and directing it after it had formed. Presiding over the Third International was Lenin, the master mind. Lenin stated as follows:

"In America, the strongest and youngest capitalistic country, the workingmen are showing an enormous sympathy for soviets. The establishment of the Third Communist International represents the vestibule of an International Republic of Soviets of the world triumph of communism."

Trotsky also was present at the Third International and closed his remarks with the following statement:

"For the universal dictatorship of the proletariat by the remorseless use of fire and sword."

Thus we learn the purposes in the minds of the persons responsible for the drafting of the manifesto and platform of the Third International, which has now become the so-called bible of the Communists in the entire world.

G. COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY.

As previously pointed out, the Communist Labor Party came into being in Chicago in September, 1919, as a twin of the Communist Party, differing only in leadership. It embarked upon a concerted and strenuous campaign of organization and propaganda. Its platform was printed and circulated throughout all sections of the country, its leaflets appeared whenever there was any national industrial disturbance, endeavoring to inject into such economic sores as existing additional virus.

Its campaign of membership grew in leaps and bounds.

H. MEMBERSHIP IN COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY.

Every person joining the Communist Labor Party is required to sign an application for membership in that party. Attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 7 is a copy of the application for membership in the Communist Labor Party. I will quote the following pledge:

"I, the undersigned, recognizing the class struggle between the capitalist class and the working class, and the necessity of the working class organizing itself politically and industrially for the purpose of establishing Communist socialism, hereby apply for membership in the Communist Labor Party. I have no relations (as member or supporter) with any other political party. I am opposed to all political organizations that support the present capitalist profit system, and I am opposed to any form of trading or fusing with any such organizations. In all my actions while a member of the Communist Labor Party I agree to be guided by the constitution and platform of that party."

It will be noted from the above pledge that the signer of the application states that he will be bound and guided by the constitution and platform of the Communist Labor Party. This constitution and platform, as will later be pointed out, accepts the Third International, that document which enunciated the principles of force and violence to be used in the successful achievement of the class struggle. It is stated in the application for membership that the signer will organize himself politically and industrially. It might be claimed that by the insertion of the word "political" into the pledge precludes the use of force and violence. Such, however, is not the case, for, as I shall later point out, a member of the Communist Labor Party uses the word "political" in the sense in which it is used by the Communist Labor Party, namely, that the political method will be used secondarily and only for the purpose of propaganda in the efforts to achieve the purposes of that party.

Attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 8 is a copy of the affiliation certificate of the Communist Labor Party in which the signers of the same certify that they "indorse the platform, program, and constitution of the Communist Labor Party." This certificate is signed before the charter is issued by the party. This is pointed out to show that any organization applying for a charter of the Communist Labor Party must, if the statement of the certificate is to stand for anything have indorsed the platform and program of the Communist Labor Party. Each and every member, according to the constitution of the Communist Labor Party itself, must have signed an application blank, pledging himself to be guided by the platform of that party. Hence, a

subsequent statement by a member, in good standing of this party to the effect that he knows nothing of its purposes, is certainly contradictory of the provisions in the organic law of the party itself, which requires each member to have pledged himself to support the platform and to be guided by it. It is certainly a reasonable assumption that a member of the party must have read the platform if he has signed a pledge to be guided by it in the future.

I. PLATFORM OF THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY.

Attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 9 is the platform and program of the Communist Labor Party. It is necessary to analyze this platform in sections in order that there might be obtained an intelligent understanding of its contents.

The first words of the platform are as follows:

"The Communist Labor Party of the United States of America stands by the principles stated by the Third International formed at Moscow."

Under the heading "Party and labor program" the statement appears as follows:

"The Communist Labor Party of America declares itself in complete accordance with the principles of communism as laid down in the manifesto of the Third International formed at Moscow."

Among the principles named specifically by the Communist Labor Party, which it is in accordance, is the capture of the State power. The following is a statement found in their organic law:

"The most important means of capturing State power for the workers is the action of the masses. The use of the political machinery of the capitalistic State for this purpose is only secondary. In those countries in which there is a possibility for the workers to use this machinery in the class struggle they have in the past made effective use of it as a means of propaganda and of defense. In all countries where the conditions for a working class revolution are not ripe the same process must go on."

In other words we find the clear enunciation of the principles that parliamentary action, the use of the ballot, is to be used temporarily but that when the time comes for the realization of the revolution that parliamentary action and the methods incident thereto are to be wiped aside and that mass action will take its place.

Under the second division of the party and labor program, in paragraph 2, we find the following statement:

"Although the United States is called a political democracy, there is no opportunity whatever for the working class through the regular political machinery to effectively oppose the will of the capitalist class."

Section 6 of the same subdivision is as follows:

"Not one of the great teachers of scientific socialism has ever said that it is possible to achieve the social revolution by the ballot."

Closely following this significant statement is the following:

"However, we do not ignore the value of voting, or of electing candidates to public office—so long as these are of assistance to the workers in their economic struggle. Political campaigns, and the election of public officials, provide opportunities for showing up capitalist democracy, educating the workers to a realization of their class position, and of demonstrating the necessity for the overthrow of the capitalist system. But it must be clearly emphasized that the chance of winning even advanced reforms of the present capitalist system at the polls is extremely remote; and even if it were possible, these reforms would not weaken the capitalist system."

Under the heading "Program" appears the following statement:

"We maintain that the class struggle is essentially a political struggle, that is, a struggle by the proletariat to conquer the capitalist state, whether its form be monarchical or democratic-republican, and to replace it by a governmental structure adapted to the communist transformation."

Later in the same section appears the following statement:

"The party shall propagandize industrial unionism and industrial union organization, pointing out their revolutionary nature and possibilities."

Later in the document under the heading "Special Report of Labor Organization," section 2, paragraph 1, we find the following statement:

"By the term 'revolutionary industrial unionism' is meant the organization of the workers into unions by industries with a revolutionary aim and purpose; that is to say, a purpose not merely to defend or strengthen the status of the workers as wage earners, but to gain control of industry."

We see here that revolutionary industrial unionism is to have as its purpose a revolutionary aim. In other words, the mass action or the mass strike is to have revolutionary implications. It might be pertinent right at this point to quote the words of Justice Francis A. McCloskey, of New York City, in rendering judgment in a recent case:

'There is, of course, no dispute of the right to strike; concededly the strike is a quite legitimate economic weapon of labor—if lawfully used; that is, if it be not accompanied by violence, disorder or coercion. But the mass strike, with its 'revolutionary implications,' is a wholly different matter. That, in my judgment, is economically and legally indefensible.'

Later in the document the Communist Labor Party gives its views as to the reactionary policy of the American Federation of Labor, and urges the workers to become members of the same in order that they may bore from within. They praise the achievements in the Seattle and Winnipeg, strikes. They emphasize the example set forth by the Industrial Workers of the World and deplore and belittle the achievements and influences of the American Federation of Labor.

At the time that this platform was adopted at the convention in Chicago there was a lengthy debate upon the advisability of inserting in the platform the statement as to the meaning of political action used in the literature of the Communist Party. The following was the proposed definition of the term "political action." "The political action of the working class means any action taken by the workers to overthrow the capitalist state." In the same section there was contained the statement that the ballot box was not the remedy for the workers. This section as stated received lengthy consideration by the convention but was not included in its organic laws for obvious reasons.

It is not necessary to comment upon any of the quotations set forth above, taken from the platform of the Communist Labor Party for the meanings of the same are only too clear. It is, however, significant to note that in no section of the Communist Labor platform, at no time in public utterances, has the statement ever been made by Communist laborites that they will not use force and violence. If such was not their intention, why then have they not specifically stated the fact that force and violence was no part of their doctrine?

J. MASS ACTION.

Throughout the literature of the Communist Labor Party we find the statement that their purposes are to be achieved by "mass action." Attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 10 is a quotation taken from the work of Louis C. Fraina, leading exponent of communism. The quotation is taken from pages 199 to 203 of Revolutionary Socialism. The following is a particularly significant statement of Fraina upon the subject of mass action:

"Revolutions march from action to action; action, more action, again action, supplemented by an audacity that shrinks at nothing—these are the tactics of the proletarian revolution.

"Mass action is the dynamic impulse of the revolutionary proletarian struggle, whatever the specific form it may assume; in the actual revolutionary period mass action unites all forms of struggle in one sweeping action against capitalism, each contributing its share as integral phases of the general mass action—as in the proletarian revolution in Russia. * * *

"Mass action is equally a process of revolution and the revolution itself in operation."

In other words, mass action as understood by the communists and as expressed by them means the doing of anything that the mob wants to do to obtain possession of industry and government. The mass strike they advocate is not for the purpose of improving the industrial conditions or the increasing of wages, but is to be used as a lever against the Government in aiding its overthrow. As previously pointed out in the quotation of the utterance of Justice McCloskey, the right to strike is conceded provided it is not accompanied by force and violence, but when there is a mass strike with revolutionary implications, then a different situation is faced, and the justification of the same has no place in the economic or industrial life of any well-organized or legally constituted Republic.

K. DICTATORSHIP OF PROLETARIAT.

Running throughout the Communist Labor Party literature, we find the phrase "dictatorship of the proletariat." It is well to have a conception of the meaning of this phrase as held by the leading writers upon Communism. Attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 11 is a quotation taken from a work by Karl Radek, entitled, "Development of Socialism from Science to Action," page 20. It is stated specifically by this writer that dictatorship is the form of government by which one class forces its will ruthlessly on the other class. Fraina, in his work on "Revolutionary Socialism," states that the "proletariat alone counts; no other class has any rights."

In other words, Communism is the theory of the condition for the victory of the working class. Its phrases are full of meaning when that meaning is understood and

taken from the writers upon this subject. The interpretation placed upon such terms as "mass action" and "the dictatorship of the proletariat" is not the interpretation of the Federal authorities, but is the interpretation of the writers of such phrases in their own works. Consequently, there is no better definition or no better understanding obtainable.

L. POLITICAL ACTION.

I have previously made some mention as to the meaning of "political action" when used in the Communist Labor sense. A Communist, as stated, is not an anarchist, and he believes, at least at the present time, in some government, as opposed to the Utopia of the anarchists. "Political action" is the objective of the Communist. It is his objective in that it is for the overthrow of the political state. It is not political in the sense that political methods will be used for the accomplishment of his purposes. We have but to refer to the platform of the Communist Labor Party to learn that the use of parliamentary methods, of the ballot box, is to be but of secondary purpose. Their entire process for the achievement of their purposes is to be extra-parliamentary. As stated by them time and again, the remedy of the worker does not lie in the ballot box. This is necessary, because Communism is a movement of the minority, and hence can only be achieved by the use of force and violence. We have but to look at Russia to-day to observe that that country is dominated by an insignificant minority which retains its control of the mass by ruthless enforcement of its will.

No better discussion of the participation by Communists in elections has ever been made than that which appears in the words of Lenin published in *The Truth*, a weekly Communist paper issued at Duluth, Minn. The following is the statement referred to:

"Only knaves and fools can believe that the proletariat must win the majority in elections taking place under the pressure of the bourgeoisie, under the pressure of wage slavery, and only then seize the power. This is the height of narrowness and hypocrisy. It is the attempt to substitute for the class struggle and the revolution elections under the old social order, under the old government. The proletariat conducts its class struggle without waiting for a vote for the beginning of the strike, although for the full success of the strike the sympathy of the majority of the workers—and consequently also of a majority of the population—is necessary. The proletariat carries on its fight and overthrows the bourgeoisie without waiting for any preliminary vote (in which the bourgeoisie itself participated and which takes place under its pressure), although at the same time the proletariat knows full well that for the success of its revolution, for the successful downing of the bourgeoisie there is absolute necessity of the sympathy of the majority of the workers—and consequently also of the majority of the population.

"Parliamentary criticism and the modern Louis Blancs insist on the vote, and that a vote carried out by the bourgeoisie, to determine the sympathy of the majority. But that is the view of pedants, of political corpses, or of cunning deceivers."

In the above quotation, we see that the master mind of the Communists frankly admits that only knaves and fools can believe that the proletariat may accomplish their purposes in elections.

In an issue of "Class Struggle" for May, 1919, which has since become one of the official organs of the Communist Labor Party, on page 214 we find the following significant statement as to "political action."

"Political action, revolutionary and emphasizing the implacable character of the class struggle, is a valuable means of propaganda. It must at all times struggle to arouse the revolutionary mass action of the proletariat—its use is both agitational and obstructive. It must on all issues wage war upon capitalism and the State. Revolutionary Socialism uses the forum of parliament for agitation; but it does not intend to and can not use the bourgeois state as a means of introducing Socialism; this bourgeois state must be destroyed by the mass action of the revolutionary proletariat. The proletarian dictatorship in the form of a soviet state is the immediate objective of the class struggle."

In the issue of *Class Struggle* for November, 1919, after it had become the official organ of the Communist Labor Party of the United States, on pages 440-441, we find the following statement, which plainly shows that the Communist Labor Party has no illusion as to the use of the bourgeois state machinery for the achievement of their political end:

"We have already touched upon another vital difference between the S. P. and the C. L. P.; the different attitude toward political action. The political action of the S. P. is pure and simple parliamentarism, identical in character with that of the capitalist parties. Both use the machinery of the bourgeois state for the achievement of their political end. The C. L. P. has no such illusions. It knows that the ballot will never open the door to socialism and that the petty reforms which may be attained by many long and weary struggles and compromises with corrupt politicians of the old parties can be of no considerable benefit to the workers. We, therefore, will use

the parliamentary platform for propaganda purposes only. The representatives elected upon the C. L. P. ticket will go to the legislative halls not to 'legislate,' not as 'statesman,' to fritter away their time with dickering and bargaining. They will be charged with the important task of showing up the forces of law and order, the society of godliness and morality, in all their ugly nakedness and hypocrisy. They go there as educators of the masses, as teachers of the working class, and for no other purpose."

M. PROPAGANDA OF COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY.

The Communist Labor Party has indulged in extensive propaganda work, circulating in the principal industrial centers of the country many leaflets and books upon the principles of communism as enunciated at the Moscow conference and as adopted by the Communist Labor Party in this country.

Attached hereto, and marked as Exhibit 12, is a translation taken from a Russian leaflet distributed by the Communist Labor Party, which contains an appeal for membership to the alien workers in this country. It states that the Communist Labor Party was organized after the failure to induce the old party to adopt the revolutionary Communist platform. It states that the delegates of the left wing established the Communist Labor Party of America; that it adopted the platform of the Third International, brought forth in Moscow, March 6, 1919. It is this platform that contains the statement that the workers must arm themselves for the purpose of not only capturing the parliamentary state, but of destroying it with its governmental apparatus, the judges, and the civil officials. In this circular there is again given enunciation to the fact that mass action is to be primary, as contra to political action; that political action is to be merely a convenience for the use of propaganda. It contains seductive words which play upon the ears of sympathetic, and, many times, uninformed persons, leading them astray from what is their sincere purpose.

Attached hereto, and marked as Exhibit 13, is a copy of the Communist Labor Party News, No. 3, November, 1919, which analyzes the differences existing between the Communist Labor Party, the Communist Party, and the Socialist Party. Under the heading, "Communist Labor Party," it is stated that the Communist Labor Party accepts the principles of Communism, affiliates with the Third International, considers the existing political state a ruling-class instrument whose sham democracies are useless to the working class, teaches the workers that they must develop their own power and abolish the existing political state, deems the ballot box campaigns for this purpose of secondary importance, and urges that the workers participate in political campaigns for the sole purpose of propaganda.

At the convention in Chicago of the Communist Labor Party, the following resolution was passed and adopted unanimously:

"That the national executive committee of the Communist Labor Party is hereby instructed to at the earliest convenience possible enter into correspondence with the Communist and revolutionary parties of North and South America for the purpose of formulating a plan for holding a conference to discuss closer relationship and the laying of the foundation for a future Communist Republic of the Western Hemisphere."

Closely following the adoption of this resolution, a report was made to the convention by the committee on international relations, which was as follows:

"Report of the committee on international relation.

"1. International affiliation: The Communist Labor Party of the United States of America declares that its purpose of organizing the workers for the conquest of the state for their class can only be accomplished in unity with such national parts of the international labor movement as have never lost sight of nor ever betrayed the great historic struggle for communism against capitalism.

"It further declares that such unity must be one of principle and action rather than one of organization only.

"The great war of the capitalist powers for imperialism has thrown the nations of the earth into the final struggle between the working class and the capitalist class. The revolutionary workers organizations the world over have suddenly been driven out of a period of revolutionary theory and propaganda into a period of revolutionary action. The success of such action, though agreed upon to fit national conditions and though applied by the workers of each nation nationally, depends upon the united action of all the workers of all the countries, fused into one great revolutionary force by the all uniting spirit of international class solidarity.

"We hereby declare ourselves one in principle and action with all the parties and organizations already affiliated with the Third International formed at Moscow, and send them our heartiest greetings.

"We pledge ourselves to work upon the lines and according to the program determined upon by the first congress of the Third International, and hereby instruct our national executive committee to immediately take steps for the affiliation of the

Communist Labor Party of the United States of America with the Third International."

In the above resolution we find that it is stated that the Communist Labor Party adopts not only in principle, but also in action, the communistic theories enunciated at Moscow and expressed in the Third International.

Some comment has previously been made that the Communist Labor Party adopted merely the principles of the Third International. Certainly an argument claiming that an organization might adopt the principles enunciated in the principles and platform of the Third International, and not the tactics, would be specious. The principles and tactics of the Third International are so closely interwoven that it is impossible to dissect the one from the other. The communists themselves frankly admit that they are so interwoven that in accepting the Third International they accept the entire body of its manifesto and platform. However, notwithstanding that statement, when we refer to the report of the committee on international relations, we find there a plain statement that it adopts the Third International in principles and action.

The report referred to above appears in the official organ of the Communist Labor Party, the Communist Labor News, for September, 1919.

In the Ohio Socialist for September 17, 1919, the official proceedings of the Communist Labor Party convention are set forth in full, and it appears that the report of the committee on international relations was adopted unanimously, thereby binding officially the Communist Labor Party to the contents of that report.

Attached hereto, and marked as Exhibit 14, is a copy of the Communist Labor Party News for September, 1919, and a copy of the Ohio Socialist for September, 17, 1919.

It is also worthy of note that the Communist Labor Party has given material assistance to the individuals directly responsible for a considerable amount of the unrest in the industrial centers of the country. Attached hereto, and marked as Exhibit 15, is a copy of a circular letter issued by the defence committee of the Communist Labor Party, calling for funds for the defense of James Larkin and Benjamin Gitlow, two notorious trouble makers, who are at present serving terms in the New York State prison for violation of the State anarchy statute.

Attached hereto, and marked as Exhibit 16, is a copy of a circular entitled, "Railroad Workers, Fight On." This circular appeared in every railroad center during the recent outlaw railroad strike. It endeavors to belittle the Government in its power to protect the people from the paralyzed condition which would result from a railroad strike. It urges mass action, and also endeavors to point out to the workers the failure of the American Federation of Labor to meet the situation adequately. The circulars, it is stated, were distributed in large numbers, together with many other circulars, showing that this organization had as its sole purpose the causing of a paralysis of the main lines of transportation to act as a lever for the ultimate overthrow of the Government of the United States.

Attached hereto, and marked as Exhibit 17, is a copy of a circular entitled, "Red Raids," in which we find the following significant statement:

"It is not to be assumed that the communists entertain the foolish pretensions that the socialists do about the ballot box and parliamentary action."

This circular was distributed broadcast by the Communist Labor Party.

Attached hereto, and marked as Exhibit 18, is a copy of the manifesto and governing rules of the Communist International, published by the Communist Labor Party and distributed by it. The following is a significant statement taken from the introduction to this book, containing the manifesto and platform of the Communist International: "Comment on this manifesto would be useless—superfluous. Its magnificent language speaks a message a suffering world is eagerly waiting to hear. It speaks the plain, clear language of the revolutionary communistic proletariat."

These are the sentiments expressed in the words of the Communist Labor Party of the contents of the manifesto and platform of the Third International.

This book contains on the cover an advertisement of certain books printed by the Communist Labor Party, among which is a so-called program of the Communist Party of Russia.

Attached hereto, and marked as Exhibit 19, is a copy of the program of the communists as enunciated by Boukharin. Attention will not be called to any particular statements in this most unusual program, but it is sufficient to state that it contains the very essence of the principles of immorality, of lawlessness, and of ruthless government, as has nowhere else been found at any time in the history of the world.

N. THE IDENTITY IN PRINCIPLE OF THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY WITH THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

It has been claimed by some that the Communist Labor Party differs in principle and tactics from the Communist Party of America. A mere cursory reading of the history of the formation of the Communist Labor Party would show that such a state-

ment could not be based upon facts. Both were the outgrowth of the left wing of the Socialist Party. The elements contained in both assisted in the drafting of the manifesto and platform of the left wing of the Socialist Party. Both were conceived at the same time in Chicago, and were separated in their twinlike relation only by the desire of certain of their leaders to dominate and to lead. Spokesmen of both parties maintain that they are identical in principle and tactics with each other, and differ only in form of organization.

In the issue of *Class Struggle*, one of the official publications of the Communist Labor Party, for the month of November, 1919, on page 443, we find the following statement:

"The Communist Labor Party is convinced that eventually there must and will be only one communist political organization in this country and it did everything in its power during and after the Chicago conventions to bring about the needed unity of forces; but without avail. The latest attempt of the Communist Labor Party, a plea for an informal meeting of the two national executive committees for the discussion of the basis for unity, has also been refused by the national executive committee (the central committee) of the Communist Party. The Communist Party demands unconditional surrender, and surrender is impossible. Thus, in spite of unity of purpose and principles, the struggle for supremacy between the Communist organizations must continue until the membership forces the end of this suicidal warfare."

This, we see, was the first effort of the Communist Party to combine with the Communist Labor Party.

On September 6, 1919, a resolution was adopted by the Communist Labor Party at its convention, and a communication drafted by the national executive committee of the Communist Labor Party addressed to the Communist Party, in which an appeal is made for the combining of the two organizations. In this appeal appears the following statement:

"As far as we can discover, there is no fundamental difference of opinion between us. The platform, program, and resolutions at our convention adopted are uncompromisingly revolutionary. They conform to the left wing program and are in strict accord with the principles laid down by the Communist International at Moscow. We are affiliating with the Third International."

Attached hereto, and marked as Exhibit 20, is a copy of the *Ohio Socialist* for October 8, 1919, in which appears this communication:

When the Secretary of Labor accorded opportunity for argument to the attorneys for the Communist Party, a letter was addressed to the Secretary of Labor by Mr. Swinburne Hale, attorney for the Communist Party of America, in which the following statement was made:

"If you see fit, in addition, to reopen the evidence in the cases selected, we will undertake to produce before you, to be examined upon oath with waiver of immunity, the general counsel of the Communist Party, its general secretary, and leading members of its executive committee. They may then be interrogated as fully as you or the Department of Justice may desire as to the formation, language, and intent of the Communist Party and its platform, so that it may be decided whether there is anything more criminal in the organization of this party and its pronouncements than in the well-known Communist manifesto of Karl Marx of 1848, which has been freely circulated in this country in translation since 1872.

"I have no doubt that if this procedure is satisfactory I can arrange to have similar officials of the Communist Labor Party produced for examination at the same time. You may not, however, feel that this is necessary, since the language of the Communist Labor platform is substantially the same, and the number arrested is smaller.

"I therefore respectfully ask on behalf of the committee of lawyers representing the Communist Party an early hearing at such time as may meet your pleasure for the disposition of this underlying and all-important question. We are prepared to go forward at any date set.

"Respectfully submitted.

"SWINBURNE HALE,
"Room 931, 41 Union Square, New York City, N. Y."

In the above letter we see that the official spokesman for the Communist Labor Party stated that the language of the Communist Labor Party platform was substantially the same as the Communist Party. The Secretary of Labor ruled that the Communist Party of America was an organization which advocated the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence and that any alien who was a member thereof was to be deported.

Later, when the Secretary of Labor accorded the opportunity to attorneys for the Communist Labor Party to present arguments upon the character of that organization, Mr. Swinburne Hale again appeared, that time as the attorney for the Communist Labor Party, and endeavored to point out to the secretary that the Communist Labor

Party was an organization which did not have for its purpose the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence. In other words, the attorney for the Communist Labor Party admitted that if the Communist Party was an organization which advocated the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence, then the Communist Labor Party was such an organization. The Secretary of Labor, however, reached a different opinion.

In a leaflet distributed by the Communist Labor Party, containing its constitution, platform, and program, the Communist Labor Party states as follows:

"If there is any fundamental difference in principle between the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party, then we would not favor unity of the two, for a lasting unity can be achieved only on the basis of agreement of fundamental principles.

"That such agreement on principles is a fact will be evident to anyone that compares the platforms, programs, and manifestos of the two parties. Both conventions based their pronouncement squarely upon that of the Third International. Both are in accord with the Left Wing program of New York. Both are worthy expressions of the principles of International Communism."

Attached hereto, and marked as "Exhibit 21," is the document from which this statement is taken.

The Secretary of Labor, as has previously been pointed out, ruled that the Communist Labor Party was an organization which did not advocate the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence, and that it was materially different from the Communist Party, which he ruled was such an organization.

Attached hereto, and marked as "Exhibit 22," is a copy of Communist Labor, the official organ of the Communist Labor Party for May 1, 1920, which warrants close examination. Upon the first page of this issue appears the following article: "Down Tools May 1, 1920," which is an advice to the workers as to what their actions should be upon May day. Among the contents of this issue there are articles upon the outlaw railroad strike, instructions from the Third International to the Communist Labor Party in America, and an article upon communist unity. The article upon communist unity is exceedingly interesting. It is a dispatch obtained from the person of a courier who was carrying letters to the American communist parties, advising them to unite. These letters came from the governing bureau of the Third International, and set forth what are to be the basis of the unity of the Communist Party of America and the Communist Labor Party. Among some of the significant statements are the following:

"The stage of verbal propaganda has passed, and the time for decisive battles has arrived. Revolutionary mass action must be organized as a first essential."

It states that it is ready and willing to unite with all elements in the United States on the basis of the nine instructions received, which include the seizure of power through workers' councils, the establishment of proletarian dictatorship, revolutionary mass action, dissolution of all craft unions, and the supporting of the industrial unions in their every-day strikes, and the deepening and widening of the struggle for final revolutionary aims.

Attached hereto, and marked as Exhibit 23, is a letter written by the president of the executive committee of the Communist International to the American Communist Party, and Communist Labor Party, urging them to unite and pointing out that there is no difference between them other than in the principle of organization. This letter states the anarchists and syndicalists should recognize the necessity of seizing power and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, and must not split over differences, for such should be relegated as of secondary importance in the period of revolution. This letter from Moscow urges the Communist and Communist Labor Parties of America to hasten the process of dissolution of the American Federation of Labor, and urges the American comrades to establish an underground organization even though it is possible for them to function legally.

This amazing document emanates from Moscow, as stated, and it is that group in Moscow which directs and governs the communistic movement in the United States, a movement wholly foreign and repugnant to the institutions of the Government of the United States.

Attached hereto, and marked as Exhibit 24, is an agreement signed in Moscow on January 13, 1920, for the unification of the American Communist Party and the American Communist Labor Party, which shows their ultimate aim for combining their two forces.

Attached hereto, and marked as Exhibit 25, is the latest issue of Communist Labor, the official organ of the Communist Labor Party, dated May 15, 1920. In this issue there is printed the entire correspondence passing between the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party for the purpose of unity. It will be seen from this correspondence that both parties have at last found a common ground for the calling of a joint convention and that this joint convention is to be held on or before June 15, 1920. I

will quote a portion of the call issued by the Communist Labor Party for this convention:

"The Communist Party of America and the Communist Labor Party, through their respective executive committees, agree to unite the two parties in a joint convention called upon the following basis:

"1. The Communist Labor Party accepts as a basis for this joint call the manifesto and program of the Communist Party."

It is thus seen that the Communist Labor Party as it stands to-day is willing to unite with the Communist Party upon the manifesto and program of the Communist Party of America which the Secretary of Labor ruled was unlawful and which he ruled advocates the overthrow of our Government by the use of force and violence. In other words, the organization which the Secretary of Labor stated did not advocate such doctrines and such tactics is to-day willing to unite and is about to enter into a convention with the Communist Party upon the manifesto and program of that party, which contains the doctrines of force and violence.

In the same issue of Communist Labor, on page 8, appears a most interesting statement by the Communist Labor Party upon the hearing held before the Secretary of Labor upon the status of their organization.

"To the press and all communists:

"Through newspaper dispatches from Washington, D. C., we learn that several lawyers appeared before the Department of Labor Saturday, April 24, to defend deportees belonging to the Communist Labor Party. We understand that Mr. Post, of the Department of Labor, informed several attorneys, among them Mr. Recht, that the question as to whether membership in the Communist Labor Party was sufficient ground for deportation, would come before that department last Saturday.

"The national executive committee of the Communist Labor Party, upon hearing from Mr. Recht in the matter, immediately informed him by written statement that we had decided not to send an attorney to Washington to appear in our behalf, and that submission of our platform and program was the only defense we intended to make. This decision we reached because we fully understood that no attorney, except he be a confirmed communist, could make a defense of our principles.

"We therefore declare that the attorneys who appeared before the Department of Labor did not appear in the name of nor with the consent of the Communist Labor Party. None of them had a mandate from our party to defend us. None of them were engaged to do so.

"We are not responsible therefore in any way for the statements made at this hearing or the conclusions reached, and we repudiate such as are not in harmony with communist principles.

"COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY."

In the above quotation we note that the Communist Labor Party repudiates the statements made before the Secretary of Labor inconsistent with the principles of communism. The attorneys appearing before the Secretary of Labor in argument on behalf of the Communist Labor Party endeavored to impress upon the Secretary the fact that the organization did not advocate the use of force and violence. Apparently, the statement above quoted repudiates these assertions, if we might judge from their other statements contained in their organic law and in their numerous leaflets.

O. FREEDOM OF SPEECH AS APPLIED TO DOCTRINES OF COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY.

In considering the legal status of an organization which is charged with unlawful activity and utterance it is proper to consider whether such doctrines and the teaching and advocating of the same are permissible under freedom of speech and freedom of the press as understood in the United States. The best exposition of the limitations of freedom of speech and of the press are expressed by Judge Wigmore, in the *Illinois Law Review* for March, 1920, copy of which is attached and marked as "Exhibit 26."

Freedom of speech is always a liberty, but never a license. As has been very aptly stated by a judge recently: "Words are the triggers of action." Daniel Webster once said: "The Constitution does not proceed on the ground of revolution; it does not proceed on any right of revolution; but it does go on the idea that within and under the Constitution no new form of government can be established in any State without the authority of the existing government."

The communists do not intend, if we accept the meaning of their own language, to achieve the revolution with the authority of the existing government, by use of the ballot; but intend to achieve the social revolution by ruthless infliction of the ideas of a small minority upon the will of a majority, to be accomplished by force and violence. This is literally, "eternal anarchy amidst the noise of endless wars," and if it be not a doctrine that organized government should be overthrown by force or violence or by unlawful means, then language has lost its force and words are meaningless. The igno-

rant primarily, but also the vicious, criminal element, which in Russia has murdered all who stood in their way and has robbed all who had any wealth, have accepted the doctrines of communism. No right-minded person can countenance such revolutionary propaganda as the communists are spreading. It is not their sincere purpose to better the condition of the workingman or to improve the economic or social life of this country; but their purpose is political, as stated; political in that their objective is the overthrow of the political state.

P. LEGAL OPINIONS UPON STATUS OF COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY.

The State courts have had up for consideration in several cases the legal status of the Communist Labor Party. In the State of Oregon, in the case of the State *v.* Oster, a member of the Communist Labor Party, the jury found that Oster was a member of an organization which had for its purpose the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence.

In the State of California, in the case of *The People v. Charlotte A. Whitney*, a like decision was reached.

In the State of New Jersey, in the case of *The State v. Henry Petzoldt*, the jury reached a similar decision.

In the State of New York, James Larkin and Benjamin Gitlow, members of the Communist Labor Party, have been sentenced to the State penitentiary for violation of the State anarchy law for their activities in the Communist Labor Party.

In the State of Illinois, 24 members of the Communist Labor Party have been indicted under the State anarchy statute.

In the eastern judicial district of Missouri, the Federal Court, in passing upon the application of an alien for naturalization who was proven to have been a member of the Communist Labor Party, ruled that, as he was a member of an organization which had for its purpose the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence, he was not a fit subject for citizenship in the United States.

Thus we see that where the status of the Communist Labor Party has been brought to the attention of the judiciary that, without exception, they have ruled that the organization is one which advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence.

Q. CONCLUSIONS.

From the preceding examination of the various documents, including the Third International manifesto and program, the platform and program of the Communist Labor Party of America, and the numerous leaflets issued by the Communist Labor Party, we find that throughout the entire lot there runs the general idea of the principles of destruction versus construction, of conquest, of annihilation of the governmental apparatus, of mass action, and of political action in so far only as its objective is concerned. The principles of Communism, as enunciated by the leaders of the European movement, find expression in toto in the doctrines of the Communist Labor Party of America. These doctrines threaten the happiness of the community the safety of every individual, and the continuance of every home and fireside. They would destroy the peace of the country and thrust it into a condition of anarchy and lawlessness and immorality that pass imagination.

The Communist Labor Party activities in the coal and railroad strikes are evidences of its insidious purposes. Its reorganization along the line of underground Russian methods is antagonistic to the conception of American principles. Its participation in international congresses of communists, anarchists, and syndicalists is an evidence of its lack of patriotism. The fact that it is governed and directed in its actions and activities by a foreign group assembled in Moscow precludes it from indulging or participating sincerely in any American movement. Its advocacy of mass action as against political action indicates its purpose of force and violence. Its failure to frankly state that it does not believe in force and violence can lead to but one conclusion, namely, that in conjunction with its avowed statements force and violence are its ultimate aim.

If the state is to be destroyed by mass action, industrial action, or direct action, and these actions are endorsed and propagated by the Communist Labor Party, all of the actions being the essence of force and violence, then the Communist Labor Party does believe in, teach, and advocate the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence, and any alien found to be a member thereof, or affiliated therewith, is subject to deportation under the act of Congress approved October 16, 1918.

Respectfully,

J. EDGAR HOOVER,
Special Assistant to the Attorney General.

Mr. PALMER. Now, Mr. Chairman, I think, to make this record complete, I ought to file with you a report which has been prepared under my direction of the radical publications in New York City, prepared by the Division on Radical Publications of the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice.

This contains a list of the radical, revolutionary newspapers and magazines, chiefly foreign-language papers, in the metropolis, and a large number of editorial utterances of an inflammatory, incendiary and revolutionary character, which indicate very plainly the general purpose of the publicity of these ultraradical organizations. I am not entirely satisfied in my own mind as to the wisdom of publishing this collection and giving publicity to this "dope," which has become so familiar to us, and I propose to leave it with the committee, with the understanding that you may at your leisure look into it, and if you want it made a part of the report in order to make this record complete I have no objection. If you think it wise that it should be simply used for your confidential information I am satisfied with that.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will take the matter under advisement.

Mr. PALMER. It is highly interesting, significant, and entertaining, but it is not good reading late at night when you are at home in your own house. It gives you the creeps a little.

I want to file also, in order to make this record complete, Mr. Chairman, a record of the activities of the Radical Division of the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice for the last year or more, showing in detail what the Department of Justice has done and how it has done it in the enforcement of the laws to meet such manifestations of the revolutionary spirit and intent as seemed to be violative of those laws. This record I shall not read because it would take up too much time, but it reviews our investigations of the El Ariete Society, of the Union of Russian Workers, of the Furshtman case, of the Goldman case, of the Berkman case, the steel strike of 1919, the coal strike of 1919, the Mollie Stimer case, the Buford case, the dependent family propaganda, the Third Internationale, the communist movement in the United States, the Communist Party of America, the Communist Labor Party, the arrests of January 2, 1920, the Martens case, the Amsterdam conference, the l'Era Nuova group of anarchists, the Francisco Ferrer Association, the Industrial Workers of the World, the railroad strike of 1920, the May Day plans of 1920, the negro agitation, the State cases, and the radicals' attitude toward the American Federation of Labor.

In this record is told for the first time the complete story, for instance, of the bomb plot which broke out in a dozen cities a year ago to-day and of the work of the Department of Justice in running it down. It is a story which might well beguile an hour or so, but I will not read it but leave it in the record, where it may be seen by the committee or by anybody else. Suffice it to say that I think the Bureau of Investigation, under the direction of Mr. Flynn, has done a splendid piece of work and all that is possible to be done in running down that crime. They know who some of the perpetrators were. They know where and by whom the incendiary

documents that were distributed with the bombs were printed. They have the names of aliens who were mixed up in various capacities, all of which it shown there.

THE RADICAL DIVISION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

In the latter part of 1918, following the signing of the armistice, it became evident that there was at work in the United States certain forces determined to handicap the Government in its work of reconstruction and to embarrass the Congress of the United States and the public officials charged with the administering of the law in every way possible. These forces were the same which were at work in 1917 and 1918 to hinder the successful prosecution of the war and it was only through the energetic action of the Government at that time through the medium of the espionage law that the efforts were frustrated. As soon as the armistice was signed some of these same pacifists and pro-German forces appeared in another rôle, namely, that of sympathizer with the Communist movement in Russia. As soon as the Communist forces abroad gained in numbers there arose in the United States a similar movement numbering in its fold the anarchists, Communists, the militant labor elements, and the parlor Bolsheviks, who were only too willing and anxious of the opportunities arising in the aftermath of the great war to exemplify their ideas by deeds and to resort to mass action, and when the Government in the latter part of 1919 took drastic action against these insidious influences the pacifists and pro-Germans of the war days burst forth in vindictive criticism of the Federal Government in its policy of deportation, and we find at the present time that not only have the "borers from within" been able to gain headway in the American Federation of Labor but they are likewise to be noted in the church, on the bench, and even in high Government offices.

The first indication of a concerted movement upon the part of the radicals appeared in the early part of 1919, when there was disclosed to the public the plot for the assassination of the President, formulated by the "Groupa Pro Prenza," which consisted of 14 Spaniards, located in the city of Philadelphia. On the day prior to the President's landing in Boston, on February 22, 1919, two representatives of the Pro Prenza Group in Philadelphia, namely, Florian Bertaer and Elario Corostiza, proceeded to New York for the purpose of conferring with 14 anarchists in that city relative to completing plans for the assassination of President Wilson. The information concerning this plot was submitted to the Secret Service Division of the Treasury Department, which effected the arrest of these individuals.

Evidence secured by the Department of Justice covering the activities of the leaders of this organization, namely, Genaro Pazos, Eduardo Parades, and A. Sopolano, was submitted to the Labor Department, with the recommendation for deportation. The Labor Department took cognizance of the recommendations in the case of Parades and Sopolano.

This organization has not only been active in the assassination to kill public officials as shown above, but we find them very active among the marine transport workers, and they are constantly influencing the marine workers to strike.

The activities of the Groupa Pro Prenza are to be noted in and around the principal maritime sections in the eastern part of the country.

Another instance of the result of radical agitation in the early part of 1919 was the Naugatauck Valley strike in Connecticut.

The Naugatauck Valley is one of the most thickly populated industrial centers in the country so far as aliens are concerned, several of the towns having an actual majority of foreigners in the population. The military authorities estimate that approximately 60 per cent of the small arms and ammunition for the entire country during the war was made in Connecticut. For some time prior to June, 1919, agitation and propaganda had been active in New Haven, Ansonia, Waterbury, and Bridgeport. On June 8 a strike started in the Ansonia mill of the American Brass Co., being instigated entirely by the foreigners through the organization of Russians, although several radical Americans participated. The demands were unreasonable and within a week the strike had spread to other cities, and in Waterbury there was considerable violence and an expressed intention on the part of the strikers to take over the city government. It was necessary to adopt drastic

methods by the State and city authorities, the department working in close cooperation. A number of the most active leaders at Ansonia were arrested on deportation warrants; some were included in the passenger list of the Buford. A black anarchist flag among other things was recovered. The meetings in Ansonia and Waterbury were held in the club rooms of the Russian organization.

However, a number of prominent agitators who were citizens continued their efforts. The strike failed after the Federal and State prosecutions.

BOMB PLOTS OF 1919.

May 1, 1919, as you will doubtless remember, was the time of a series of disturbances throughout the world. It was the date set for the celebration of the birth of the Communist Internationale, proclamations whereof were sent by wireless from Soviet Russia and reprinted in Bolshevik newspapers in all countries, including the United States. Serious disturbances by the internationalists occurred in Buenos Aires and in Paris, in which latter city the rioting lasted for days and hundreds of gendarmes were injured. In London and Berlin there were huge, but peaceful demonstrations. In the United States a general strike as a political protest had been called. There was serious rioting, particularly in New York, Boston, and Cleveland. Many arrests were made and many imprisonments followed.

The most serious of the May day disturbances in the United States in 1919 was an attempted wholesale slaughter of Federal and State officials by the use of infernal machines sent through the United States mail.

It also became apparent from the mailing dates of these bombs that the conspirators had attempted to arrange that delivery thereof would all be made on May 1, the date set for celebration of the Communist Internationale. As a matter of fact, the first bomb exploded on April 28 at the home of Senator Hardwick, of Georgia, severely injuring a servant; one was delivered to Ole Hansen, of Seattle, on that date, and others were not discovered until after May 1. It was the premature delivery of the bombs directed to Senator Hardwick and Mayor Ole Hansen and the quick action and vigilance of the postal authorities that none of the other bombs resulted in injury to the persons for whom they were intended.

The 29 addresses of this series of bombs, together with skeleton summary of their several offices, occupations, and activities, is shown here following:

1. Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, who had taken a stand in favor of deportation of alien agitators and punishment of conspirators, and who had refused to recommend the pardon for Debs and other so-called political prisoners held in Federal prisons for violation of the espionage act.

2. Postmaster General Albert S. Burleson, who in his official capacity had refused mailing privileges to the radical press and furnished information on bolshevism to congressional investigating committees.

3. William H. Lamar, solicitor of the Post Office Department, who had submitted to the Senate committee investigating bolshevism a memorandum charging the I. W. W., anarchists, and radical socialists with an attempt to overthrow the Government of the United States by force and establish Bolshevism in this country.

4. Associate Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes of the Supreme Court of the United States, who had spoken for that court in sustaining convictions in a number of cases involving radical agitators.

5. Secretary of Labor William B. Wilson.

6. Commissioner General of Immigration Anthony Caminetti.

7. Commissioner of Immigration at Ellis Island Frederick C. Howe.

The last three in their official capacities were concerned in the deportation of alien radicals.

8. United States Senator Lee S. Overman, chairman of the Overman Committee which investigated Bolshevism in this country.

9. United States Senator William King of Utah, very active as an anti-radical Senator, and sponsor of a number of antiradical bills.

10. United States Senator Reed Smoot of Utah, likewise active in the Senate against radicalism.

11. United States Senator Thomas W. Hardwick from Georgia, who had sponsored an immigration restriction bill in Congress.

12. Representative John L. Burnett, chairman of the Immigration Committee of the House of Representatives of the United States.

13. United States District Judge K. M. Landis, of Chicago; and

14. Special Assistant to the Attorney General Frank K. Nebeker.

The two being, respectively, the presiding judge and special prosecutor in the I. W. W. cases at Chicago.

15. Charles Fickert; and

16. Edward Cuhna.

Being district attorney and assistant who prosecuted the I. W. W. cases in San Francisco.

17. John F. Hylan, mayor of the city of New York, representing chief governmental authority in that city.

18. Richard W. Enright, police commissioner of New York, who in his official capacity had maintained order at anarchist and other radical meetings in the city of New York.

19. W. H. Finch of the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice in New York City, who was specializing on radical matters and furnishing information to the Department of Labor and to the New York State authorities.

20. Ole Hansen, Mayor of Seattle, Wash., whose activities in suppressing I. W. W.-ism and other labor troubles in Seattle during the war were spectacular.

21. Gov. William C. Sproul, of Pennsylvania, and

22. William I. Schaffer, Attorney General of the State of Pennsylvania.

Both officially and in private actively engaged in suppressing radicalism in that State.

23. John D. Rockefeller; and

24. J. P. Morgan.

Both of New York City and prominent capitalists.

25. William M. Wood, of Boston, Mass., President of the American Woolen Company, capitalist, and who had many labor troubles.

26. T. Lary Dyer, State senator of Pennsylvania, no motive assignable.

27. Theodor G. Bilbo, governor of Mississippi.

28. Walter A. Scott, mayor of Jackson, Miss., and

29. Frederick Bullmers, editor of the Daily News of Jackson, Miss.

No motive known unless it be antagonism of negro radicals.

The bombs were all done up in similar packages bearing the label of Gimbel Bros. of New York. The containers in the packages were all alike, being of turned wood. The mailing dates were scheduled to cause simultaneous delivery throughout the United States.

An analysis of the list of intended victims shows clearly that the plot was directed primarily at the Government of the United States, although the list included some individuals who were not connected with that Government. In each of which cases, however, these individuals represented State authority or counter-radical activities of some nature. The analysis, furthermore, indicates to me that the plotters were under the influence not only of anarchistic but of communistic (Bolshevistic) and I. W. W. ideas. This theory likewise fits in with the date of May 1, being the chief point in the demonstration.

The various chiefs of police in the cities in which these outrages were supposed to occur, the post-office inspectors, the United States Secret Service, and the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice all met in conference and outlined plans for investigation of the conspiracy. The matter being primarily a violation of the postal laws, the direction of the investigation was left in the hands of the post-office inspectors, and the Bureau of Investigation made no definite attempt to investigate these outrages, investigating only such features as was requested by the post-office inspectors or police chiefs, and voluntarily giving the post-office inspectors or police chiefs such pieces of information coming to the attention of the bureau as might have a bearing on the case. In due time it was discovered where the boxes and containers of the infernal machines were made, but that information led to nothing. No other clues than those furnished by the infernal machines themselves existed and the conspiracy to-day remains unsolved, although the best efforts of the best police departments and detective services of the United States were expended upon its solution.

The public had just about recovered from the shock of May 1, when on June 2 a second series of bomb outrages occurred. These were different from the May 1 outrages in that the bombs were much more powerful and the plan apparently was to explode them at the places of residence of the intended victims. Bombs were actually exploded approximately at the same hour in nine places in the United States, as follows:

1. At the home of Attorney General Palmer, Washington, D. C.
2. At the home of Justice Robert F. Hayden, municipal judge of Boston, well-known foe of Bolshevism in that community and the judge who sentenced William C. Sidas and 11 others to prison for assaulting policemen during May day radical demonstrations in Roxboro, Mass.
3. At the home of Mayor Harry L. Davis of Cleveland, Ohio, who had been active in the prosecution of Ella Sagata and Carlo Lodl, anarchists of the Galliani group, and in urging legislation to curb radical activities.
4. At the home of Justice Charles C. Notts, Jr., of general sessions of New York City, who sentenced two men in connection with the plot to blow up St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York.
5. At the home of Judge W. P. Thompson of Pittsburgh, Pa., who presided at a prosecution of Carlo Tresca years ago for some offense under the State laws.
6. At the home of Representative Leland W. Powers, Newtonville, Mass., motive not known.
7. At the home of Max Gold, Paterson, N. J., silk manufacturer, who has had numerous strike troubles with anarchists at Paterson.
- 8 and 9. Two bombs at the Church of Our Lady of Victory, Philadelphia, Pa. No motive except the anarchist doctrine of atheism.

The explosions resulted in great property damage and two deaths. The watchman at Judge Notts's home was killed and the plotter who placed the bomb at the home of the Attorney General was blown to bits. None of the intended victims received physical injury.

At the time of the explosions there was found at every place where the bombs were exploded, a leaflet printed on pink paper, entitled "Plain Words" and signed "The Anarchist Fighters," copy of which circular is attached hereto and marked Exhibit A. A significant part thereof is as follows:

"There will have to be bloodshed; we will not dodge; there will have to be murder; we will kill because it is necessary; there will have to be destruction; we will destroy to rid the world of your tyrannical institutions."

The Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice undertook the chief burden of the investigation of the bomb conspiracy of June 2, and W. J. Flynn, the foremost criminal investigator in the United States, was made Director of the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice and was given free rein in the investigation of this plot. He commenced by calling a conference of all Government agencies, the chiefs of police, and detective chiefs of all the cities where bombs were exploded, and entered into cooperative arrangements.

As above stated, at the home of the Attorney General in Washington, the perpetrator of the outrage met his own death in the explosion of the bomb intended for the Attorney General. The pieces of the body, clothes, and equipment which were collected at that time, together with the printed circular "Plain Words," were the only clues to the identity of any member of the conspiracy.

The plan of immediate action decided upon by Director Flynn after his conference was twofold—first, to investigate and watch such known organizations of anarchists as might have been implicated in the plot, and, second, to run out such physical clues as were available, with a view of identifying some one of the perpetrators and through such identification locate the conspiracy.

It was thought that there were two or three groups of anarchists who might have been implicated. While it must be remembered that anarchy embraces individualism, which places upon individual adherents the duty of acting independently of any organized effort, but it did not necessarily follow that it was the act of a group as a whole. The four anarchist groups, members of which would be most likely to engage in such a plot, were the L'Era Nouva group, with headquarters at Paterson, N. J.; the Galliani group, with headquarters at Lynn and Boston, Mass., and Barre, Vt.; and the Pro Penza group, with headquarters at Philadelphia, Pa.; and the individual followers of Berkman and Goldman. Accordingly, arrangements were made to investigate these groups and their membership, with a view of finding if possible a missing member whose whereabouts could not be explained. In this manner the dead man might be identified, such identification leading to a disclosure of his connections.

The physical clues were the printed circular, "Plain Words," many copies of which were found at the places of the explosions; parts of the body, the

clothing and equipment of the anarchist who was blown up at the home of the Attorney General in Washington.

Collar: A portion of the collar (Contour brand), worn by the anarchist killed at Washington, containing the laundry mark "K. B.," was photographed and the picture published in all the laundry journals, resulting in a great many letters containing information which when followed out proved valueless. All laundries, including steam, hand, and Chinese, in all the districts in which the plot developed were visited and the only clue obtained was from a laundry known as "The Montauk," on Willoughby Street, in Brooklyn, N. Y., indicating that the customer at one time resided on Lawrence Street, Brooklyn. A house-to-house canvass on Lawrence Street and other neighboring streets and a careful canvass of the entire city and suburbs of Brooklyn failed to produce any results. The post-office inspectors also circularized a photograph of the collar, but without results.

Necktie: A portion of a blue polka-dot necktie was found near the scene of the explosion in Washington having the label "Silver Rose Shop, 86 Bowery." The label was disfigured and could not be deciphered at first but was finally identified by a label manufacturer, Henry A. Jacobs, 37 East Twenty-first Street, New York City, after a canvass of all manufacturers of this sort of labled. The Silver Rose Shop was thereupon visited and Proprietor Rosen stated that on May 17 he had received from Friedman & Friedman, wholesale necktie manufacturers, a consignment of neckties, among which were 12 similar blue ties with white polka dots, which ties retailed at the sum of \$1.35. An immediate inventory was made of Mr. Rosen's stock, and it was found that only one of the ties had been disposed of. Rosen stated that he had a recollection of a man who purchased the tie in question, but was unable to furnish any description of him.

The clerks in Mr. Rosen's store were interviewed, and one of whom, Mr. Abe Schak, on the occasion of the first interview stated that he thought the purchaser of the tie in question was a Slovak, a description of whom he was unable to furnish. Later Schak advised that he thought the purchaser of the tie was an Italian whom he had met while he, Schak, operated a store located in the vicinity of Duffield and Fulton Streets, Brooklyn, N. Y., and that the purchaser had called at Rosen's store during the latter part of May and while making the purchase of the polka-dot tie stated that he was going away, that he was tired of America. Schak furnished a description of the man and thereafter each man arrested in connection with the case was exhibited to Schak and Rosen, but was not identified as the purchaser of the tie. Schak further thought the purchaser might have been connected with an Italian theatrical company, whereupon an investigation was made of all Italian theatrical companies operating in New York City, including the various persons supply costumes, music, members of chorus, etc., but with no results.

Shoe: Part of a sandal shoe with a rubber heel was found near the explosion in Washington. Investigation was made at various manufacturing plants in and about New York and Boston and all cobblers who might have affixed the rubber heel. The manufacturer of the shoe was located, but this led to nothing definite. Thereafter a cobbler was located in New York City at 314 Avenue B, who upon being interrogated claimed that he had affixed a similar rubber heel to a similar sandal shoe for a foreigner a short time prior to June 2. This cobbler shop was in the neighborhood of the shop whereat the polka-dot necktie was purchased. The cobbler gave a description of his customer, which was painstakingly investigated and the customer located and found to be alive and a loyal citizen of Polish descent. No other results were obtained from the shoe clue.

Clothing: A small piece of torn cloth, apparently being a part of the suit of clothes worn by the anarchist killed at the explosion in Washington, was traced throughout the entire United States, with the result that the manufacturer thereof was found, and it was learned that this cloth was disposed of in large quantities in various places, particularly in Philadelphia and Boston, and was sold by dealers in many instances without records being made of the sales. For example, the clothing establishment of Titillo & Campanella, in Philadelphia, sold 7 yards over the counter without any record having been made thereof. This clue likewise led to nothing.

Italian dictionary: A flyleaf of an Italian dictionary was found in the vicinity of the explosion at the Attorney General's home, and inquiries at the Societa Libreria Italiana, 145 Mulberry Street, New York City, developed the

fact that this was a 1913 edition; had not been distributed during the last two years, and that at least 10,000 copies had been sold throughout the United States. In Philadelphia an Italian bookshop was found in the neighborhood of Titillo & Campanella's tailor shop that had distributed this book, but no description of a purchaser could be furnished. Therefore, this clue led to nothing.

Hat: A black derby hat, undamaged, was found in the vicinity of the explosion at Washington, and in Philadelphia it was ascertained that the hat was repaired in an Italian hat-repair shop which is in close proximity to the tailoring establishment of Titillo & Campanella. But no description could be obtained of the customer. A thorough canvas was made of New York City with reference to this hat by Sergt. Gegan's bomb squad, but with no results.

Firearms: One Smith & Wesson automatic pistol wrecked by the explosion and one Smith & Wesson revolver intact were found near the scene of the explosion in Washington. The numbers from these revolvers show that they were purchased under fictitious names with fictitious addresses. No description could be furnished as to the purchasers.

Plain Words: A leaflet printed on pink paper and containing in English the declaration shown by Exhibit A was found in numbers at the scenes of the various explosions. A complete investigation of the manufacturers of papers and ink houses produced no results, and no paper was found similar to that used in printing the circular until a short time ago. The investigation spread throughout the entire United States. On or about February 28 information came to the New York office through Agent Stone, of the New Jersey division, that one Roberto Elia was engaged in the publication of anarchist literature and that Elia was employed at 255 Fifth Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y., that being the printing shop of one Canzani. Agents, accompanied by Brooklyn police, went to Elia's room to apprehend him and found that he had in his possession a revolver, in violation of the Sullivan law of New York State. He was arrested on that charge, arraigned before a judge in Brooklyn, and held on \$10,000 bail. This action was taken solely by the police, but was acquiesced in by the agents of the Department of Justice, inasmuch as there was no Federal warrant upon which Elia might be arrested. Elia pleaded guilty to the charge of having firearms in his possession and the judge, who was about to impose sentence, upon being informed by the agents of the Department of Justice that Elia might have information valuable to the Government, suspended sentence pending investigations. Thereupon, Elia accompanied the agents of the Department of Justice to the Bureau of Investigation office at 15 Park Row, New York City, for interrogation. The first interrogation of Elia produced very little in the way of information other than that he worked in Canzani's shop and had been engaged independently in printing anarchistic literature. Elia was given comfortable quarters at 15 Park Row and remained under surveillance by the agents of the bureau for possibly six weeks, the details of which will be discussed later in this memorandum.

In the meantime, from information received from questioning other anarchists taken into custody during raids in Paterson, N. J., it was ascertained that Canzani's printing shop was the most likely place in which the leaflet Plain Words might have been printed, and that Elia could give valuable information in this regard if disposed so to do. Canzani's shop was thereupon searched twice, and in it was found some blank pink printing paper similar to that upon which Plain Words was printed. It also developed that one Andrea Salsedo was engaged as a typesetter and printer in Canzani's printing shop. Both Elia and Salsedo for some time past had been affiliated with the Galliani group at Lynn, Mass., and both had worked as printers in the publication of the Galliani anarchistic sheet, the Cronaca Sovversiva. In this connection it must be remembered that Galliani had been ordered deported by the Department of Labor for his anarchistic activities, and that one Carlo Tresca has assumed leadership of this group after Galliani's deportation. Galliani is now in Italy and is one of the recognized leaders in the revolution which is impending in that country.

With this in hand, it seemed likely that either Elia or Salsedo, or both, could give information assisting in the location of the bomb conspirators. Thereupon Salsedo was brought to the bureau of investigation office at 15 Park Row, New York City, for interrogation. He was likewise given comfortable quarters at 15 Park Row, and the next morning after his arrest an attorney, one Narcissus Donato, with offices on the eleventh floor of the Park Row building, 15 Park

Row, appeared on his behalf, although it was understood that neither Salsedo or Elia had employed Donato for that purpose. Donato was introduced to Mr. Flynn, who explained the fact that both Elia and Salsedo had probably violated the anarchy act of the State of New York, and, further, that deportation warrants had been issued for both of them, but had not yet been served. The situation was likewise explained to Elia and Salsedo by Mr. Flynn, as well as by their attorney. Mr. Flynn stated to Donato that he desired his cooperation in obtaining information in solving the bomb plot, and Donato replied that he would do whatever was consistent with his professional ethics and with his clients' interests. And thereupon it was agreed that both Elia and Salsedo should remain in the office of the department at 15 Park Row; that their whereabouts should remain unknown to all except their families, their attorney, and certain of their friends; and, further, that neither one should be subjected to interrogation or examination without the presence of their attorney.

On March 11 both Salsedo and Elia were interrogated by Mr. Flynn in the presence of their attorney, Mr. Donato, their questions and answers being taken down by a stenographer, which were afterwards transcribed and are now in the possession of the bureau. Both Elia and Salsedo admitted their connection with Canzani's printing shop, their former connection with the Galliani group and the Galliani publications, and that they were and for a long time had been anarchists. Salsedo admitted that he had received from one Nicoli Recchi, a member of the Galliani group, an order to print a large number of copies of a leaflet in English manuscript, copy of which Recchi furnished Salsedo. This manuscript was the copy from which Plain Words was printed and the leaflets which Salsedo printed were the leaflets Plain Words. Salsedo was shown a copy of Plain Words and admitted this to be a fact and confessed his own participation. Elia confirmed the fact that Salsedo had delivered a package of these leaflets to Recchi, who took away with him the original manuscript. Salsedo spoke some English, but not well. Elia speaks English fairly well.

Canzani's daughter has made the statement that Salsedo asked her to proof read the original setting of Plain Words, which, however, Salsedo denied. Neither of the Canzanis are thought to be anarchists.

From time to time both Elia and Salsedo recognized and identified photographs of various members of the Galliani group and other anarchists which were submitted to them for identification.

Realizing that he was unable to get further information voluntarily from these men and suspecting that Donato was playing false in the matter, Mr. Flynn had watch kept of Mr. Donato's movements and of the visitors at his office. It was discovered that Donato was receiving a mysterious visitor, of Italian nationality, with a heavy beard, and who answered to the description of Carlo Tresca, which was afterwards ascertained as being the fact. Carlo Tresca, it will be remembered, is the notorious anarchist who assumed the place of Galliani after his deportation. The situation thus presented might be analyzed as follows: The Department of Justice had in its offices a man who had printed the circular which was distributed with the bombs and the man who could identify the paper upon which the leaflet was printed and could identify the man who received the package of leaflets after their printing. Both these witnesses and Recchi were members of a dangerous group of anarchists originally led by Galliani and now led by Carlo Tresca. As above said the Galliani had motives for perpetration of the outrages. Galliani had been ordered deported and was awaiting deportation at Boston. Elia Sagata, of the Galliani group, had been sent to prison for eight years. The two plotters to destroy St. Patrick's Cathedral were affiliated with the Galliani group. Tresca had been prosecuted under Judge Thompson.

It is not to be presumed that the anarchists who perpetrated the bomb outrages would have selected to print their leaflet a man in whom they did not have the utmost confidence and who was not a tried and true comrade in their past endeavors. Elia and Salsedo had been permitted to see their attorney daily and their attorney was in the embarrassing position of having clients on the fourteenth floor who had given some evidence at least against the perpetrators of the outrages and having to entertain on the eleventh floor Carlo Tresca who represented one group of anarchists who were probably implicated in the plot itself. On May 4 Salsedo put an end to his part of the arrangement by jumping from the fourteenth floor of the Park Row Building upon the street, committing suicide.

It has now been ascertained that while Elia and Salsedo were staying at the Park Row Building, and probably through the efforts of Tresca, a large number of anarchists have been leaving the country as stowaways, sailors, and under false passports and in other manners have disappeared. The names of many of these are known to the department. Recchi has disappeared and according to the latest reports is supposed to be in Mexico. Galliani, before mentioned, is in Italy, where he is engaged as one of the leaders in the impending revolution in that country. Other members of the group are in Italy and other parts of Europe. Others have scattered and are working in out of the way places in the United States.

Although every possible lead as to a missing member of these groups was checked out it was found in each instance the missing member had either left the country or was working somewhere else, with the exception of one, said individual being Carlo Valdinucci, who during 1917-18 was a trusted lieutenant of Galliani while the latter was printing *Cronaca Sovversiva*. The only information obtained regarding him was that while Galliani was awaiting deportation and about the time of the explosions he disappeared and was believed to be in Mexico. In many details his description answered that of the anarchist who was killed by the explosion at the Attorney General's home in Washington, as near as the same could be ascertained from parts of the body pieced together and measured.

The net results of the investigations of the bomb plot of June 2, therefore, are that every physical clue has been run out to the last possible extreme, resulting in the discovery of the man that printed the circular Plain Words, the probable discovery of the man who was killed at the house of the Attorney General, the inference that the plot originated with members of the Galliani group, and that the perpetrators of the crime have succeeded in leaving the country, with the possible exception of one or two, and that the principal source of information is now closed by virtue of the suicide of Salsedo. Nevertheless there are several avenues of information yet to be explored and which hold out fairly substantial hopes that ultimately the plot will be solved. Such matters I will embody in a separate memorandum for your confidential information.

With particular reference to certain charges which were made against the Department of Justice for the alleged detention of Elia and Salsedo at 15 Park Row, New York City. John T. Creighton, special assistant to the Attorney General, went immediately to New York City and thoroughly investigated all the surrounding circumstances. As above stated, these men were held voluntarily by their own choice and with the knowledge and consent of their attorney, without any warrant having been served upon them. They were well treated, regularly fed in public restaurants, taken out for exercise, permitted to occupy separate clean beds at night in a clean room, were given ample opportunity to wash and bathe and change linen, and were never examined or interrogated except in the presence of their attorney. Flynn hoped to, and actually did, obtain information. Salsedo was suffering from tuberculosis and it was noted that he steadily gained physical health while he was in the Park Row Building.

He was never mistreated at any time and never was struck, intimidated, or threatened or ever examined or interrogated except the first time, without the presence of his attorney. Shortly prior to his death he told Elia he feared Recchi would have him done away with. It is my judgment that he was in terror of the results of having given information to the Government, that his knowledge of other facts which he had not disclosed were preying upon his mind, that he knew Tresca was informed of his whereabouts and probably of his disclosures and these things, together with his ill health, caused him to commit suicide.

Mr. Creighton interviewed Elia at Ellis Island in the presence of Acting Commissioner Uhl, Division Superintendent George Lamb, and two agents of the department. Elia was interrogated and replied in English. He stated the facts regarding his and Salsedo's detention and treatment substantially as I have done with two exceptions. He said that upon his first interrogation he was told to take off his glasses and that he did so, thinking that such action was preliminary to being given a third degree; that thereafter another agent told him to put his glasses on again, which he did, but that he was never threatened or struck during this or any other time. The investigation into this phase of the question disclosed that Elia pretended not to be able to speak English and that

this was a ruse adopted by Agents Barbero and Greene to discover whether in fact he could speak English, Barbero telling him in Italian to take his glasses off and Greene telling him in English to put them back on.

Elia also said that Salsedo had remarked the day after his arrest that he had received "a punch" and Elia noted that he had one red spot on each cheek, which Elia assumed were the results of having been struck on the cheeks. The most careful interrogation of all agents concerned in the matter shows that Salsedo was not struck or otherwise mistreated. A large number of people at the department saw the prisoners as soon after the preliminary interrogation as Elia did, including men of such undoubted integrity as Mr. Flynn and Mr. Lamb and Agent Palmero, and Mr. Lamb's secretary, Miss Brice, and they observed him carefully and saw no marks or indications of mistreatment. Furthermore, he never complained to anyone at the department of any mistreatment.

As a further check upon this, Agent Palmero was instructed to interview Salsedo's wife with a witness, and she stated that Salsedo had been well treated, and that he remained there of his own volition and consent, and that she was permitted and did visit him and see him privately as often as she desired, that he saw his lawyer frequently and in private, and that he had never complained to her of having received any threats or intimidation or ill treatment whatever at the hands of the agents of the Department of Justice.

Attorney Donato has made a number of conflicting statements, in some of which he says that Salsedo had been mistreated and others in which he says he had been treated well, and also others concerning the terms under which the two men were held. Attorney Donato talked rather freely with Mr. Creighton on general matters when interviewed, but refused to make any statement, written or oral, along these points. It seems to me that Attorney Donato is in an inconsistent position. If it be a fact and if he did permit these prisoners to remain there with his knowledge and consent, as all the evidence shows he did, the inference arises that they were to turn States' evidence for the Federal Government, in which case he might be placed in very great physical danger from the Galliani group of anarchists. If, on the contrary, the prisoners were kept without his consent, he is in the position of an attorney not knowing his rights, for he might have walked across the street and have had them released on a writ of habeas corpus, inasmuch as they were not held on warrant, of which fact he was aware. In fact, he stated to Mr. Creighton that he did not like to be put in a position of consenting to their detention for this last reason, namely, that his Italian clients would think he was not a good lawyer and he would loose business.

In order to get at the truth of what Donato had really agreed to Mr. Creighton questioned Mr. Robert Pierson, of the New York Telegram, and Mr. Bruce Ray, of the New York Times, the newspaper reporters who had interviewed Donato a few hours after Salsedo's death and before Donato had time to consider his statements. To these reporters he stated in substance, as I have heretofore set forth, the agreement that he had seen his clients every day, that they were well treated, that they had never been threatened, intimidated, ill treated, or given the third degree, and had never been examined except when he was present, and that they remained voluntarily with his knowledge and consent in order to keep them from being subjected to the penalties of the State laws and with the hope that they might be deported and not be confined at Ellis Island pending hearings.

These newspapers reporters appeared voluntarily and the questions and answers were taken down stenographically and reports signed and are hereto attached.

A very interesting episode took place during the interview of Donato by the newspaper reporters. Robert Pierson, of the Telegram, first went into Donato's office and interviewed him with the above results. The matter seemed so important that he wanted a witness to the interview, so he went back up to the fourteenth floor and asked Bruce Rae of the New York Times to accompany him for a second interview. During the first interview Pierson was interrupted by the entrance of an Italian with a thick black beard who kept interrupting Donato in Italian at various points in the interview. After each interruption Donato would become more and more evasive. When Pierson and Rae came down for the second interview they were told that Donato had left the office, but not believing the clerk that told them this, Pierson and Rae remained and when the clerk opened the door leading into Donato's room saw the visitor with the black whiskers speaking with Donato. They again took up the interview, but the strange Italian continued to interrupt them. It

was apparent to both of them that the stranger was dominating the interview, although Donato's answers were in substance those which he had first given. Later on both of the reporters identified the stranger as Carlo Tresca from a photograph of Tresca in the possession of the bureau.

"PLAIN WORDS.

The powers that be make no secret of their will to stop, here in America, the world-wide spread of revolution. The powers that be must reckon that they will have to accept the fight they have provoked.

A time has come when the social question's solution can be delayed no longer; class war is on and can not cease but with a complete victory for the international proletariat.

The challenge is an old one, oh "democratic" lords of the autocratic republic. We have been dreaming of freedom, we have talked of liberty, we have aspired to a better world, and you jailed us, you clubbed us, you deported us, you murdered us whenever you could.

Now that the great war, waged to replenish your purses, and build a pedestal to your saints, is over, nothing better can you do to protect your stolen millions, and your usurped fame, than to direct all the power of the murderous institutions you created for your exclusive defense, against the working multitudes rising to a more human conception of life.

The jails, the dungeons you reared to bury all protesting voices, are now replenished with languishing conscientious workers, and never satisfied, you increase their number every day.

It is history of yesterday that your gunmen were shooting and murdering unarmed masses by the wholesale; it has been the history of every day in your regime; and now all prospects are even worse.

Do not expect us to sit down and pray and cry. We accept your challenge and mean to stick to our war duties. We know that all you do is for your defense as a class; we know also that the proletariat has the same right to protect itself, since their press has been suffocated, their mouths muzzled; we mean to speak for them the voice of dynamite, through the mouth of guns.

Do not say we are acting cowardly because we keep in hiding, do not say it is abominable; it is war, class war, and you were the first to wage it under cover of the powerful institutions you call order, in the darkness of your laws, behind the guns of your bone-headed slave.

No liberty do you accept but yours; the working people also have a right to freedom, and their rights, our own rights, we have set our minds to protect at any price.

We are not many, perhaps more than you dream of, though but are all determined to fight to the last, till a man remains buried in your bastilles, till a hostage of the working class is left to the tortures of your police system, and will never rest till your fall is complete, and the laboring masses have taken possession of all that rightly belongs to them.

There will have to be bloodshed; we will not dodge; there will have to be murder; we will kill, because it is necessary; there will have to be destruction; we will destroy to rid the world of your tyrannical institutions.

We are ready to do anything and everything to suppress the capitalist class; just as you are doing anything and everything to suppress the proletarian revolution.

Our mutual position is pretty clear. What has been done by us so far is only a warning that there are friends of popular liberties still living. Only now we are getting into the fight; and you will have a chance to see what liberty-loving people can do.

Do not seek to believe that we are the Germans' or the devil's paid agents; you know well we are class-conscious men with strong determination, and no vulgar liability. And never hope that your cops, and your hounds will ever succeed in ridding the country of the anarchistic germ that pulses in our veins.

We know how we stand with you and know how to take care of ourselves.

Besides, you will never get all of us * * * and we multiply nowadays. Just wait and resign to your fate, since privilege and riches have turned your heads!

Long live social revolution! Down with tyranny!

THE ANARCHIST FIGHTERS."

ORGANIZATION OF RADICAL DIVISION.

Following the mailing of bombs to prominent Government officers in May, 1919, and the bomb outrages of June 2, 1919, it became quite apparent that there must be established a systematic and thorough handling of the unlawful elements in the United States, whose sole purpose it was to commit acts of terrorism and circulate literature advocating the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence.

As soon as the necessary appropriation was provided for by Congress, the radical division was organized as a part of the Department of Justice to handle the investigations connected with the radical activities in the United States. The division was formed with the purpose in view of collecting together evidence and data upon the revolutionary and radical movements not only in the United States, but in the world, in order that there might be an intelligent handling of the radical situation. There was first established in the division a card-index system in August, 1919, which has now grown to number over 100,000 cards, giving detailed data not only upon individual agitators connected with the radical movement, but also upon organizations, associations, societies, publications, and special conditions existing in certain localities. This card index makes it feasible to determine and ascertain in a few moments the numerous ramifications of individuals and their activities in the United States, thus facilitating the investigations considerably.

The card index is so classified that a card for a particular city may be called for and will show the various organizations existing in that city, together with their members and the names of the officers thereof. In view of the numerous inquiries received by telegraph and also in view of the fact that one of the main characteristics of the radicals in the United States is found in their migratory nature, make necessary the carrying out of such an index system, as prompt answer must be made to such inquiries.

There was also established in the Radical Division a careful reviewing system of reports of the special agents upon radical investigations, which has resulted in a close and intimate touch between the department in Washington and the field offices of the bureau in any part of the country, so that no step in the investigation can be taken without the knowledge of the Washington office being called to the same promptly.

The results of the investigations conducted by the Bureau of Investigation of radical activities showed that the predominating cause of the radical agitation in the United States was the alien population in this country. There were existing at the time of the establishment of the Radical Division practically six organizations, namely—

1. The El Ariete Society, with a membership of approximately 12.
2. The Communist Party of America, with a membership estimated then at 40,000.
3. The Communist Labor Party, with a membership estimated then at 10,000.
4. The Union of Russian Workers, with a membership estimated at 4,000.
5. The I. W. W., with a membership estimated at 300,000.
6. The L'era Nuova Group, with membership estimated at 25.

Appreciating that the criminal laws of the United States were not adequate to properly handle the radical situation, the Department of Justice held several conferences with the officials of the Department of Labor and came to an agreeable arrangement for the carrying out of the provisions of the act of October 16, 1918, familiarly known as the "deportation statute." The radical division was called upon to make inquiry in September into the activities of the organizations which had been recently formed in the United States of a revolutionary character.

The El Ariete Society, consisting of a group of Spanish anarchists, existed in the city of Buffalo. Three of its members have been indicted under section 6 of the Criminal Code for circulating a manifesto in Spanish which contained an appeal to the proletariat to arise and destroy the Government of the United States by force and violence and substitute bolshevism or anarchy in place thereof. It called for "the proletariat of all countries to unite and precipitate the revolution. * * * for all of us who suffer the evils of servitude join in the conflict * * * to attack the State directly and assail it without hesitation or compunction."

It threatened the officers of the Government as follows:

"Cannibals, your hour of reckoning has arrived. You have fattened before having your throats cut like hogs. You haven't lived, and consequently can not

die decently, like men. You are at your wits' end at the prospect of millions of human beings everywhere rising and not only asking but demanding and executing vengeance for the promotion of your usurped interests. Yes; they will overwhelm you. We are convinced that rebellion is the noble vindication of slaves; that from generation to generation the shameful reproach of slavery has now come. Make way for bolshevism, for the department of labor, mines, railways, fields, factories, and shops. Let the soviets be organized promptly. The ideal is not converted into fact until it has come to consciousness, after having been acquired by the sacrifice of innumerable voluntary victims. Dear reader, man or woman, whoever you may be, the era of social vindication has arrived; do not remain passive; rout out, once for all, superstition; forward, forward, at once, for the time for parleying with wolves of the chamber and the amphibious creatures of the swamps has passed.

"Proclaim yourself openly an anarchist. Let the revolution come. Hail to the immaculate and redeeming anarchy."

Judge Hazel, presiding as the judge in this case held that section 6 of the Criminal Code was inapplicable to such a case, and in rendering his opinion used the following language:

"I do not believe that the acts and deeds set forth in the indictment and the evidence given in support of it establish an offense such as this section which I have just read contemplates.

"This provision of the law was proposed in 1861, when this country was in strife with the Southern States, and when it was sought to put down conspiracies in various States of the Union to overthrow the Government and put it down by force—it was then this statute was passed, and Congress in passing it did not have in mind, in my judgment, the overthrowing of the Government, putting it down, or destroying by force by the use of propaganda such as we have been considering here.

"The manifesto in evidence contains many objectionable phrases—phrases of disloyalty, phrases which are seditious—but it also contains much reading matter prefatory to the objectionable passages, which are not in violation of any statute to which my attention has been called.

"The manifesto contains a dissertation on historical wrongs asserted to have been committed by kings, monarchs, and other potentates against the workingman, first, in the pagan period, and later under the guise of Christianity, and seems to dwell upon revolutions in the field of labor brought about by inventions in the arts and sciences; in sarcastic terms and scornful allusions belittle our democracy and form of government; claims that capital in this country oppresses labor; is abusive of the officials of the Government; advocating a soviet government; that is, a government by class, commonly known as the workers or proletariat of the country as distinguished from middle or property-owning class, and at the end of the document, and other places, it advocates anarchy, and advocates the destruction of the institutions of society, but there is nothing contained in it that advocates the destruction of society by the use of violence, and it is open to the construction that it was designed to be sent out for the purpose of bringing about a change in the Government by propaganda—by written documents.

"Of course, the manifesto is to be highly condemned. In this country we believe in democracy, we have been successful under it, and we are thoroughly satisfied with it; we are opposed to anarchy—and by that term is meant a government without a ruler—no government at all.

"In the Century Dictionary we find the definition of anarchy to be 'the state of society in which there is no capable supreme power, and in which the several functions of the State are performed badly, or not at all; social and political confusion.'

"An anarchist is defined to be 'one who advocates anarchy, or absence of government as a political ideal; a believer in anarchic theory of society.'

"In the popular use—that is, the manner in which the term was used in this case—it is meant 'one who seeks to overthrow by violence or external force the institutions of society and government, all law and order, and seize property with the purpose of establishing another system of government in the place of that destroyed.'

"Huxley defines the term and says: 'Anarchy is a term of political philosophy and must be taken in the proper sense, which has nothing to do with disorder or crime.'

"In this case we have to deal with anarchy that has to do with disorder and crime, and my view is that this provision of the statutes under which indictment

was found does not make it an offense to circulate or distribute literature of this kind.

"A penal statute ordinarily is to be strictly construed. The rule of the law on that subject is that a strict construction is required, except where it can be fairly ascertained what the intent of Congress was in enacting the law.

"I do not think that Congress, when it enacted this law, had in mind such situation as that—had in mind the circulation of literature such as this; I do not think, giving the provisions a fair interpretation, that it embraces any such offense as this at all. There may be a statute of the United States which makes it a crime for any person to conspire for the circulation of literature of this character, but my attention has not been called to it."

With the ruling of Judge Hazel facing the Department of Justice, the only other avenue through which we could proceed against this anarchistic group was the "deportation statute" of the immigration law, and immigration warrants were obtained for these individuals. They have not yet been deported, though recommendation was made by this department four months ago for it.

The next organization coming within the observation of the radical division and which warranted immediate attention was the organization known as the Union of Russian Workers. Investigations made by this department soon led it to the conclusion that this organization was formed for the sole purpose of destroying all institutions of government and society. It was necessary, however, in order to prove the anarchistical nature of this organization to secure copies of its constitution, as well as copies of literature published and circulated by it. Copies of the fundamental principles of this organization were obtained and a quotation from but a portion of them will leave no doubt in the mind as to the nature and character of this group of anarchists.

"The struggle between these classes continues at the present time and will cease only when the toiling masses organized as a class recognize their true interests, and by means of a socialistic revolution by force gain control of all of the wealth of the world.

"Having wrought such a change, and having destroyed at the same time all institutions of government and power, the unfortunate class who have been deprived of their rights should proclaim a society of free producers, working to satisfy the needs with every individual person giving in their turn all of their toil and their knowledge to society.

"In order to attain our goal we place in our plan first of all the necessity of creating a broad class revolutionary organization of toilers which, carrying on a struggle directly with all institutions of capital and power, must train the working class to initiative and self-dependent activity in all of their undertakings, thus developing in them a realization of the necessity and the inevitability of a universal strike—social revolution."

With the possession of these documents, it was conclusive that the organization of the Union of Russian Workers was such as brought it within the purview of the act of October 16, 1918, and the Secretary of Labor so held. On November 7, 1919, there were arrests made simultaneously in 11 cities in the principal industrial sections of the country of the secretaries, organizers, and agitators of this organization. Incidentally, it might be said that the membership card of the Union of Russian Workers contained the preamble which has just been quoted, written in Russian. At the time of the arrests there was taken into possession a tremendous amount of anarchistic literature, among which was found a document entitled "The Manifesto of the Anarchists-Communists," by Novimirsky, printed by the Union of Russian Workers, and which contains the following declaration:

"We are atheists; we are communists; we are anarchists."

"You all have one task—to destroy the world of gain and create a world of freedom; for all there is one means—an armed insurrection and forcible seizure of all instruments and of production of toil."

It is to be particularly noted that this document was issued by the organization of the Union of Russian Workers but that the expressions are not found in the so-called organic law of the organization. However, at Philadelphia, an arrest was made of Matthew Furshtman at a meeting of the Union of Russian Workers. Furshtman was delivering a lecture from the platform in Russian and upon being taken into custody it was found that on the table before him was lying a notebook of notes made by him, as well as a copy of Novimirsky's Manifesto open and with notations in his own handwriting thereon. I might state that Furshtman admitted that he had formerly been a member of the Union

of Russian Workers and withdrew his membership because it was forbidden by the Government and he did not want to be arrested, but that he continued to attend the meetings and participated in the discussions there carried on. In addition to this evidence obtained against Furshtman, certain correspondence was also obtained showing that Furshtman had been actively identified with members of the Union of Russian Workers, and in view of the fact that he was taken into custody at a meeting of that organization and in the act of delivering a speech during which from the evidence at hand it appeared that he had been quoting from Novimirsky's book on "anarchism," the Department of Justice maintained then and maintains now that it had a perfect case against this individual. However, immediately following his arrest, certain influences were brought to work in his behalf, it being claimed that he had tuberculosis and that he had but one lung and that a deportation to Russia would result disastrously for him. The merit in his case so far as his physical condition is concerned is unknown to me, but I do know that even though he had but one lung it was sufficiently strong enough for him to deliver to a group of Russians, noncitizens of the United States, a lecture upon anarchy. I recommended that his deportation be effected upon the *Buford* which sailed in December, but my recommendation was not carried out and to-day he is still in the United States at large though a Federal court refused to rule in his behalf.

Concurrently with the investigations being made into the activity of the Union of Russian Workers, the cases of individual anarchists who were more or less prominent in activities in the United States were receiving the attention of the department. Among them were the cases of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, two anarchists who had for over a score and a half of years been circulating their pernicious doctrines of not only anarchism, but also of athelism, free love, birth control, and other immoral teachings throughout the length and breadth of the land. Immediately upon the release of these individuals from the penitentiaries where they had been confined for a violation of the espionage act, they were taken into custody upon warrants issued by the Department of Labor at my request. The briefs upon the evidence prepared in each of these cases is to be found in the Senate publication submitted in reply to the Poindexter resolution. Suffice it to say that both of these individuals claimed that they were anarchists, but that they were opposed to violence and therefore opposed to government, for, as they put it, government was based on violence. This was their contention when faced with deportation, but it was not the contention of Emma Goldman, when in 1901, in the issue of *Free Society* for February 17, she stated as follows:

"I have never opposed force or propaganda by deed either publicly or privately."

In the article appearing in that issue of *Free Society*, she was on record as advocating the use of force and violence; and yet in 1920, when it became evident that the Government was sincere and serious in its effort to deport her, she denied that she advocated force and violence. I know nothing of Emma Goldman's record for "truth" and "veracity," other than she stated that she did not believe in force and violence when she had previously written that she did. Few, if any, anarchists will admit the fact that they believe in force and violence, and if we are compelled to accept in addition to the statement that they are anarchists, that they do not believe in force and violence, then it is doubtful if any deportations for anarchists could be effected.

It is true that Emma Goldman refused to answer any questions at her deportation hearing and for that reason it appears in the record in the case that she was an anarchist and nothing else, but she repeatedly in her articles in *Mother Earth* and to Government officers stated that she was opposed to violence.

As the fact remains that Emma Goldman had been arrested many times in her anarchistic career in the United States for inciting to riot and indulging in other unlawful acts, her declamations just prior to her deportation in which she deplored violence did not agree with the previous sentiments expressed by her at the time of the McKinley assassination and her subsequent acts. Had the ruling in the Magon case been followed in the Emma Goldman case, it is possible that the Labor Department would have canceled her warrant and we would have had her among us to-day.

The cases of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman are particularly important to consider, in view of the fact that both of these subjects resorted to every technicality of the law which they so strenuously defied to protect them

from deportation. It is significant to further note in the case of Emma Goldman that she issued a statement declaiming the "star-chamber proceedings" at Ellis Island before she had ever entered the hearing at Ellis Island. Her statement was handed out to newspaper men for publication before the hearing had been completed, thus showing the fact that she was determined to circulate propaganda against the Government. Upon the completion of her hearing at Ellis Island and upon the final order issued for deportation by the Secretary of Labor, she, together with her associate, Alexander Berkman, sued out a writ of habeas corpus in the southern district of New York, and from there it was carried to the Supreme Court of the United States, which finally passed calm and deliberate judgment upon the cases of these two anarchists. Thus showing that they were able to and did, in fact, avail themselves of the opportunity of resorting to the judicial processes of this country to protect themselves and to prevent their deportation to Russia.

It is proper to mention at this point the two great economic disturbances that occurred in September and November, 1919. For many weeks prior to September, 1919, there had been a considerable amount of agitation among the steel workers of the United States in which later investigations showed were traceable to former I. W. W. men who had wormed their way into the ranks of the American Federation of Labor, unsuspected by the leaders of that organization of their insidious purposes.

Hereto are attached and marked copies of the circulars distributed during the steel strike and bearing directly upon it.

THE STEEL STRIKE OF 1919.

This strike was really the culmination of the efforts of its leader, W. Z. Foster, author of "Syndicalism," to organize the steel workers ostensibly for the American Federation of Labor, but in reality for effecting his "boring from within" methods.

In order to understand clearly the above statements, reference is made to the following, which illustrate Foster's views on this subject, namely, "boring from within":

- Solidarity for March 19, 1910. Article No. 1, "Free-speech fight ended."
- Solidarity for July 30, 1910. Article No. 1, "A. F. of L. protecting itself."
- Solidarity for October 29, 1910. Article No. 1, "C. G. T. Congress."
- Solidarity for November 5, 1910. Article No. 1, "First days of strike."
- Solidarity for November 12, 1910. Article No. 1, "Railroad strike."
- Solidarity for November 19, 1910. Article No. 1, "France an undeveloped country."
- Solidarity for December 31, 1910. Article No. 1, "Stirring events in France."
- Solidarity for January 7, 1911. Article No. 1, "'Pearled' sabotage."
- Solidarity for March 11, 1911. Article No. 1, "Special article by Foster."
- Solidarity for March 18, 1911. Article No. 1, "Greetings from Paris."
- Solidarity for March 25, 1911. Article No. 1, "C. G. T. and S. P., or Syndicalists versus Socialists."
- Solidarity for April 22, 1911. Article No. 1, "Observations in Germany."
- Solidarity for June 3, 1911. Article No. 1, "May Day in Germany."
- Solidarity for September 2, 1911. Article No. 1, "German socialists unions."
- Solidarity for September 16, 1911. Article No. 1, "Civic federation at the Budapest conference."
- American Federation of Labor for August 10, 1911.
- Solidarity for September 9, 1911. Article No. 1, "Labor Day in New York."
- Solidarity for September 30, 1911. Article No. 1, "Sixth I. W. W. convention."
- Article No. 2, "Get into the labor movement." Article No. 3, "The socialist labor movement in Germany."
- Solidarity for October 7, 1911. Article No. 1, "Convention report." Article No. 2, "The socialist labor movement in Germany."
- Solidarity for October 14, 1911. Article No. 1, "The socialist movement in Germany."
- Solidarity for October 21, 1911. Article No. 1, "A German replies to Foster."
- Foster became so pronounced in his views of "boring from within" that the editor of Solidarity decided that it was impossible to change his (Foster's) views, so refused to publish any more of his articles in Solidarity.
- Solidarity for November 18, 1911. Article No. 1, "Boring from within."
- Solidarity for December 2, 1911. Article No. 1, "Wyoming rebel on fusion." Article No. 2, "This one wants fusion."

Solidarity, article No. 1 (Dec. 9, 1911), "Bore into the masses." Article No. 2, "Foster answered from France." Article No. 3, "Why not both bore and build." Article No. 4, "Touches question in spots."

This was the end of Foster in the I. W. W. and his future efforts were in the American Federation of Labor.

Solidarity for December 16, 1911. Article No. 1, "Discussion closed."

After Foster terminated his connection and association with the I. W. W., in 1911, he became openly active in anarchist syndicalism, and wrote his well-known pamphlet, Syndicalism, which is attached hereto. In this book Foster far surpasses anything that he had ever written in Solidarity or any other revolutionary publication. In those articles he wrote principally on his impressions gained in Europe, and only in a mild way did he advise "boring from within," but in his book he came out openly and advocated these doctrines.

Foster made great strides toward accomplishing his aims in a convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in St. Paul, 1918, where he was elected secretary and treasurer of a committee for organizing "iron and steel workers."

When this committee was formed and the campaign launched the revolutionary movement realized that at last they were on their way to the realization of their ambitions to capture the American Federation of Labor, as their most ardent exponent of anarchist syndicalism, W. Z. Foster, was in a position as secretary and treasurer to direct this movement from within, and that with a reasonable amount of discretion, W. Z. Foster and his followers would be able, "with the membership to be acquired from the steel industry," to rid the American Federation of Labor of its so-called conservative leadership and form the greatest revolutionary labor movement the world has ever seen.

After this organizing committee was formed Foster and his followers started their campaign in and around Chicago. It was a noticeable feature of this campaign that they laid more stress on organizing the foreign and unskilled workers than they did the skilled workers, Foster explaining that as soon as they got the hundreds of thousands of unskilled workers they would be able to force the skilled workers into the organization, as the skilled workers could do nothing without the unskilled workers. Furthermore, the unskilled workers were in the majority and would give him a large nucleus to force the others in. He followed out this program and met with considerable success, but realized that unless the workers in the Pittsburgh district were organized he would be unable to do anything toward realizing his dream to become a power in the American Federation of Labor. Hence, in the fall of 1918 Foster opened offices in Pittsburgh.

About the time of the arrival of Foster in Pittsburgh, the I. W. W. conceived the idea of organizing the steel workers. Finding that Foster was now in a position to carry out plans he had formulated years previously, the I. W. W. decided to discontinue in the open and assist Foster in every way possible, but keep their operations from the public eye.

About the middle of July, 1919, Vincent St. John, general secretary of the I. W. W. and author of "The I. W. W., Its History, Structure, and Methods," interviewed Foster. During this conference Foster requested St. John to arrange for the assistance of all "Reds" in the United States. St. John agreed to use his influence in securing this assistance for Foster, but in return requested Foster to do his utmost to secure Liberty bonds to be used for bail for the I. W. W. members in prison at Leavenworth. St. John's efforts in Foster's behalf soon became apparent, so the "Reds" and members of the I. W. W. commenced to work in Foster's behalf.

In correspondence between St. John and Jake Margolis, St. John requested Margolis to warn Foster to be careful of the international officers and frustrate any treacherous action on their part.

For the information of the laymen, the exact meaning of this statement is that St. John had in mind that the international officers might attempt to divide Foster's organization by instituting a craft division, thus destroying Foster's chance for a syndicalist organization.

After various maneuvers of the American Federation of Labor, and with the assistance of various radical organizations Foster was successful in bringing about a general strike of the steel workers, in September, 1919, but through the action of the Department of Justice in exposing the plan of W. Z. Foster to destroy the American Federation of Labor, by his subtle "Boring from within" methods, this strike was terminated with, in reality, a complete victory for the American Federation of Labor.

Following closely upon the steel strike the country faced a strike of the bituminous-coal miners. This strike may well be termed a contest in the American Federation of Labor and between the patriotic elements therein and the radical forces. Attached hereto are samples of the literature circulated at this time directly traceable to the Communist Party of America.

Quantities of literature appealing to the coal miners was distributed by various radical organizations during this strike. The following is a quotation from a leaflet issued by the Communist Party of America entitled "The State—Strike Breaker":

"The workers can not win their freedom, they can not win even a living wage and a little more sunshine and fresh air, while the capitalists control the power of the State.

"The workers must conquer that power. They must make themselves the ruling class. They must establish in the place of the dictatorship of the capitalists the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"Workers, rally to the support of the miners. Make their strike general. Unite for the struggle against industrial slavery. Take from the capitalists the power through which they seek to increase your slavery."

As an illustration of the manner in which the communists endeavored to antagonize the miners against their leaders, the following is an excerpt from a circular distributed by the Communist Party of America entitled "You Must Unite, Workmen!"

"The conservative and reactionary union officials who stand in the way and betray the workers, as the railroad men's union officials are now doing by endeavoring to prevent the strike, must be swept aside. Strike councils with delegates from every industry, whether the workers are organized or unorganized, must be created in each city. The councils in each industrial district must be united in a district council, and the district councils in a national council."

Among other literature distributed during this strike was a leaflet entitled "The Russian Soviet Republic of Workers and Peasants," published by the national executive committee, Socialist Labor Party. Attention is directed to the following from his leaflet:

"Workingmen and working women of America! Keep your eyes on Russia. Watch what is going on there and what the capitalist plunderband will try to do. Do not be misled by the lies and slanders that are daily dished up to you. Bear in mind that those who tell you these yarns have an interest to mislead you. They want to use you as a makeweight in their game of wresting from the Russian workers their dearly won liberty. It is of no use to enumerate the lies that have already been punctured because they will invent new ones faster than one can write and print. Let your reason guide you. Think yourselves into the shoes of your Russian fellow workers. Think how you would act if placed in the same position, then draw the conclusion that they act about the same way that you would, because they are, like you, moved by the same emotions, the same desires, the same aspirations. You, too, would like to keep for yourselves the fruits of your toil, if you only knew how to go about it, if you had the organization that would make it possible. But as yet you do not know and you have not that organization. In politics you still vote against one another in the Republican or Democratic camp. Some of you waste your votes on a so-called Socialist Party which has ever since it was formed stood in the way and helped to prevent the real organization of the working class—the Industrial Union. In your trade-unions you still scab against each other, fritter away your energy in jurisdiction fights growing out of your false form of craft-union organization. And then, at best, you have only a small part of the working class organized even in this faulty way. So you see, you don't know yet how to act together, and, therefore, you don't know how and you have not the means to free yourselves. You will have to wait until you do know and until you do have the means—the industrial unions of the entire working class that will be able to take and hold and administer industry for the reason that it will have the might, the power to do so. And when you have expressed through the ballot your will for the new society, which will guarantee to you the full fruits of your labor, remember the slogan of revolutionary Russia: 'All power to the Soviets,' and let your slogan then be: 'All power to the industrial unions.'"

The Department of Justice, appreciating the efforts which the red element were making in influencing the miners, had an injunction issued before Judge Anderson at Indianapolis, preventing further activities on the part of the miners. After the serving of this injunction the question then arose in all

of the locals of the United Mine Workers throughout the country whether or not they should obey the court's order, and, thanks to the loyal miners, the law was obeyed, and this country was saved from a severe coal famine.

There were flagrant cases where alien members of the Union of Russian Workers and the Communist Party of America continued to influence the miners, as in the State of West Virginia, but through the efforts of the Department of Justice these individuals were thoroughly investigated and their cases submitted to the Labor Department, with a recommendation for deportation, thus clarifying the situation in this locality.

Through the prompt action of the Federal Government and the loyal support of the true Americans in the American Federation of Labor the strike was broken and the country saved from famine of fuel when about to embark upon the eve of the bitter winter.

At the time of the investigation being conducted into the activities of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, the department's attention was also called to certain other leaders who were actively associated with the Union of Russian Workers; namely, Adolph Schnabel, Mollie Stimer, and Peter Blanki. Schnabel and Blanki were both men of keen intellect who had been the heads of the Union of Russian Workers and had directed its activities, which activities led into every great industrial center in the United States and investigation showed in the coal strike of 1919, particularly in the States of West Virginia and Pennsylvania, that members of the Union of Russian Workers were directly responsible for the unrest existing in those sections of the country.

The case of Mollie Stimer was one which had drawn to it not only the attention of the Federal authorities, but also the attention of the State authorities. This girl of 18 years had gathered around her in New York City a group of young anarchists who were led by her in all their movements. She had been arrested in 1917 for circulating bulletins for the obstructing of the selective-service act, and had been convicted by the courts upon this charge and sentenced to 15 years in the penitentiary. She appealed her case, together with Jacob Abrams, Hyman Lackowsky, and Samuel Lipman, to the United States Supreme Court and pending the appeal this group of criminals were released upon bond. Undeterred in their agitation, they resorted to the distribution of additional literature.

Mollie Stimer became actively identified with the circulation of what is known as the "American Anarchist Federated Commune Soviet" publications. These were put out by a secret group existing in this country which periodically circulates throughout the eastern section of the country bulletins and pamphlets. It appears always in the case of great national economic disturbances, and its columns are given over to the advocacy of the assassination of public officers and to the use of force and violence. Mollie Stimer was the medium through which these publications were distributed in New York City, and in one of the pamphlets distributed by her open threats were made upon the lives of several of the New York prosecutors. She was arrested for the circulation of this leaflet and released upon a bond by the New York State authorities. She immediately distributed additional lots of this literature and was taken into custody by the Department of Labor upon a warrant for deportation, issued upon the recommendation of the Department of Justice. It might be illuminating to quote the following excerpts taken from several of the circulars distributed by Mollie Stimer:

"Workers, Russian emigrants, you who had the least belief in the honesty of our Government, must now throw away all confidence, must spit in the face of the false hypocrite, military propaganda * * * and from now on all of you workers who intend to go out marching on your streets will know that you shall never go out again unless you will be armed—to repulse those that dare to attack you. Workers of America, begin to arm yourselves—fight back in the same manner as you are being attacked.

"As far as we, the workers, are concerned, the National Security League, their press, church, and Government, together with their holy Constitution, can go straight to hell. Down with all constitutions, governments, capitalism, churches, and synagogues."

The above pamphlets, distributed by Mollie Stimer, were acknowledged by her as being the expression of her views, and she admitted that she was an anarchist and was endeavoring to carry out the teachings of anarchism. Deportation hearing was not held in her case, however, due to the fact that she was turned over to the State authorities of New York to serve her sentence of

six months, and she is now at the Jefferson City Penitentiary, having been sentenced to 15 years. I make mention of the Mollie Stimer case in view of the propaganda being conducted in her behalf by certain well-intended persons, namely, Roscoe Pound, Belmont, Mass.; Edward B. Adams, Cambridge, Mass.; Felix Frankfurter, Cambridge, Mass.; Francis B. Sayre, Cambridge, Mass. These gentlemen, all of the Harvard faculty, have placed their names to a petition in behalf of the release of Mollie Stimer and have petitioned the President for political amnesty.

There is attached hereto a copy of the petition being circulated on behalf of Mollie Stimer to which the names of the members of the Harvard faculty are attached. In passing it may be well to state that Mollie Stimer in an interview given by her to the editor of the *Volkzeitung*, appearing in its issue of May 1, 1920, states that "If she had to do it over again she would do the very thing for which she must go to prison." We still see thus the defiance of this girl even in face of her prison sentence.

In the great bulk of material taken in the raids of November 7, 1919, when members of the Union of Russian Workers were apprehended, 99 per cent of the same was wholly anarchistic in tendency. There could be submitted dozens of copies of literature typical of the anarchistic propaganda, but all of it is similar in contents to the end that it is atheistic in tendency and immoral and vicious in purpose. When the arrests were made in the city of Baltimore a significant piece of evidence obtained was a social war bond. On the face of the bond appear the following statement:

"To help crush the capital system. Interest on this bond will be paid the day after the social revolution. Issued by the revolutionary propaganda group."

Attached hereto is a copy of the war bond referred to which shows the really serious purpose of the radical elements in the United States.

These bonds had been sold broadcast and many aliens had expended their money for the purpose of the same. It is to be noted particularly that in the arrests made on November 7 of members of the Union of Russian Workers that all persons taken into custody were alien Russians, the majority of whom had come to this country in 1914, and prior to arrest had taken not even the first step toward becoming American citizens. In conversation with Peter Bianki, the leader of the Union of Russian Workers, it was learned that they were anxious to return to Russia which they looked upon as the nearest ideal to the Anarchist Utopia. While anarchists in general believed in no restraint and no Government, yet the Union of Russian Workers were willing to support the soviet government of Russia until the opportune moment arrived, when they would rise against it and establish the anarchist commonwealth.

Until this time the radicals in the United States had been openly aggressive in their verbal attacks upon the Government of the United States, due to the fact that even though when arrested for deportation they were released upon bond, and they felt assured of the fact that deportation could not be carried out, owing to the supposed impossibility of deporting to Russia at that time. However, in order that this attitude might be cured, this department, in conjunction with the War Department, and Mr. Caminetti, of the Department of Labor, held several conferences for the purpose of coming to an agreement whereby deportation could actually be carried out. The result of these conferences was the obtaining of the United States Army transport *Buford*, which sailed from New York on the morning of December 22, 1919, for Russia. The arrangements concerning the sailing of the *Buford* were necessarily kept quiet and secret, due to the fact that it was well known that the radicals, while on the surface desirous of returning to Russia, were not sincere in this proclaimed view. The sailing of the *Buford* carried out of the United States 249 of the leading anarchists; 246 of this number were men, and the remainder women. Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, Adolph Schnabel, Peter Bianki, and, in fact, all of the leaders and organizers of the Union of Russian Workers were included in the lot deported upon the *Buford*. It might incidentally be stated that the anarchists sailing on the *Buford* were well provided for and that the accommodations afforded were far superior to those accorded our troops when they sailed to France. Warm clothing was supplied to all, and it is also significant to note that the majority of them were well supplied with funds. It may be of interest to know that many of the anarchists requested that their checks for \$2,000 or \$3,000 be cashed by officers. When told that the checks could not be cashed, but that they would be mailed to their relatives or attorneys, who could get them cashed, they scoffed at the idea, stating that they would not trust a Govern-

ment officer to mail a check for them. In view of this attitude, they took these checks to Russia, with the ultimate aim of having them cashed by Trotsky and Lenin, and with what success I am not informed.

Immediately upon the sailing of the *Buford*, there arose in this country a certain amount of agitation in behalf of the families of these deported aliens. Certain misinformed but apparently well-intentioned persons organized societies to protest against such deportations on the ground that it was inhuman and their families were left in misery. I might state that when the *Buford* sailed directions were issued to the agents of the Department of Justice that they should immediately inquire into each and every case of aliens deported and arrested for anarchistic activities and where it was found that certain hardships existed these cases should be called to the attention of the local charitable organizations who stood willing and ready to render any and all assistance in such cases. I was told by representatives of the families, however, that they did not desire charity, but only desired the opportunity of returning to Russia. It might be pointed out that in cases investigated by this department instances were found where the alien arrested had advised his wife to refuse to pay the rent, in order that she might be thrown out of her home and thereby arouse public sympathy. In some cases it was found that the alien had in bank \$2,500 and sometimes as much as \$3,000. In one instance in New York City, it was claimed that a woman was driven insane, due to the deportation of her husband. Inquiring into this case, it was found that no such case had been reported to the Bellevue Hospital, and it is to be further noted that under the law of New York a person can not be committed to an insane asylum until they have received observation at the Bellevue Hospital.

Another instance of the same sort in which an effort has been made to arouse public sympathy was the case of a girl arrested for communistic activities, and it was claimed by her attorney that her mother was pregnant. The attorney even went to the extent to bring the case to the attention of the court, but investigation showed that the statements were entirely unfounded and to be a willful falsehood. I could cite any number of cases of a similar nature, but those cited are typical of the false propaganda created on behalf of these aliens. It occurred to me that it would be far better for the families to remain in the United States until the conditions in Russia improved, rather than to send them back to a country in which it was well known there was a scarcity of food and untold hardships to be experienced. However, in view of the insistence of the attorneys for the aliens, conferences were held with the State Department and arrangements speedily effected whereby alien Russians might depart for Russia and join their relatives in that country so that to-day any Russian desiring to leave the United States has but to make application to the State Department for such permission.

While arrangements were made for Russians to return to Russia, upon making application to the State Department, there have been comparatively few requests by the alien Russians to return to Soviet Russia. This is another instance of the false propaganda conducted on behalf of the radicals, for when arrangements were made they showed no desire then to take advantage of same.

Following the sailing of the *Buford* plans were then laid by the Department of Justice for the apprehension of members of the Communist Party of America and the Communist Labor Party. These two organizations had grown out of the dissatisfied elements of the Socialist Party. For many months prior to September, 1919, there had existed within the ranks of the Socialists in the United States, a certain amount of dissension based upon the desire of what was called the left-wing element to resort to direct action tactics in the obtaining of their aims. In March of 1919 there assembled in the city of Moscow, Russia, a conference composed of Communists from all over the world including the United States. At this conference there was adopted a manifesto and program known as the Communist manifesto and program of the Third Internationale. It is significant to note that the name of the presiding officer of same was Lenin, the president of the Soviet Republic, and that the prime movers in this conference were the representatives of the Soviet Republic. The conference was called by members of the Russian Communist Party and by the Spartacus group of Germany. A few references to the manifesto and platform of the Third Internationale are illuminating.

The contents of the same are addressed to the proletarians of the world and throughout the documents we find frequent mention of the United States. There is the enunciation of the principle of seizure of property without com-

pensation, of the introduction of universal labor service, together with a strict labor discipline, of the fact that "When the principle of destruction govern, then the proletariat is pledged to create its own apparatus which will serve first of all to protect the internal bonds of the working class." The Workers of the World are urged to imitate the governmental apparatus of Russia and to create soviets and to arm themselves and to disarm the bourgeoisie or what is familiarly known as the governmental class.

In the platform of the Communist Internationale we find the following significant statement: "The conquest of political power by the proletariat means the destruction of the political power of the bourgeoisie." It is openly advocated that the judges, preachers, and the civil officials of the Government should be done away with and that the soviet will turn over to the people the best palaces, houses, and stores of paper. The following statement appears under the section entitled "The road to victory":

"The revolutionary epoch demands of the proletariat the application of such methods of struggle as will concentrate all its energies first of all melting of mass struggle with its logical conclusions—direct conflict in open battle with the bourgeoisie governmental machinery."

The documents close with the significant phrase: "Arms against arms; force against force."

Copies of the manifesto and program of the Third Internationale are attached hereto, and the reading of same can lead to only one conclusion, namely, that any organization adopting the principles set forth in the manifesto and program, thereby pledge themselves to the overthrow by force and violence of all forms of recognized government as we understand them to-day. They pledge themselves to the expropriation of property and the annihilation of the church and the judiciary, and, in fact, to every principle of immorality and lawlessness. This document had been popularly termed by the Communists the world over as the Communist bible.

Upon the conclusion of the conference at Moscow the delegates there assembled dispersed and went back to their various countries to carry on propaganda for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the United States between March, 1919, and August, 1919, there arose a marked amount of disturbance within the ranks of the Socialist Party, headed by the foreign federations of that party, with the result that numerous manifestos were drawn up by the Left Wing of that party urging mass action and defiance of party discipline as well as of law. So serious became the dissension that the executive committee of the Socialist Party called an emergency convention of that party to be held in the city of Chicago in August, 1919, for the purpose of endeavoring to arbitrate the various differences that had arisen.

In August, 1919, the convention assembled in Chicago with the result that there broke away from the Socialist Party the Left Wing element, which formed itself into the Communist Party of America and the Communist Labor Party. The only difference existing between these two Communist parties existed in the leadership and not in tactics. Such is the statement of their own leaders in their official publications. The group of the Communist Party supporting Martens in this country is to be found in the Communist Labor Party, while the group opposing Martens is found in the Communist Party. Both of these organizations immediately started a very energetic program of propaganda. Both of them drew up platforms and manifestos, copies of which are attached hereto. There is also attached a brief prepared upon the Communist Party of America, setting forth the contention of the Department of Justice that it is an organization openly advocating the use of force and violence for the overthrow of the Government of the United States. There is likewise attached a brief setting forth the contention of the Department of Justice that the Communist Labor Party is likewise an organization pledged to force and violence. It is significant to note that in the manifesto and program of both these organizations they pledge themselves to the Third Internationale, the so-called Communist bible. Both of these organizations have criticized in vicious language the American Federation of Labor, calling it reactionary and the bulwark of capitalism. It is worthy to note that at the Third Internationale the American delegate representing the Communist groups in the United States delivered the most vindictive oration against Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor. Both of these parties support the I. W. W. and the militant unions existing in the United States, and both of them specifically state that parliamentary action shall be but secondary in the achievement of their aims.

It might be stated further that the alien membership in these organizations dominate them entirely and therefore parliamentary action for the achievement of their aims in this country is entirely out of the question, for the aliens have not the right to vote. Their primary action is a general strike, with revolutionary implications, which, according to Magistrate McCloskey, means the use of force and violence. Not a general strike alone, but a general strike with revolutionary aspects. Mass action is frequently mentioned in the literature of these parties and the only definition that can properly be accepted of mass action is that given by the leaders of the movement, namely, that mass action is the very essence of force and violence.

Evidence of the activities of these two organizations are to be found in the steel and coal strikes of 1919, and Louis C. Fraina, secretary of the Communist Labor Party, while in Amsterdam in February, 1920, spoke as follows:

"These great strikes were used by the Communist Party as a means for the intensive revolutionary agitation. Leaflets were issued concerning the mine workers' and steel workers' strike and 2,000,000 of these were distributed."

There is incorporated in this memorandum under the headings "Coal and steel strikes" samples of the literature distributed by these two organizations.

Realizing the pernicious effect of their agitation and the ultimate aim, the Department of Justice made further inquiry into the ramifications of these two organizations and in December, 1919, submitted to the Labor Department briefs prepared upon each of these organizations, together with 3,000 affidavits sworn to by agents of the Department of Justice, setting forth the names of the individuals actively connected with the Communist Labor and Communist Parties.

Through close cooperation with Mr. Caminetti, commissioner general, and Mr. Abercrombie, Acting Secretary of the Department of Labor, the leaders of the communist movements were taken into custody simultaneously in over 33 towns in the United States on the night of January 2, 1920, by the Department of Justice. Tons of revolutionary documents were secured which clearly sustained the contention of the Department of Justice that these organizations were pledged to the tactics of force and violence. The Department of Justice obtained as evidence against these individuals in the majority of cases, membership cards and pledge cards. Stenographic statements were taken on the night of January 2, in which many of the aliens admitted membership in the organizations. A point to be noted is that the constitution of the organization required that the individual joining the same must sign a pledge in which he gives voice to the fact that he has read and understands the principles of not only the Communist Party but also of the third internationale. The person joining the Communist Labor Party pledges himself to the fact that he will be guided by the constitution and platform of that party. So there is no force to the contention that a person joining these organizations is in ignorance of the contents of the constitution, platform, and manifesto of the party. In such cases the organic law should govern and the organic law is very clear on these points.

The result of the arrests of January 2, 1920, was that there was a marked cessation of revolutionary activities in the United States. For many weeks following the arrests the radical press had nearly gone out of existence in so far as its communistic tendencies were concerned. Meetings were not held of the organizations and an examination of their subsequent literature shows that they had been completely broken by the activities of the Department of Justice. Such was the statement of Louis C. Fraina at the Amsterdam conference of communists in February, 1920, and such have been the statements of the spokesmen of the communist and communist labor parties in this country.

An immediate agitation commenced throughout the country following the arrests of the Communists, based upon the fact that many of the families of the men arrested were suffering hardships. Again the Department of Justice had taken pains to provide for such an emergency, and the charitable organizations of the country immediately offered every assistance in meritorious cases. There is no reason why there has been a single case of hardship facing any of the families if they would have accepted the assistance offered. It is worthy of note that a great proportion of the families were well supplied with funds, so that there were only isolated cases where there really was any hardship, and these cases were taken care of.

There also arose a certain amount of propaganda based upon the grounds that men were being deported for ideas. This would best be answered by the excellent statement enunciated by a Federal judge recently to the effect that

"words are the triggers of action." These men arrested were most prolific in the use of words, and as long as there was not any national disturbance they confined themselves merely to words, but the results of their words have been evidenced in the disastrous results noted in the steel strike and in the coal strike, when the country was faced with a famine of fuel upon the eve of a bitter winter; the recent railroad strike in which both the Communist and the Communist Labor Parties pleaded with the members of the American Federation of Labor to join the outlawed unions.

The radicals in the United States are not preaching for the right of free speech, but are preaching for the right to advocate sedition, which can never be granted as long as the institutions of this country are to be preserved.

Counsel for the Communists, determined to prevent their deportation, were able to obtain a hearing before the Secretary of Labor to argue the merits of the Communist Party. The Secretary of Labor listened for one entire day to the arguments of the attorneys for this organization. The evidence submitted though was sufficiently clear to show that the sole purpose of the Communist Party of America was to use force and violence to overthrow the Government of the United States, and to endeavor to bore from within the American Federation of Labor so as to use that patriotic organization as a camouflage for their insidious methods. The Secretary of Labor ruled that the Communist Party of America was an unlawful organization, and at the argument before the Secretary of Labor counsel for the Communist Party admitted that both the Communist and Communist Labor Party were identical in principle.

The ruling of the Secretary of Labor put to an end, practically, the activities of the Communist Party, and then the attorneys for the Communist Labor Party, groping for something to still enable their organization to continue its unlawful activities, were able to induce the Secretary of Labor to hear the arguments upon the Communist Labor Party. This argument was heard by the Secretary of Labor, and there was submitted to him not only the organic law of the Communist Labor Party, in which it is specifically pledged to the principles of the Third International, but also in which it is stated that the social revolution can not be achieved by the ballot and that the use of the political machinery of the capitalist State for the capture of State power is to be only secondary and that the same is to be only used for propaganda, and that when the time is ripe other methods will be used.

The following language appears in the manifesto:

"But it must be clearly emphasized that the chance of winning even advanced reforms of the present capitalist system at the polls is extremely remote."

Later in the program of the party were found the following statements:

"We maintain that the class struggle is essentially a political struggle; that is, a struggle by the proletariat to conquer the capitalist state, whether its form be monarchical or Democrat-Republican and to replace it by a governmental structure adapted to the communist transformation."

Following in the same platform we find the statement that all public officials of the Communist Labor Party who refuse to accept the decisions of the party shall be immediately expelled. Open sponsorship of the Industrial Workers of the World is contained in its labor platform and sarcastic references to the craft unionism of the American Federation of Labor appears in this document. In addition to the organic law submitted to the Secretary, there was also called to his attention a resolution unanimously passed at the convention of the Communist Labor Party in Chicago, which specifically stated that the Communist Labor Party adopted not only the principles of the Third International but also the tactics of the same. It also appeared that among the tactics of the Third International is an open statement that it is to be a period of destruction and that not only must the governmental apparatus be done away with but that with it must be destroyed the church, the judiciary, and public officials.

The pledge card of the Communist Labor Party, as has been previously pointed out, states that the individual member will be governed by the constitution and platform of that party. In circulars and books issued by the Communist Labor Party the workers are urged to emulate the governmental apparatus of Russia and to set up the dictatorship of the proletariat. Political action is given as of secondary significance, and at a debate in Chicago at the convention of the Communist Labor Party after a heated argument the definition of political action was eliminated, but it is significant to note that the definition proposed provided as follows: "The political action of the working class means any action taken by the workers to overthrow the capitalist state."

This resolution apparently was considered by some of the more cautious members of the organization as too broad to insert into their organic law and for that reason it was eliminated, but suffice it to say that subsequent activities of the party show that any action is considered by them legitimate. There was also called to the attention of the Secretary of Labor the rulings of several State courts in which the Communist Labor Party has been specifically held to advocate the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence. Such has been the ruling of the State courts in Oregon, in California, in New Jersey, and by the Federal court in the eastern district of Missouri.

There was also a copy of the Communist Labor, the official organ, for May 1, 1920, in which the subject of party unity is discussed, and in which is made mention of instructions received direct from Moscow for the unification of the two Communist Parties in America. In the issue of Communist Labor the following appears:

"In so far as both parties stand on the platform of the Communist International—and of this we have not the slightest doubt—a united party is not only possible but absolutely necessary, and the executive committee insists on this being immediately brought about. As a basis for unity," the report continues, "the Communist International and the orders of its executive committee should be taken. These orders, together with the fundamental principle of the Third International, are summed up in the following nine points:

"1. The communists should strive to unite all elements which recognize the seizure of power by the working class through workers' councils and the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship.

"3. The stage of verbal propaganda has passed, and the time for decisive battles has arrived. Revolutionary mass action must be organized as a first essential.

"4. Cooperating to hasten the process of dissolution of all craft unions, the party must strive to establish the closest connections with the one big union movement. Supporting the industrial unions in their everyday strikes for direct demands, the party should strive to deepen and widen the struggle and convert it into a struggle for final revolutionary aims.

"5. Supporting the formation of factory committees, which are to serve as the nucleus for soviet management when the revolution is achieved.

"7. During the revolution the absolute control over the affairs must be secured for the working class by an unlimited dictatorship of the proletariat.

"9. Establish underground organizations, even though it may be possible to function legally, for the purpose to carry on direct revolutionary propaganda among the masses.

"The united parties should be known as the United Communist Party of America.

"The Communist Labor Party stands ready to unite upon the above basis with all communist elements in the United States."

In the same issue it is set forth that both parties are pledged to the same principles and tactics and that there should be no reason why there should exist two separate parties. These are the words of their own leaders in their own official publication, they claiming that the Communist Party is the same as theirs in principles and tactics. The Communist International has sent direct to the Communist Labor Party instructions for unification with the Communist Party and it might be stated that at the present time meetings have been held in many portions of the United States for the merging into the Communist Labor Party the members of the Communist Party, and the Union of Russian Workers. These are organizations that have been ruled unlawful by the Secretary of Labor. There are attached, marked "Exhibit 10," copies of letters sent out by the executive committee of the Communist Labor Party under date of April 20, 1920, in which the following appear; these letters being sent to the individual members:

"There is nothing more needed at this moment than propaganda and organization for action." Inclosed in this letter was a communication from the Amsterdam Bureau of the Third International in which the following statement appears: "Strive in other countries towards soviet republics as organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must fill our heads with revolutionary thoughts, we must understand more and more that the breakdown of capitalism is in full process. We must be willing to destroy the weapons of our enemies. All this we can only achieve in a constant fight without exploiters by giving this fight a general revolutionary character."

Attached hereto is the letter of instructions issued by the Third International to the Communist parties of America upon the question of unity. Attached hereto is a copy of the "agreement for unity of the communist parties in the United States."

Thus we see that the Communist Labor Party is pledged to the tactics and principles of communists, is pledged to the tactics of the Third International, is pledged to mass action and the use of political machinery only for propaganda and for secondary purposes, using the action of the masses as the primary purpose. It threatens the happiness of the community, the safety of every individual, and the continuance of every home and fireside. It would destroy the hope of the country and throw us into a condition of lawlessness and immorality that passes imagination. If the State is to be destroyed by mass action, industrial action, or direct action and these actions are indorsed and directed by the Communist Labor Party, and all of the actions being the essence of force and violence, then it is the contention of the Department of Justice that the Communist Labor Party is an advocate of and teaches the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence. Communism would result literally "in eternal anarchy amidst the noise of endless wars." And if it be not also their doctrine that organized government should be overthrown by force or violence or by any unlawful means, then language has lost its force and words are meaningless. This was the evidence that was submitted to the Labor Department against an organization the leaders of which had openly stated that it was identical in principle with the Communist Party, an organization which the Secretary of Labor ruled was unlawful.

This evidence clearly showed that it was pledged to mass action and to the principles and tactics of the Third International, and it is the contention of the Department of Justice that any organization that is pledged to the manifesto and platform of the Third International in principle and tactics can teach or advocate no doctrine other than that of force and violence and the principles of lawlessness.

After the argument was held before the Secretary of Labor upon the merits of the Communist Labor Party and before a decision was rendered, plans had been made by the organization for the amalgamation into it of the Communist Party and the Union of Russian Workers, and when the most unfortunate decision was reached by the Department of Labor that this organization was lawful, a renewed activity both in meetings as well as in publications was observed in the radical movement.

We now have a ruling of the Secretary of Labor to the effect that this organization is lawful, while on the other hand we have the damning evidence that it is pledged to force and violence, and three State courts and one Federal court have so held. There is no doubt but that it will now prove to be a haven for all the radical and lawless elements in the United States and its folds will include anarchists, I. W. W.'s, Union of Russian Workers, communists, and every other diseased and dissatisfied force at work for the ultimate overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence.

Coincident with the investigations into the activities of the Communist Parties in the United States, the Department of Justice gave particular attention to the work of Ludwig C. A. K. Martens, the so-called representative of the Soviet government in the United States. Carefully tracing the history of Martens abroad, the Department of Justice was led to but one conclusion and that was through his antecedents abroad and his revolutionary activities in Russia and Switzerland made his activities a fit subject of investigation by the Department of Justice. It is worthy to note that Martens is not a Russian, but is a German alien and that in Great Britain he registered as a German alien enemy. Shortly after his arrival in the United States, it was found that he was in close communication with radicals who had preceded him in this country. When the Kerensky régime was overthrown and the Soviet government called upon in their opinion to designate some one in this country to represent its interest Martens was chosen; chosen not because of any particular fitness as a diplomat, but chosen because he stood as an exemplification of the doctrines of communism. As evidence of this, there is attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit 14" a copy of a letter addressed to Martens by Rutgers, representative of the Third International, gathering at Amsterdam, and in which Rutgers plainly states the reasons for Martens' appointment and in which there is clear evidence that Martens has actively participated in activities in this country. In addition to this particular evidence, attention is also called

to the trial of Louis C. Fraina by Martens and his followers, when it was alleged that Fraina was an agent of the Department of Justice. Martens appeared at this trial and cross-examined the persons testifying.

This trial was a secret trial, held in the city of Brooklyn and to which only communists were admitted. There is attached hereto a copy of the Martens brief prepared by the Department of Justice which sets forth in detail the legal grounds upon which Martens' deportation is based. The Department of Justice requested the Department of Labor in December, 1919, that a warrant for the arrest of Martens be issued and Mr. Abercrombie, then acting secretary, issued the warrant, fixing the bond at \$10,000. Martens, however, was not taken into custody by the Department of Labor until March, 1920, and was released then into the custody of his attorney without being compelled to furnish any bond. The assistant secretary of labor, Mr. Post, took this action and also took subsequent action which has precluded the Department of Justice from asking any questions direct from Martens in his deportation hearing.

In February, 1920, there assembled in the city of Amsterdam, Holland, a group of persons, representatives of the various countries in which communism exists, including a representative from the United States, for the purpose of establishing a propaganda bureau of the Third International to extend and propagate in various countries of the world the doctrines of communism with the ultimate aim of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Attached hereto is a copy of the bulletin of the propaganda bureau of the Amsterdam conference, together with a stenographic report of what transpired at that meeting. A reading of these two documents will remove any doubt whatsoever as to what the ultimate purpose of communism is in the United States. They see the with the advocacy of violence for the accomplishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. There was proposed at the Amsterdam conference the establishment of a bureau of propaganda in the Western Hemisphere, to be located in Mexico, from which the activities of communists in the United States would be directed, it being concluded by the representatives at Amsterdam that through the efforts of the Department of Justice it was not safe for such a bureau to exist in the United States. We are thus faced with a foreign movement directing the workers, or at least attempting to direct the workers of the United States as to what they should accomplish in this country. A movement directed, not by American citizens, but directed by the foreign horde ruling Russia to-day, and which follow only the principles of immorality and lawlessness. Attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 17 is a copy of the program of the communists by Boukharin, being an enunciation of the principles of communism as understood by the Russian communists, the leaders of the world-wide communistic movement. In this we obtained enlightenment upon the abridgment of the rights of free speech and freedom of the press, as well as the attitude toward the rules of marriage and the church. This insidious document is the official publication of the communist group in Russia, and it is to this group that Martens belongs, and it is through this group that the propaganda in this country against the Government of the United States is being carried out.

In the month of February, 1920, there was brought to an end the investigation of anarchistic activities in the State of New Jersey, at Paterson, which had for many years been a sore spot in the United States and a gathering point for Italian anarchists. It was at Paterson that Malatesta and Bresci, the latter the assassin of King Humbert, lived.

Investigations have been made into anarchistic groups in Paterson for many years, and it was not until the latter part of 1919 that these investigations began to crystallize into direct evidence against the individual members in that city. The L'Era Nuova group was a group existing in the city of Paterson the latter part of 1919. It had been founded by Bresci, the assassin of King Humbert, and it had been publishing at various times anarchistic papers in which open assassination was sponsored. Many of its members had criminal records abroad and were compelled to leave Italy and France in order to escape imprisonment in those countries. Several members of the group were involved with Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, and others in the violence incident to the silk dyers' strike in Paterson in 1902. Several of the leaders, notably Caminito and Franz Widmer, were active in the dissemination of written propaganda; Wilmer even going to the point of justifying the use of a bomb in the assassination of the former governor of Idaho.

In connection with the L'Era Nuova group there was an organization known as the Francisco Ferrer Association, to which the children of the members of

the L'Era Nuova group belonged. There was a close connection between these two groups and members of the L'Era Nuova group lectured to the members of the Francisco Ferrer Association. On the night of February 14, 1920, there were taken into custody the leaders of the L'Era Nuova group and the Francisco Ferrer Association and at the time of their arrests there were found three guns, five revolvers, and two automatics upon but 25 men taken into custody. Three of the most complete libraries on anarchy were seized at the time of these arrests. Numerous copies of publications in which the open advocacy of anarchy and the assassination of Government officials were found. This evidence was turned over to the immigration authorities and it might be stated in passing that not a single house was searched and not a single man was arrested without a warrant. Search warrants and warrants of deportation having been obtained several days in advance. Attached hereto is a memorandum upon the history of the L'Era Nuova group and the Francisco Ferrer Association, together with mention of the Steilton Colony of anarchists, located at Steilton, N. J., which is the summering place for the anarchists of New York. It was the contention of the Department of Justice that perfect cases had been established against the majority of those sent to Ellis Island and an examination of the records in these cases plainly showed that these men either admitted that they were anarchists or that membership in the L'Era Nuova group was clearly proven. Thirteen of the 18 warrants have to-day been canceled by the Assistant Secretary of Labor and among these that were canceled are the warrants in the cases of four of the most active anarchists in the United States, namely, Franz Widmer, who sponsored the assassination of the governor of Idaho, Alberto Guabello, Pietro Baldeserotto and Serafino Grandi.

The records obtained by the Newark office of the Bureau of Investigation in the Paterson raid were submitted to the Labor Department and yet cancellations of the warrants in these cases had been made without conferring with the Department of Justice, and without asking whether or not they had any additional evidence in their possession. It is worthy of note that the Department of Justice is not permitted to introduce evidence in the deportation cases except upon the courtesy of the presiding inspector, and that the Department of Justice is not afforded the opportunity of examining the records in the cases after they reach the Labor Department, and that cancellations in the cases are made, and the carrying out of the order of cancellation effected before the Department of Justice is ever advised of the same.

Throughout the entire period of the latter part of 1919, and the first part of 1920, there was a considerable amount of agitation in the far West and in the vicinity of Chicago, caused by the Industrial Workers of the World. William Z. Foster, who has been mentioned in connection with the steel strike, was an I. W. W., and realizing that he could not achieve his ends from without the American Federation of Labor decided to join the same and to bore from within with marked success. The Centralia, Wash., outrage was an evidence of the I. W. W. agitation. Thousands upon thousands of dollars have been lost west of the Mississippi in agriculture and in business through the efforts of these preachers of sabotage and lawlessness. The culmination of their work is shown in the railroad strike of 1920, which was headed by an outlawed organization under the leadership of one Grunau. Grunau, in collaboration with I. W. W. leaders was able to agitate among the railroad brotherhoods to such an extent that in April, 1920, the railroad strike took effect. This was an evidence of the work of the I. W. W., and the following is a brief statement of the general activity of this organization.

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD ("I. W. W.").

Also known as the "One Big Union." Composed of both citizen and alien members. The best known of radical organizations in the United States and by far the most active and substantial so far as organization and management are concerned. Publishes newspapers in ten or more languages, also has published and distributed a great mass of incendiary and revolutionary literature, the principle works being:

"I. W. W. Songs to Fan the Flames of Discontent." (Particularly the editions of 1916 and 1917.)

"Sabotage." (By Elizabeth Gurley Flynn.)

"The I. W. W., Its History, Structure and Method." (By Vincent St. John.)

"Sabotage." (By Emile Pouget.)

"The New Unionism." (By Andre Triden.)

"The Evolution of Industrial Democracy." (By Abner E. Woodruff.)

"The Revolutionary I. W. W." (By Grover H. Perry.)

"Sabotage, Its History, Philosophy, and Function." (By Walter C. Smith.)

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, in her work says: "I am not going to attempt to justify sabotage on any moral ground. If the workers consider that sabotage is necessary, that in itself makes sabotage moral. Its necessity is its excuse for existence." * * * "If you use this thing called sabotage, you are going to develop in yourself a spirit of hostility, a spirit of antagonism to everybody else in society, you are going to become sneaking, you are going to become cowardly. It is an underhanded thing to do." But the individual who uses sabotage is not benefiting himself alone. * * * It requires courage, it requires individuality, it creates in that workingman some self-respect for and self-reliance upon himself as a producer. I contend that sabotage instead of being sneaking and cowardly is a courageous thing, is an open thing."

In "Sabotage," by Walter C. Smith: "Sabotage is a direct application of the idea that property has no rights, that its creators are bound to respect;" and further, "Sabotage will put a stop to war when resolutions, parliamentary appeals and even a call for general refusal to serve are impotent. But, as stated before, sabotage is but one phase of the question. Antimilitary and antipatriotic agitation must also be carried on. * * *

"No analysis of the labor movement is complete where sabotage is not accepted as a weapon." * * *

"Sabotage is the most logical weapon to force a discontinuance of the practice of arresting strike leaders."

In Vincent St. John's "I. W. W., Its History, Structure, and Methods," page 15: "As a revolutionary organization, the Industrial Workers of the World aims to use any and all tactics that will get the results sought with the least expenditure of time and energy. The tactics used are determined solely by the power of the organization to make good in their use. The question of 'right' and 'wrong' does not concern us."

"No terms made with an employer are final. All peace so long as the wage system lasts, is but an armed truce. At any favorable opportunity the struggle for more control of industry is renewed. * * *

"In short, the I. W. W. advocates the use of militant 'direct action' tactics to the full extent of our power to make good."

In "The Evolution of Industrial Democracy," page 40, speaking of government after the I. W. W. gets into power, it is stated: "Government as now understood, will disappear—there being no servile class to be held in subjection—but in its place will be an 'administration of affairs' based upon universal economic and social equality."

The Department of Labor has ruled that the I. W. W. as an organization does not fall within the proscription of the act of October 16, 1918, although in certain individual cases the distribution of the above works by an alien will be considered as a basis for deportation proceedings. William D. Haywood and a number of other officers of the I. W. W. were indicted for violation of the espionage act, and the brief and argument as printed for the Circuit Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit, October term, 1919, No. 2721, contains over 100 pages of exhibits involving that case.

There was an active propaganda against the selective draft, and particularly giving instructions to aliens as to how they can prepare their papers to avoid service. A number of men who entered the military service voluntarily were actually expelled from membership for their action.

Another propaganda which has been very energetic has been among the Negroes. Reference is made to that portion of this paper under the subject "Agitation among the Negroes."

For several years, in addition to inaugurating strikes of its own, the policy of the I. W. W. has been to participate in regular strikes with a view to deepening and widening the same, if possible, into a general strike, which is their method of bringing about "the revolution." An account of their activities in such affairs as Seattle, Wash.; Lawrence, Mass., and others, which have become a part of our history, is deemed unnecessary. The participation of the organization in the steel strike, the coal strike, and the switchmen's strike is referred to in detail under those subjects.

A week or so ago Butte, Mont., was an armed camp, there being approximately 11,000 employees in the copper mines who were not permitted to work because of the I. W. W., which in that city numbers nearly 1,000. This movement was

brought about entirely from the Butte Daily Bulletin, I. W. W. newspaper, and is being directed by several aliens. There was extreme violation and the members attended their meetings with rifles. There were open expressions to the effect that this is the last stand of the I. W. W., and they intend it to be the beginning of the revolution. Wholesale raids were made by mobs and there was firing from concealed points.

The most recent agitation of the I. W. W. is an effort to create a panic through runs on various banks. The One Big Union Monthly for April contains a photograph of the interior of a bank in which a steel turret has been erected for protection against robbery. (See exhibit attached.) Under the picture appears the statement, "The banker robs the depositor with impunity through the depreciation of a dollar, but that is business."

Handbills entitled "Panic!" which contains the statement, "The country is now entering on the first few days of the worst panic the country has ever seen," and the statement, "Go to the banks, demand your money; do not intrust these thieves any longer with the country's finances." (See exhibit.)

In *United States v. Swelgin* (254 Fed., 884), on a suit to cancel a naturalization certificate issued to defendant, the court held that the I. W. W. advocated anarchy and the overthrow of established order, and this was sufficient to warrant annulment of the naturalization certificate. The opinion deals with the literature of the I. W. W., its preamble, and pledge.

In *State of Washington v. Lowery* (177 Pac., 365), the court specifically held that membership in the I. W. W. was sufficient to convict under the criminal syndicalist act of the State.

In a very able argument addressed to Mr. Post, December 18, 1919, the attorney general of the State of Washington insisted that the I. W. W. did fall within the proscription of the act of October 16, 1918, in spite of the "policy" which Mr. Post stated to him had been adopted by the Department of Labor; also, that so far as the law was directory, and that the Department of Labor had no legislative powers, he could not see that there was any policy for the Department of Labor to adopt.

The above is merely a supplement to the great mass of evidence, against both the organization and its officers, which shows its character, principles, and tactics. Mr. Post is willing to consider cases against individual members who are aliens, but because the extreme tactics or doctrines contained in the propaganda of the officers of the organization, published and distributed through their official channels and the returns on which are applied to the organization purposes, would not be sufficient to place the organization within the proscription of the act of October 16, 1918, because the objectionable features are not incorporated in what he calls the "organic law" of the organization.

Attached hereto are pamphlets and publications issued by the I. W. W. which clearly show the nature of this organization and its un-American character.

RAILROAD STRIKE OF 1920.

The railroad strike, from which this country has not yet entirely emerged, became a serious element in our national life in April, 1920. It was, again, a strike between the radical elements of the American Federation of Labor and the conservative and loyal American forces at work within that organization.

The basic causes behind the agitation of Carl Pierson, author of the "Lizard's trail," A. E. Reese, secretary treasurer R. R. W. I. U. No. 600, I. W. W., and Elmer Bidwell, the leaders in the recent railroad strike, were:

1. The destruction of the railroad brotherhoods.
2. The removal of their leaders.
3. The formation of the Railroad Workers One Big Union.

These individuals, who were and are prominent members in the Industrial Workers of the World, knew that they could not effectively handle the railroad workers with their organization, namely, the Industrial Workers of the World. It was in view of this fact that they decided to organize a Railroad Workers One Big Union and call a general strike, thus bringing about the destruction of the railroad brotherhoods and their leaders.

A circular entitled "Strike while the iron is hot," which was distributed by this new organization during the recent strike, contains the following:

"It is a glorious chance of a kind that comes only once in a century. We stand at the parting of the ways. One road leads to continued slavery under

employers and labor politicians, to increasing poverty, misery, and degradation. The other road leads to freedom, self-determination, abundance, peace, and happiness. How can we hesitate?

"Yours for immediate action,

"RAILROAD WORKERS' ONE BIG UNION."

This strike, which was known in a popular sense as "The outlaw strike," was not in existence long before its leaders came to the conclusion that it was not as successful as they had aspired. They therefore decided to direct their attention to the railroad shopmen. A leaflet entitled "Attention, Railroad Shopmen," distributed by the Railroad Workers' One Big Union, of Chicago, Ill., contains the following:

"The labor politicians—the brotherhood officials, whom we have so insanely depended upon to secure our rights—have joined hands with the detective agencies, the sluggers, and the railroad managers to drive us back on the job and into immediate starvation. We are weary of the betrayal by our false prophets in Washington (the official family) and can no longer live on promises. Our representatives and leaders in Washington could not have led us into bondage any better if they had received a price for so doing. Already are the fences built that will reduce us to little better than slavery if we do not act at once. We believe that men in the railroad industry have intelligence enough to realize that another month will disrupt our organization."

Shortly after the beginning of this railroad strike literature of all descriptions was distributed in the railroad centers by various radical organizations. The following is a quotation from an article entitled "The 'outlaw' strike," which appeared in the Communist Labor, the official organ of the Communist Labor Party of America, May 1, 1920:

"* * * "The workers will realize their struggle to be part of the class struggle, which can only be fought successfully by the workers organizing as a class, fighting as a class and not as a trade, and by making the struggle consciously a political one, not for immediate improvement, but for the ultimate establishment of a political dictatorship of the proletariat as a means to free the working class and the world from the bondage of wage slavery."

The following is a quotation from circular entitled "Railwaymen and port workers," distributed by the Central Revolutionary Council of America:

"Strike to put an end to the whole capitalist system! Strike to take over the industries and the country for the benefit of the workers and the workers alone!"

During this entire outlaw strike literature issued by the American Anarchist Federated Commune Soviets was distributed in all the leading railroad centers in the country. The following is a quotation from one of these circulars by the American Anarchist Federated Commune Soviets entitled "Workers! This is the Way":

"We call upon all the passengers, railroad workers to cease working at once!

"We call upon the workers of all industries to go out on a sympathetic general strike!

"Workers! Wherever you are, organize workers' committees to take over all warehouses and food stores—so that no worker will need to starve! Then start taking over every industry in the country and reorganize into "Anarchist Communes," based on the principle: From each according to his ability and to each according to his needs!"

"The following is a quotation from leaflet distributed by the American Anarchist Federated Commune Soviets entitled, "The Great R. R. Strike."

"* * * * We workers who are not railroad workers, and therefore not in this strike, must show our sympathy and do all we possibly can to help our fellow-workers win! We must help them by every one of us going out on a sympathetic strike, until the entire country is tied up, and the nation-wide general strike is a fact! Then we must not let our good work be lost, we must not retrace our steps. We should go and take from all storage and warehouses whatever is necessary to our welfare, for we the workers have been filling them up for years and years, and it is time that at last we get what we had produced, and what is therefore rightfully ours."

A circular entitled "Strike," which was distributed by the "Central Revolutionary Council of America" during the recent railroad strike, contains the following:

"* * * * Form shop committees and workers' councils, for agitating and organizing. Establish industrial unions in the different industries and join

them into one big revolutionary union of all the workers to fight the bosses and their government!

"We, the workers, who do all the work, are going to cut out the capitalist, who does nothing in life but grind out profits from our work. We are going to take over the capitalist government and change it into a workers' government, for the benefit of only the workers."

Attached hereto are copies of the literature circulated during the railroad strike, showing the various types of propaganda resorted to by the I. W. W., the Communists, and the American Anarchist Federated Soviet Commune.

Attached hereto is a copy of a résumé upon the evidence collected by the Chicago office of the Bureau of Investigation upon the activities of these outlawed unions which were endeavoring to spike the American Federation of Labor and thereby deal to that organization its death blow.

Closely following the railroad strike, which occurred in the middle of April, 1920, the attention of the Department of Justice was called to the preparations being made by the radical element for the celebration of May Day. It was well known that the May Day celebration is of international scope and the international conference at Moscow sent specific instructions to all anarchistic groups in the world for the celebration of the international holiday. Many weeks previous to the May Day celebration the Department of Justice was advised that there had been a secret meeting held in Paterson, N. J., at which it was planned that the following three men were to be assassinated: Sergt. Geegan, of the New York bomb squad, who had been particularly active in the enforcement of the New York State syndicalism act; Mr. Archibald Stevenson, of the Lusk committee, which is conducting extensive investigations into the radical conditions in New York State; and the director of the steel corporation at Gary, Ind. This information which came to the Department of Justice came from a very reliable source and due precautions were taken to prevent an attack upon the lives of these three men. Numerous threats were received to the effect that on May Day something drastic would occur and many circulars were distributed upon this proposed celebration.

MAY DAY, 1920.

There has been considerable criticism in the press and elsewhere that preparations made by radical organizations and anarchists for action on May 1, 1920, were creatures of the imagination of the Attorney General. While May Day for some time past has been an international holiday and has been celebrated in the past chiefly by demonstrations in the forms of meetings or parades or one-day strikes, from the information received by the department, special efforts were made to make May 1, 1920, the beginning of a series of actual violences or direct action. It has never been contended officially that all of the organizations which observe May Day were involved in this movement, and it is not intended to go into detail on the plans and arrangements made by certain groups or individuals, as the disclosure of all of the information is deemed both unnecessary and improper from the standpoint of policy. It is deemed proper, however, to call attention to a few matters which will satisfy the criticism with particular regard to May 1, 1920.

"The Awakener" is a two-page paper issued by the anarchist groups of Canada and is distributed free. Volume 1, No. 1, was issued in preparation of May Day, 1920, and the following excerpts are noted particularly; the entire publication appearing below as an exhibit:

"Greetings! * * *

"Capitalism and business stand for the workers' exploitation. Governments, church, and press help to uphold and continue its existence. We are out to destroy them all.

"Before we can build a new society based on real freedom, the present one must be destroyed.

"This is our mission. To prove by facts how you are exploited and fooled. To call upon you at every opportunity to revolt and at the same time give you enlightening thoughts as to what kind of a society we strive for, instead of the present one.

"We have come to awaken to rebellion everyone who is enslaved."

A heading on page 2 is "The destructive spirit is the creative spirit." * * *

"Most of the workers chose to listen to the new cry of constitutional methods. * * *

"We brought these facts to show that the workers of the world by choosing the easier road, the constitutional methods and ideas of socialism, have paid a

price in millions of lives killed in the recent war, thousands of lives killed in strikes, and by the continuation of the capitalist system; and, secondly, we can show that at the same time, within the last two years the socialists themselves, as the bolsheviks in Russia and the spartacans in Germany, have adopted the revolutionary methods always preached by the anarchists.

"We ask you, who can reason and think, would the workers of the world have had to pay such a terrible price in blood if they would have followed the road of revolutionary action?"

"Celebrating the 1st of May by hearing socialists and labor politicians will not free you from the present slavery.

"Instead of participating in elections, start general strikes, uprisings, and revolutions!

"The 1st of May was intended to be the signaling day of the social revolution. It has been turned into 'celebration' mass meetings of 'lawful' protests by the political misleaders, the socialists. It is to become again what it was and it should be, the day of the workers' awakening, the day of revolt!"

Another one-page sheet issued by the American Anarchist Federated Commune Soviets and entitled "Workers, Begin to Think and Act" (see exhibit) contains the following:

"They have for generations worked and succeeded in establishing a thing which they call government, but which is nothing else but a murderous thug institution! They have legalized every murder and act of violence committed against us. They have legalized their robbing and exploitation upon us and are jailing us whenever we dare rise against it. It is up to us workers to awake to true conditions. Arise, throw off our shackles of slavery, unite in groups, secret and conspirative, then start to fight them, with the same weapons with which they attack us. Remember! They are few and we, all the workers united, are many!

"We call upon you, all the workers of America, to arm yourselves!

"We have paid the price in streams of blood for generations, now it is time to put a stop to it, and this we can do only by arming ourselves, learning how to shoot, organizing secretly, educating ourselves, forming reading groups, etc., and then we can answer and attack the white terror until we are either victors or the vanquished!

"* * * Now, before it is too late, you, the exploited and persecuted workers, foreign or native born, must arise in a mighty revolution with the aim of destroying this entire white terror of capitalism, made up of exploiters, government thugs, religious hypocrites, and press cowards, and in its place establish freedom and equality. Not only on paper, but in reality.

"To prove to them this, we can do it only in one way, by going out on a general strike—which should at once be turned into a social revolution by taking possession of food stores and factories which you alone have created! Then begin the building of the new society."

The Anarchist Soviet Bulletin (see exhibit) contains the following:

"The figures prove who the real dangerous thieves and murderers are who endanger the worker's safety. They are the profiteering robbers and officials of the law such as Palmer, and are only the disease of the present rotten structure of society which exists and is based upon legalized profiteering, upon robbery protected by the law, and upon officials obedient to the orders of their robbing masters. To abolish them all, we workers must arise in a great rebellion, seize every factory and food store in the country. Replace the ———. * * *

"Turn all governmental offices into classrooms, so as to spread real education. Burn and tear down all the jails, so that we may forget as soon as possible the dark days of inequality, robbery, injustice, property, disease, and all the other degradations and horrors of the present society."

All of the above publications were distributed widely throughout the country in addition to the great mass of less important radical literature.

Attention is called to the situation in Butte, Mont., brought about by the I. W. W., the first of their 10 demands being the freedom of all political and industrial prisoners, which demand is not a proper demand, being entirely beyond the control of the employers.

There were broadly circulated two handbills, one entitled "Strike No. 2," and the other a list of the demands; in an effort to bring about concerted action on May 1 in sympathy for the strikers at Butte. (See exhibit —.)

A special edition of the Anarchist Soviet Bulletin for May 1, 1920 (see exhibit —), insists that May Day instead of being a day of celebration in the attendance of meetings be made the beginning of the revolution.

Another one-page circular issued by the American Anarchist Federated Commune Soviets and entitled "To-day is the Day!" (see exhibit —) contains the paragraph, "When we march or hold our meetings we must never forget to be armed to repel those misguided soldiers or policemen who will dare to attack us as they have done until now." Another one-paged circular, entitled "Workers, this is the way; at least you, the railroad workers, have started to revolt!" (See exhibit —.)

The most widely distributed circular this year was one issued by the Communist Party of America and entitled "Hall to the Soviets" (see exhibit —).

The Communist Labor Party issued a mimeograph circular in two pages, covered in exhibits — —, one, a letter of transmittal and the other a copy of a communication from the Amsterdam Bureau of the Communist International, calling upon the workers in all countries to strive toward soviet republics, as the organ of dictatorship of the proletariat. The Amsterdam Bureau of Communist International calls upon the workers for a general strike May 1 in favor of Soviet Russia.

There is included in the exhibits, the first page of the official organ of the Communist Labor Party of America, entitled "Communist Labor" (see exhibit —), and referring to May 1, 1920. This is the issue which contains the nine rules issued from Russia referred to in the hearing before the Committee on Rules as being agreed to by the Communist Labor Party by their tactics and advocating force and violence.

Numerous stickers and pasters were distributed (see exhibit —), particularly one issued by the Communist Labor Party entitled "May Day is Supreme in Soviet Russia—Follow Suit."

The Communist Labor Party issued a one-paged circular in Russian entitled the "First of May" (for photo of original see exhibit —, translation immediately thereafter). This leaflet concludes, "Hurrah for Workers' May First Holiday! Hurrah Communist International! Hurrah Working Socialist revolutionists! Central Committee Federation Russian Local Communist Working Party of America." "The Voice of Labor," a semi-monthly magazine issued by the Communist Labor Party, is included in the exhibits. (See exhibit —.) Attention is called to one article entitled, "Strike for Peace with Russia May First," wherein it is stated:

"We must fill our heads with revolutionary thoughts * * *.

"We must be willing to destroy the weapons of our enemies * * * giving this fight a general revolutionary character * * *."

such article being signed by the Amsterdam Bureau of the Communist International. There is also an article entitled "Justice," and referring to the Department of Justice. Also, on the same page, a legend to a cartoon, "Patriotism as a diet fattens some and thins others. Its effect upon you depends entirely upon whether you are in the 'some' or 'others' class." And on page 9 the following:

"These lying criers want to develop a reverence for constituted Government and want to make you believe it is a crime for you to want to overthrow it at an afternoon luncheon or in any other way. 'The king can do no wrong' spirit is to be oozed into the brains of the population."

On page 12 it is stated:

"Workingmen who beg lose what they have; workingmen who demand support their demands by revolutionary mass action conquer the world."

Page 13, in a statement of principles, includes the following:

"14. The conquest of the power of the state is the objective of the revolutionary proletarians. Neither the parliament nor the industrial unions are the means for this industrial power, but mass action of the soviets; mass action to rally the world in the open revolutionary struggle for power, the soviets to constitute the organism of the revolutionary proletarian state, the dictatorship of the proletariat. At the moment of active revolution the struggle becomes not a struggle for industrial unions, but for the construction of soviets."

The handbill referred to in Exhibit —, covering I. W. W. meeting at Ohio, is a sample of similar bills from different parts of the country.

There is a four-page circular also issued by the I. W. W. and addressed to the workers in the mines. (See Exhibit —.) Also one addressed to the workers generally. (See Exhibit —.)

The Socialist Labor Party issued a four-paged pamphlet (see Exhibit —), quoting Daniel de Leon and Lenin.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America issued a circular covering the significance of May Day to its organization (see exhibit —).

In Detroit, Mich., a four-paged circular entitled "Deport or release" (see exhibit —), was distributed widely and refers to aliens who are confined awaiting deportation decision.

A circular entitled "May 1, Workers' International Holiday," (see exhibit —), announcing a mass meeting with Irwin St. John Tucker at Buffalo, was issued by the Socialist Party. It claims that the United States has accomplished practices which would not have been dared either in Dark Russia or in Germany.

A 28-page magazine entitled "First of May," and issued by the W. I. U. as a centennial volume in 1918, commemorating the 100th anniversary of the birth of Carl Marx, appeared again this year. Interesting pages taken from this volume are included in exhibit —.

In addition a great mass of miscellaneous literature was distributed which is not considered of sufficient interest, after the above, to include in this statement.

Attached hereto and marked are copies of circulars issued by the radical organizations in this country dealing with the May Day celebration and referred to above.

AGITATION AMONG THE NEGROES.

Another phase of the investigation touched upon by the Department of Justice is that pertaining to the negro agitation in the United States. The Communist Party in its Manifesto and Program states as follows:

"The Communist Party will carry on agitation among the negro workers to unite them with all class-conscious workers."

This the Communist Party has deliberately and effectively accomplished. While the numerous race riots which arose in the United States the latter part of 1919, generally had as their primary reason some local condition, yet secondary, there has always appeared the stirring up of the racial hatred upon the part of radical publications. The negro agitators located in New York and who voiced their sentiments through such publications as the "Messenger" and "The Negro World" had been able to effectively fan the flames of discontent.

Toward the close of the European War, the Department of Justice was confronted with considerable agitation and unrest among the negroes. After nation-wide investigation, it developed that such organizations as the Industrial Workers of the World and the Universal Negro Improvement Association, were circulating and distributing a quantity of leaflets and periodicals which would appeal to the negroes of this country. The following quotation from a circular entitled "Justice for the Negro," exemplifies the appeal which is made to the Negroes by radical organizations:

"THE MASTER CLASS FEARS THE ORGANIZED WORKER.

"He has, however, one weapon that the master class fears—the power to fold his arms and refuse to work for the community until he is guaranteed fair treatment. Remember how alarmed the South became over the emigration of colored workers two years ago, and what desperate means were used to try to keep them from leaving the mills and cotton fields? The only power of the Negro is his power as a worker; his one weapon is the strike."

The following is a short editorial from the May-June issue of the Messenger, a periodical of wide circulation among the negroes on the progress of sovietism, entitled "The March of the Soviet Government:"

"Still it continues: The cosmic tread of the soviet government with ceaseless step claims another nation. Russia and Germany have yielded to its human touch, and now Hungary joins the people's form of rule. Italy is standing upon a solid volcano. France is seething with social unrest. The triple alliance of Great Britain—the railroad, transport, and mine workers—threatens to overthrow the economic and political Bourvivism of 'Merry Old England.' The red tide of socialism sweeps on in America. South America is in the throes of revolution.

"Soviet government proceed apace: It bids fair to sweep over the whole world. The sooner the better. On with the dance."

To date the department has not found any concerted movement on the part of the Negroes to cause a general uprising throughout the country. In principal instances Negro difficulties have been in Washington, D. C.; Chicago, Ill.; Helena, Ark.; and Omaha, Nebr. After a thorough investigation in each of these localities it has developed that in each case the outbreak was purely local. In the Washington race riots the cause appears to have been due to certain clashes between white and Negro troops; also to numerous assaults by the Negroes upon white women; in Chicago the riots seem to have been caused by a strife which had been existing between the whites and Negroes for some time; in Helena, Ark., difficulty appears to have emanated from a Negro lodge; the Omaha, Nebr., riots were due to an attack upon a white woman.

As stated above, the primary cause of these outbreaks was purely local, but there is no doubt a secondary cause, namely, propaganda of a radical nature, which has been disseminated among the colored people.

The following quotation from the Chicago Whip, an independent colored weekly of Chicago, is an enlightenment on this phase of negro activities:

"The colored people of America must rise up against all conditions that militate against their progress and solidarity. They must relieve themselves of all sleeping potions and soothing syrups and awake and arouse themselves to the fullness of their powers and inherent rights."

During the Washington race riots, a very vicious leaflet was distributed in this city, entitled, "Be Ye Also Ready for We Know Not When They Will Return." The following is a quotation from this leaflet:

"Lest we forget the democracy for which our men fought and died; lest we forget to strike our enemies the death blow when the lives of our mothers, fathers, wives, sweethearts, sisters, and brothers are sought by the white intruder; lest we forget the vile, insidious propaganda directed against us in this the Nation's capital by infamous Pseudo-Americans and the press; lest we forget vows and oaths made and taken to right our wrongs without fear and without compromise after the war; we do solemnly declare to lash ourselves to our gallant tars, and expire together in one common cause, fighting for a safe and decent place to live in."

Attached hereto is a collection of the literature dealing with the negro agitation.

Coincident with the work of the Department of Justice in dealing with the deportation matters there has been some inquiry arising as to why these individuals have not been prosecuted under the Federal laws and why American citizens have been permitted to run amuck and the sole attention has been directed to aliens. The reason for this is best explained in the Attorney General's reply to the Polindexter resolution which shows that it is impossible under the rulings of the Federal court to proceed against individuals in the United States under the criminal law, and the Attorney General has personally appeared before the House Committee on Judiciary, and has submitted his views as to what legislation should be best in order to preserve free speech in this country, and the institutions of free government. Therefore, the Department of Justice has had to resort entirely to the deportation statute to curb in what little way it may the radical movement, and it might be stated that this radical movement was materially curbed until February, 1920, when hundreds of cancellations occurred of deportation warrants based not upon the weakness of evidence but upon the ability of the Assistant Secretary of Labor to read into the deportation statute certain provisions which were not there and which Congress never intended should be there. The radical activities in this country took another lease upon life when the ruling of the Secretary of Labor, favorable to communist labor, was issued and which ruling was neither based upon fact nor upon law. However, the Department of Justice has materially assisted the various State authorities in obtaining convictions in their jurisdiction of American citizens and aliens. Particular attention can be made of the work of the Department of Justice in the State of California, in the case of the State v. Anita Whitney; in the State of Oregon, and in the State of Washington, where prosecutions have been made of the I. W. W. under State syndicalism acts; in New Jersey and in New York in the case of Ben Gitlow, Harry Winitsky, and James Larkin. In these States and in many others adequate laws have been passed by the State legislatures which have been put into good effect by conscientious prosecutors and have resulted in the purging from those communities of the obnoxious elements at work for the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence.

One of the most important features of the radical agitation in the United States is the determination of the radicals to break up the American Federation of Labor. An examination of the voluminous number of publications issued by the Industrial Workers of the World, the communists, and the anarchists, will show that they contain vicious attacks upon not only Mr. Gompers, the president of the American Federation of Labor, but also upon the rank and file of that organization. It is a well-known fact that the proponents of communism realize that in order to successfully bring about the realization of their ideals that they must inject the same into some large and well-organized body, and it therefore logically follows that their attention must be given to the American Federation of Labor, which organization is in its prime, and by appealing to the vicious and to the ignorant, which are to be found in all organizations, they hope to thereby successfully bring about the boring-from-within process.

Even at the first congress of communists held in Moscow, we find that alien assemblage discussing in detail the labor situation in the United States and referring to the American Federation as "the chief defender of capitalism in the United States." On the floor of the convention in Moscow, the name of Samuel Gompers came in for bitter ridicule, as is reported in the official organ of the Russian Soviet Republic, the *Izvestia*, for March 6, 1919.

When the agitation in the radical ranks became so open, in 1919, we see the American communistic movement giving attention to the American Federation of Labor in its attacks. In the manifesto and program adopted by the Communist Party of America, we find the following statement: "The Communist Party recognizes that the American Federation of Labor is reactionary and a bulwark of capitalism. It shall be a major task of the Communist Party to agitate for the construction of a general industrial union organization embracing the I. W. W., the W. I. I. U., independent, and the session unions, militant unions of the American Federation of Labor, and the unorganized workers, on the basis of the revolutionary class struggle. Turning to the platform and program of the Communist Labor Party, an organization declared by the Secretary of Labor to be lawful in its principles and tactics, we find that there is contained therein an attack upon craft unionism as against industrial unionism. It is a well-known fact in labor circles that the two forces diametrically opposite to each other in labor circles are the craft-unionism forces of the American Federation of Labor and the industrial-unionism forces of the Industrial Workers of the World and the communists.

In the platform of the Communist Labor Party we find the following statement: "In any mention of revolutionary industrial unionism in this country there must be recognition of the immense effect upon the American labor movement of the propaganda and example of the Industrial Workers of the World, whose long and valiant struggles and heroic sacrifices in the class war have earned the respect and affection of all workers everywhere.

"Elsewhere in the organized movement a new tendency has recently manifested itself, as illustrated by the Seattle and Winnipeg strikes, the one big union and shop committee movements in Canada and in the West, and the numerous strikes all over the country of the rank and file which are proceeding without the authority of the old reactionary trade-union officials and even against their orders. Where the job control of the reactionary craft unions compels them to become members of these craft unions, they shall also join an industrial organization, if one exists. The need of the hour is that labor recognize the necessity of organization and education. This can not be achieved by attempting to influence the leaders of the American Federation of Labor. Other unions have refused to take any steps to meet the grave problems of to-day."

We thus see that in this organization, considered by the Secretary of Labor as legitimate in principle and tactics, a deliberate enunciation of the policy to be followed in regard to the boring from within process until they can make of the American Federation of Labor a shell which will easily crumble when the opportune moment for the mass action of the proletariat arrives. Opposed to patriotism, opposed to nationalism, opposed to law, opposed to morality, opposed to God—these are the influences at work and which are to be used as their stepping stones to the achievement of their aims. The American Federation of Labor is an organization opposite in all its principles and tactics from those emanating from the lips of Lenin and Trotski and preached in this country by an alien horde directly antagonistic to the institutions of our country.

We have but to refer to literature circulated by the radical press to bring before our eyes a realization of the radicals as regards their attitude toward the

American Federation of Labor. Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit No. 24" is a copy of the Rebel Worker for April 15, 1919, and on the front page of this issue there appears a cartoon headed "Gompers—friend of labor." This cartoon paints the American Federation of Labor leader in the act of stabbing the worker in the back with a dagger.

Attached here to and marked as "Exhibit No. 25" is a circular issued by the I. W. W. entitled "Warning." In parallel columns there appears the declaration of the Industrial Workers of the World and the pledge given by the American Federation of Labor. In the former there is a specific statement, as follows: "We openly declare ourselves determined opponents of all patriotism." In the pledge of the American Federation of Labor is found the following statement: "We offer our services to our country in every field of activity to defend, safeguard, and preserve the Republic of the United States of America against its enemies."

These two statements speak the truth of the sentiments adhered to by each of these organizations, namely, that of patriotism versus treachery.

Attached hereto and marked "Exhibit No. 26" is a copy of the Rebel Worker for August 1, 1919, upon the front page of which appears a cartoon showing Samuel Gompers with his hand upon a machine into which are being poured the bodies of the workers and from which is being ground out coin.

Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit No. 27" is a copy of a circular entitled "To the working people of America." In this circular, addressed to the workers of this country, we find the following statement: "Not by ballots but by arming yourselves, as it is your only means. You alone do not budge. Are you afraid to follow their example (referring to the workers of Russia)? Are you afraid to take by force what rightly belongs to you?"

In a circular issued by the I. W. W. entitled "An Appeal to Furniture Workers," we find a dissertation indulged in by the I. W. W. upon the issue that the American Federation of Labor has fulfilled its mission, and that with its craft unionism and its old tactics it is completely ineffective in coping with the present situation. This circular sets forth in glowing phrases the idealistic organization of the I. W. W. and the principles for the accomplishment of the workers' ends to be found in the membership of that organization. In a pamphlet entitled "Why the A. F. of L. can not become an industrial union," by Vincent St. John, former secretary of the I. W. W., and now one of its most prolific writers, an effort is made to show the fallacy of the principles of unionism as enunciated by the American Federation of Labor, and draws the conclusion that the American Federation of Labor will not ever be able to become an industrial revolutionary union. This circular has received wide circulation. It is attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 28.

In the circular, issued by the Communist Party of America, entitled "To the Striking Longshoremen," circulated in New York City during the longshoremen strike of October and November, 1919, the following are some of the statements contained in it:

"You are striking against the scab unionism of the American Federation of Labor. You have repudiated your scab form of A. F. of L. unionism."

This circular closes with the statement that—

"The workers must capture the powers of the State."

In the recent railroad strike there appeared in the New York Volkszeitung, a German radical newspaper, published in the city of New York, in its issue of April 14, 1920, the following paragraph:

"Gompers and Lee, president of the conductors, already feel themselves obliged to visit the meetings of the strikers and beg them to resume work, and that, too, in spite of previous assurances by Lee, swollen with his sense of power, that negotiations with the strikers were impossible."

"The railroad employees, and with them labor in general, learned from these occurrences that they are irresistible when they once learn to run their organized power in industrial conditions."

The New Yorker Volkszeitung has been most vindictive in its attack upon the president of the American Federation of Labor. When the president of the A. F. of L. issued the declaration of war against the radical labor element and stated that it was his intention to eliminate the undesirable and radical leaders from the labor-union movement this German daily burst forth in an attack upon the A. F. of L. and its determination to purge itself from the influences of bolshevism appearing in its ranks.

In the official organ of the I. W. W., the One Big Union, a monthly issued by that organization, there have appeared from time to time slanderous at-

tacks upon the theory of craft unionism and upon the efforts of the A. F. of L. to support the Government in the past war and in the present period of reconstruction.

The above is but a sample of some of the attacks upon the American Federation of Labor, and many dozens of exhibits could be introduced containing such epithets against the American Federation of Labor as "the great fakir and the weeper of crocodile tears." It is sufficient, however, to note that there is a concerted effort upon the part of the anarchists, the communists, and of anti-American elements to inject their insidious and pernicious propaganda into the rank and file of the American Federation of Labor. Added to the influences of these particular elements, we find the pro-German, the pacifists, and some persons who claim to be friends of labor directly assisting in the ulterior purposes of the unlawful elements in this country by claiming that the forces of the Government which are engaged upon the elimination of the elements antagonistic to our institutions are doing so merely to crush the American labor movement. There is no greater danger to-day than the "boring from within" process, not only prevalent in the American Federation of Labor but also in the judiciary, and even in high Government offices. The efforts of such agitators and their cohorts can only be successfully defeated by an intelligent and comprehensive understanding upon the part of labor and the great American public of the true menace of communism, anarchism, and other kindred doctrines to not only the Government of the United States but to the church, to the property rights, and the family ties of each and every individual claiming protection of the American flag.

Mr. KREIDER. Mr. Palmer, in your investigations of the persons who were interested or responsible for these raids, what percentage were aliens and what percentage Americans, approximately?

Mr. PALMER. Our conclusion is that a very large preponderance of the criminal, ultraradicals in the country are aliens. I do not know whether we could figure out the percentages or not.

Mr. KREIDER. That answers my question.

Mr. PALMER. I now want to put in the record, Mr. Chairman, a memorandum prepared under my direction on anarchists, in answer to much that has been said before this committee in relation to anarchists and the attempts which have been made to read into the act of October 16, 1918, phrases qualifying the term "anarchist."

ANARCHISTS.

Considerable has been said before this committee upon the subject of anarchists and an effort made to read into the act of October 16, 1918, phrases qualifying the term anarchists that I think it only proper that this committee should understand fully the interpretation the word anarchist in both its popular and legal meanings.

Speaking broadly there are two classes of anarchists, namely, the "philosophic" and the "individualist." Both seek the same ends, i. e., the abolishment of the State, law, and property, only differing as to methods to be applied.

The philosophic type operate in groups and undertake the inculcation of their ideas through propaganda disseminated through books, periodicals, and miscellaneous literature, and in schools, clubs, and mutual discussion; whereas the individualists aim to achieve their end by quicker and, what they believe to be, more potent methods, viz., by the use of engines of destruction, bombs, etc., finding expression in the assassination of public officials and others (sometimes large employers of labor). These methods they consider as terroristic; hence, the term "terrorist" oftentimes being used synonymously with individualist. In fine, they seek to create a reign of terror and thereby prevent the Government, through fear on the part of its agents, from functioning.

The "philosophic" cult are essentially pacifists, are opposed to direct or physical action, and especially opposed to warfare or bloodshed.

A very apt illustration of the operations of these types may be found in the "L' Era Nuova" group of Paterson, N. J., the members of which were appre-

handed by the agents of this department under immigration warrants, and their papers as well as those of the organization seized under search warrants under date of February 14, 1920, a historical sketch of the same being attached hereto as an exhibit.

An offspring of this group will be found in the Francisco Ferrer Association, located in Paterson, and the Ferrer Modern School at Stelton, N. J. The association is made up of the sons of the members of the "L' Era Nuova" group, and the members of the group give lectures at the association. The subjects in which they are interested will be disclosed by a catalogue of its library, which is attached hereto, said library being in possession of this department at present, having been seized by search warrant; and likewise the so-called "modern library" of one of the members of the "L' Era Nuova" group, a catalogue of which is also attached, the same being in point of fact a bookstore conducted by one Fermino Gallo, a member of the group, who obtains by various secret methods supplies of this literature and disseminates it through similar methods throughout the country.

"La Jacquerie," published under cover in Paterson, was the organ of the Era Nuova group, it having taken the place of the "L' Era Nuova," which was formerly the organ of the group.

At the modern school at Stelton the children of the colony, made up of philosophic anarchists, are taught a curriculum which scrupulously eliminates subjects such as religion, history, political economy, and, above all, patriotism or the love of one's country. The natural subjects, such as astrology, mathematics, physics, botany, are taught, as well as philosophy, English, etc., the object being to inculcate in the minds of the young the proper mental tendency toward the realization of the ideals of anarchy.

At the Ferrer colony the men and women live together without having entered into the bonds of matrimony, either legal or church; the children are illegitimate. In fine, it is a free-love colony, and one of the concepts of anarchy finds practical expression there, viz, the complete absence of legal restraint in the matter of matrimony.

There is a complete absence of religious training, as there are no churches. Citizenship, involving as it does the recognition of the sovereignty of the State, is strictly avoided by the members who, unless they acquire it by birth in this country—over which they had no control—do not avail themselves of the opportunity to become naturalized. Accordingly, the alien-born members are still aliens, notwithstanding protracted periods of residence in the United States. Hence, there are three things you can find prevalent in these colonies: (1) Atheists, (2) meretricious relationships with the natural consequence of illegitimacy in the status of the offspring, and (3) alienage. The American flag is never displayed; in its place a red flag, symbolizing the brotherhood of man, is displayed.

The pacifist doctrines were given practical demonstration in the recent war, when the younger members of the "L' Era Nuova" group of draft age willfully avoided registry and departed in some cases for foreign countries to avoid military service, returning here after the armistice, and in several instances arrested and convicted for their action. In this respect a good example is Spartico Guabello, the son of one of the leading members of the group, who at the time of his examination cynically and contemptuously flouted his disloyalty in admitting a failure to register and subsequent escape to Cuba to avoid military service in the country of his birth, to the fact that he was opposed to a "capitalistic" war.

The operations of the individualists may best be exemplified by the bomb plot of June 2, in both aspects, namely, as directed against the instruments of the Government and employers of labor. In the first instance the case of the Attorney General, in the second that of a Mr. Klotz, the president of a silk mill in Paterson, who had discharged several men, among whom were two members of the "L' Era Nuova" group. A bomb was exploded between his home and that of the adjoining private residence on the night of June 2, and were it not for a fortunate circumstance (the absence of both families, they having gone to a theater) both families would have been wiped out.

In the case *United States ex rel. John Turner v. Williams* (194 U. S.), (a photostat copy of the decision is attached), Chief Justice Fuller, speaking for the court, observed:

"The argument seems to be that, conceding that Congress has the power to shut out any alien, the power nevertheless does not extend to some aliens, and that if the act includes all alien anarchists, it is unconstitutional, because some

anarchists are merely political philosophers, whose teachings are beneficial rather than otherwise. * * * The language of the act is 'anarchists, or persons who believe in or advocate the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States or of all forms of law, or the assassination of public officials.' If this should be construed as defining the word 'anarchists' by the words which follow, or as used in the popular sense above given, it would seem that when an alien arrives in this country, who avows himself to be an anarchist, without more, he accepts the definition. * * * Even if Turner, though he did not so state to the board, only regarded the absence of government as a political ideal, yet when he sought to attain it by advocating, not simply for the benefit of workingmen * * * the universal strike to which he referred * * * we can not say that the inference was unjustifiable either that he contemplated the ultimate realization of his ideal by the use of force. * * * If the word 'anarchists' should be interpreted as including aliens whose anarchistic views are professed as those of political philosophers innocent of evil intent, it would follow that Congress was of the opinion that the tendency of the general exploitation of such views is so dangerous to the public weal that aliens who hold and advocate them would be undesirable additions to our population, whether permanently or temporarily, whether many or few, and, in the light of previous decisions, the act, even in this aspect, would not be unconstitutional, or as applicable to any alien who is opposed to all organized government."

In the case of Turner v. Williams, supra, the alien was applying for admission and the court was passing on the excluding decision of the administrative officers. In a subsequent case in the Second Circuit Court of Appeals (New York), for the Second Circuit, Frank R. Lopez v. Frederic C. Howe, an anarchist whose expulsion from the United States was being undertaken, it was observed that "the fact that he is alone a philosophical anarchist and not an advocate of a resort to force and revolution, make him, in the opinion of Congress, none the less a dangerous presence. His theories, if they could be put in practice, would end the Government of the United States, and to that Government he recognizes no allegiance, having never become a citizen of the United States. If the Government considers his presence undesirable because of his advocacy of a doctrine which it regards as inimical to civilization, it must have the power to send him out of the country. * * * Whether it is wise or unwise for such as he to be sent out of the United States is not a question which courts may express in any opinion. That is a question for the Congress and not for the judiciary."

A great deal was said at the argument of the distinction between philosophical anarchists and anarchist communists. The two represent very different schools of thought. There is a class of honest and law-abiding visionaries who are convinced that the interests of society would be promoted by the abolition of all government whatsoever. Their propaganda is purely educational in character and violence does not enter into it. They do not believe in force or in war or in the taking of human life. The relator evidently belongs to that class. But while the student of social science may discriminate between philosophical anarchists and other kinds of anarchists, the act of Congress now under consideration does not. And no such discrimination is necessary, for the constitutional power to exclude or deport does not depend upon whether the alien is or is not a criminal or the advocate of lawless ideas. The appeal is dismissed.

FRANK R. STONE.

As I said, I have here mailing lists of these radical papers showing who is reading this stuff mostly, now, and I have here the bibliography of anarchy in the shape of a catalogue of the greatest library in the country which contains anarchistic books and nothing else; but I am inclined to think that that would encumber the record too much. I simply state that the Department of Justice has it and it is at the disposal of any proper agency of the Government.

I will file for the record a statement prepared for me by my assistants in reference to the case of Thomas Truss, an alien arrested in Baltimore in January, 1920. Unless you want to hear it, I will not read it through. It is a statement of all the facts.

The CHAIRMAN. We have had much of the Truss case here, and you may read it or simply insert it in the record, just as you like.

Mr. PALMER. I will put it in the record without reading it.

THE TRUSS CASE.

Considerable comment has been made by Mr. Post upon the case of Thomas Truss, an alien arrested in Baltimore in January, 1920, and the statement has been made by the Assistant Secretary that the Truss case is typical of a thousand other cases passed upon by him.

It might be worth the while of the committee to know some of the facts incident to the case of Thomas Truss. There is attached a detailed analysis of the comment made by Mr. Post upon the Truss case, together with certain interesting information which would be of interest, I assume, both to the committee and to the public.

Sufficient to say that Truss was sponsored by Rev. Paul Fox, who is stated to be a minister. Irrespective of his ecclesiastical calling, the Rev. Paul Fox's reputation in the community of Baltimore is worthy of note. He has been known as a radical and as a pro-German and has been associated with many of the undesirable elements at work in the city of Baltimore, so the vouching of Rev. Paul Fox for the character of Thomas Truss does not add any great weight to the good character of Truss, but, on the other hand, would work to his detriment.

Certain reference has been made to the manner in which Mr. Truss was arrested, it being inferred that he was taken into custody and that his wife left in mental anguish for many days. The facts in the arrest of Mr. Truss are that the policeman called at his house and advised him to come along with him to the station. The visit of the policeman was made in the evening and Mr. Truss requested to be allowed to eat his supper. This request was granted and during the course of the evening the policeman got into conversation with Mrs. Truss, who replied that she had always advised her husband not to join the Communist Party, stating that he would get into difficulty if he did. So, we see that Mrs. Truss was present and was fully advised as to the charges for which he was taken.

The membership of Truss in the Communist Party, I believe, can be well sustained by the evidence that was obtained at the time, it being clearly proven that he was in the Communist Party after its organization and was looked upon by some members of the radical following in Baltimore as an organizer for the same. The police of Baltimore and representatives of the Department of Justice have been cognizant for some time of Truss's activities and I feel that a fair and impartial reading of the testimony will show that there is little or no doubt as to his affiliation with the Communist Party.

Mention has been made by the Assistant Secretary to his connection with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, an organization which this committee would be led to believe is a perfectly proper and law-abiding organization. To be sure, it has not been ruled unlawful by the Labor Department, but that means nothing. Its principles advocate the establishment of the soviet form of ownership of industry. Its members have been arrested in various parts of the country for unlawful activities. It has been sued several times for the use of unlawful tactics in the strike and information on file in the Department of Justice clearly shows that it is engaged upon activities detrimental to the best interests of the country and detrimental to the best interests of labor. It has been a strong and vicious opponent to the American Federation of Labor; so strong in fact that it is not a part of that organization and its tactics have been those of requiring persons who do belong to the American Federation of Labor to withdraw from the same, if they desire to work in the textile industry.

So we see that the glowing colors in which the case of Thomas Truss was painted by the Assistant Secretary when analyzed and inquired into show that this individual is in fact a most undesirable alien in this country, he having been here since 1907 and never having taken any steps to become an American citizen. Also that his associates and affiliations clearly connect him with the Communist Party of America.

THE TRUSS CASE DECISION BY MR. POST.

1. Mr. Post: "His character well attested by highly responsible witnesses. * * *

Rev. Paul Fox, the witness in this case, has been a subject of many reports submitted to the Department of Justice during the war on account of his pro-German and other activities. Fox is a Pole and was active in a movement to effect the return to Russia of numerous Russians in this country. At the time an effort was being made to overthrow the Kerensky régime. He was associated with one Dr. A. Sienkiewicz; who was an anarchist, as shown by letters written by himself. Sienkiewicz became a citizen of the United States, but after having been called before the department on account of his activities, he left for Russia. Another close friend and associate of Fox was Boslew Rutkowski, an Austrian alien enemy who at one time was held on a presidential warrant. This man stated definitely that Fox was not only pro-German but was actively engaged in the interests of Germany in the United States. Fox was active also with Julius Ryniewicz (who was interned for the duration of the war) and with Czeslaw Lukaszewicz also an Austrian alien who was detained for three months at Ellis Island. All of these men were engaged in the plan to send Russians back to Poland in the interests of Germany and the organization with which they were connected was never included in the authority issued by the United States Government for the formation of the Polish legion.

A number of men did go back. "Postep," a Polish periodical with which Fox is connected, was at one time held up by the Post Office Department on account of its pro-German tendencies. Both Fox and Truss originally were reported to the Government by a number of loyal Poles in the Polish section of Baltimore, and in that section they are both considered radical and unreliable. A number of the men who were engaged in the movement instituted by Fox and his friends were members of the Union of Russian Workers, and when warrants were issued for their arrest could not be located, and up to the present time their whereabouts can not be ascertained.

At one time the United States attorney at Baltimore was compelled to order Fox out of his office on account of his utter unreliability and disloyalty. Mr. Post considers Fox a highly responsible witness.

2. Mr. Post says that Truss would make a good citizen of the United States and that he is or recently was president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of Baltimore. It is interesting in this connection to know some of the tactics of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union from reliable information in the possession of the department. This union was organized about 1915 with the avowed purpose to destroy the United Garment Workers of America and to dominate the garment industry in the United States. It advocates industrial unionism as against craft unionism and is not in any way affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, but in many instances, in New York, Boston, Chicago, the workers have been compelled to withdraw from the American Federation of Labor, and when they refused, members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers have been withdrawn until the demands were complied with.

The membership is made up of Russian Jews, Slavs, Italians, Germans, and other aliens to the number of about 150,000. The tendency has been of an extreme radical order, the majority being in favor of the soviet. The announced aim of the organization is to establish a council basis in the workshops along recognized Russian lines. It has been openly stated in their meetings that the clothing workers are getting higher wages than ever before, but will demand more and more. Their present plan is to start cooperative factories and stores, and as soon as this is accomplished they will boost labor cost to bring the employer to a point where he can not compete with the cooperatives, and will be forced out of business. As soon as the cooperatives are well organized, a strike will be called and maintained until labor is put at a prohibitive figure. The preamble to the constitution shows striking resemblance to that of the I. W. W., and, in fact, many of the members of the Amalgamated also belong to the I. W. W. The following is taken from the preamble:

"The economic organization of labor has been called into existence by the capitalist system of production under which division between the ruling class and the ruled class is based upon the ownership of the means of production.

The class owning these means is the one that is ruling, the class that possesses nothing but its labor power, which is always on the market as a commodity, is the one that is being ruled. A constant and unceasing struggle is being between these two classes. * * * The history of the class struggles of this country for the past two decades testifies to the ineffectiveness of the form, methods, and spirit of craft unionism. It also shows how dearly the working class has paid for its failure to keep apace with industrial developments. The working class must accept the principles of industrial unionism or it is doomed to impotence. * * * The industrial and interindustrial organization built upon the solid rock of real knowledge and class consciousness will put the original working class in actual control of the system of production and the working class will then be ready to take possession of it."

They have set as a goal the 40-hour week and 50 per cent increase in wages. Where they already have contracts with clothing shops, the organization is planning to abrogate them and then present demands for increase and strike if necessary. They are perfecting a system by which they will be able to force clothing workers to the wall and take over the industry and operate it for their own benefit. One of the officers of this organization who was questioned recently, stated that at the present time his wages amount to \$56 per week, and when asked why this was not enough, replied it was not and nothing would be enough until all of the factories had been taken over by the organization. He was asked why, in view of the large wages received, a large number of the men did not club together and buy the plants, but he replied that this is not what they want, that they intended to take over the industries without paying for them. They have a large fund at their command and could raise approximately \$2,000,000 by assessment. The organization has been represented in a certain Russian organization closely identified with the bolshevik movement in the United States. The president of the Baltimore branch of this organization, whose character is vouched for by witnesses of the class of Fox, Mr. Post considers would make a good American citizen. Another fact which must not be overlooked is that Truss has been in the country since 1907 and has not yet taken out first papers.

3. Mr. Post says that until the day following his detention his wife and friends were ignorant of his whereabouts. The facts are, that two officers went to the home of Truss at 6 o'clock in the evening and found him at supper with his wife and family. The officers sat down and remained fully 30 minutes, until they had finished the meal, in the meantime talking over the subject with Truss and his wife, one of the officers speaking their language, although part of the conversation was in English. The entire matter was explained to the wife, where he was going to be taken, the reason, and that an opportunity would be given him to defend himself. The wife stated that she had frequently remonstrated with her husband on account of his communist connections and had endeavored to influence him to sever them. The following morning one of the officers again talked over the matter with Mrs. Truss and at noon she appeared at the office, so that Mr. Post misstated the facts. Attention is called to the fact here that Truss was not taken to the police station until the night of January 7 and the warrant was applied for by the immigrant inspector at Baltimore the following day. There is certainly no unreasonable delay in this instance, particularly when it is remembered that immigrant inspectors in many cases, notably on Mexican border, take into custody and detain, sometimes for days, aliens who are picked up in cities, before the warrant is issued.

4. That Truss is not a communist nor is he an anarchist, the argument being that the only evidence was that of his application for membership in the Communist Party in June, July, or August, 1919. (a) Reference here is made to the wording of the statute, which covers membership at any time subsequent to entry; (b) to the fact that the Communist Party, even prior to its organization at Chicago, issued what were known as temporary membership cards and due stamps for the months June, July, and August, 1919, and the money received from the sale of such due stamps was applied to the expenses of organization and propaganda; (c) Truss denied that he had signed application for membership, but admitted he had authorized a friend to sign for him, also that he had been a member of the First Russian Branch of the Communist Party for one or two months; that he had received a membership card, but it was lost. He identified his name on the book of the organizer of the Communist Party, one Pinski. Andrew Marosz, an officer of the Communist Branch, during the examination of him, admitted that in October he received \$5 from Truss as

receipts for the sale of badges, and when asked how many members of the Communist Party he knew by name, gave the name of Truss. When asked whether he believed Truss to be an agitator, Marosz answered, "Yes, I do." * * * The membership book found in the possession of Marosz shows that Truss had paid his dues for September, 50 cents; October, 40 cents; and November, 40 cents. Not only the membership card but the pledge card of the Communist Party for Truss was turned over to the immigrant inspector.

The application for charter by the Communist Party was approved by the national headquarters and the charter forwarded to the Baltimore branch, of which Truss was a member at the time. So that there is a duly authorized application for membership, a pledge card, activity in the sale of badges, an admission of membership, application for charter from the national headquarters of the Communist Party, and receipt of the charter by the organization. The fact that the charter was returned by the organization at a later period is the fact on which Mr. Post seems to rely, although the charter does not state any of the principles of the Communist Party and is only the ordinary certificate that the branch is duly authorized.

I want also to put in the record—and I am not going to weary the committee with either the written statement or making an argument upon it—a complete discussion of the procedure under the immigration laws and the law with relation thereto, as shown by the decisions of all the courts in all the cases. It is a complete brief which effectually and completely annihilates, as I view it, the legal position which Mr. Post has insisted upon in the disposition of these cases. You are all lawyers. It is not necessary for me to present it orally, it seems to me, but I would like to have this go into the record in a complete fashion.

The Supreme Court years ago approved the use of confidential informants and has ruled several times that such a person is not an accomplice. (*Grimm v. U. S.*, 156 U. S., 604, March 4, 1895, which contains several citations; also *Goode v. U. S.* 159 U. S., 663; *U. S. v. White*, 38 Fed. Rep., 36; *U. S. v. Moore*, 19 Fed. Repl., 39. See also, *People v. Noelke*, 94 N. Y., 136 decided in November, 1883, and *Commonwealth v. Baker* 155 Mass. 287, January 6, 1892.)

These are criminal cases and cover Federal and State officers who procured the evidence on which the cases were based by "decoy" letters. In the *Grimm* case, the opinion being written by Mr. Justice Brewer, it is stated: "The law was actually violated by the defendant, * * * and the fact that the person who wrote under these assumed names and received his letters was a Government detective in no manner detracts from his (the defendant's) guilt."

The *Baker* case is particularly interesting in that it arose in Massachusetts where there has been such severe criticism on account of the statements of Judge Anderson. In that case it was contended by the defendant, under a violation of the gambling laws, that the police officer who procured the evidence by playing at the "resort" of the defendant for the specific purpose of procuring the evidence on which the prosecution was based, is an accomplice. The lower court refused to so rule and the Supreme Court upheld the refusal, citing *Commonwealth v. Willard*, (22 Pick., 476), and *Commonwealth v. Downing* (4 Gray, 29).

In the *Noelke* case, the Supreme Court of New York said: "We agree that *Mattocks* (the detective) was not an accomplice, since he purchased the ticket to detect and punish a crime and not to aid in committing one. From the point of view of the prosecution he was a detective; form that of the defendant, a spy or informer; but in no sense a party to the criminal act or intent so as to become an accomplice."

AUTHORITY FOR THE EMPLOYMENT OF CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANTS.

A number of cases before the United States Supreme Court have approved the use of "detectives" and detective methods in the procuring of evidence of crimes against the United States, particularly postal matters. In *Grimm v. U. S.* (156 U. S. 604), a post-office inspector had written the defendant, who was believed to be in a business which was prohibited by the laws, and in response to his letter, which contained a fictitious name, received through

the mails the matter on which the case was based. It was contended by the defendant that the inspector was an accomplice. After citing several cases against the contention, Mr. Justice Brewer, for the court, concluded the opinion: "But it is unnecessary to multiply authorities. The law was actually violated by the defendant * * * and the fact that the person who wrote under these assumed names and received his letters was a Government detective in no manner detracts from his (the defendant's) guilt."

This case was decided March 4, 1895, and the authorities cited are: *Bates v. U. S.* (10 Fed. Rep., 92), *Wharton* (note on p. 97), *U. S. v. Moore* (19 Fed. Rep., 39), *U. S. v. Wight* (38 Fed. Rep., 106), *U. S. v. Dorsey* (40 Fed. Rep., 752), *Commonwealth v. Baker* (155 Mass., 287), *People v. Noelke* (94 N. Y., 137), *State v. Jansen* (22 Kans., 498), *State v. Stickney* (53 Kan., 308).

Goode v. U. S. (159 U. S., 663), November 25, 1895, involved embezzlement of a letter by a mail carrier, the letter having been written by a post-office inspector, addressed to a fictitious person and address. Mr. Justice Brown, for the court, said: " * * * The fact the letter was a decoy is no defense is too well settled by the modern authorities to be now open to contention. (*King v. Egginton*, 2 Bos. & Pull., 508; *U. S. v. Foye*, 1 Curtis, 364; *U. S. v. Cottingham*, 2 Blatch., 470; *Bates v. U. S.*, 10 Fed., 92; *U. S. v. Whittier*, 5 Dillon, 35; *U. S. v. Moore*, 19 Fed., 39; *U. S. v. Wight*, 38 Fed., 106; *U. S. v. Matthews*, 35 Fed., 890; *U. S. v. Dorsey*, 40 Fed., 752; *Grimm v. U. S.*, 156 U. S., 604) * * *."

U. S. v. Moore (19 Fed. Rep., 39) was a lottery case involving a decoy letter to the defendant, which letter was the beginning of the case. *U. S. v. Wight* (38 Fed. Rep.) was similar to the *Goode* case, *supra*, embezzlement by post-office employee. In this case the mail was not only addressed to a fictitious person and address but the envelope was made up so as to attract attention and indicate that it contained money—almost an invitation.

People v. Noelke (94 New York, 136), November 20, 1883, was a lottery case under the State law, which declared that a conviction could not be had upon the uncorroborated testimony of an accomplice. The court said:

" * * * We agree that Mattocks (the detective) was not an accomplice, since he purchased the ticket to detect and punish a crime and not to aid in committing one. From the point of view of the prosecution he was a detective; from that of the defendants, a spy or informer; but in no sense a party to the criminal act or intent so as to become an accomplice."

In *Commonwealth v. Baker* (155 Mass., 287, Jan. 6, 1892) it was contended by the defendant, under violation of the gambling laws, that the police officer who procured the evidence on which the prosecution was based, by playing several times at the gambling resort, was an accomplice. The lower court declined to so rule and was sustained by the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. (*Commonwealth v. Willard*, 22 Pick., 476; *Commonwealth v. Downing*, 4 Gray, 29).

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE PROCEDURE UNDER THE IMMIGRATION LAWS.

The immigration laws are designed to effect the exclusion (denial of entry into the United States) of aliens who for one statutory reason or another are deemed undesirable, and to expel (remove from after entry into the United States) aliens who were of the excluded classes at the time of entry or who by acts committed after entry bring them within the vice of the immigration laws.

In addition to the immigration laws there are a series of laws known as the Chinese exclusion laws, the first of which dates back to the administration of President Garfield predicated upon a treaty entered into with China in 1880. The expelling provisions of the Chinese exclusion laws were exclusively administered by United States commissioners and Federal judges under a proceeding which has been characterized by the Supreme Court as quasi judicial, and under which procedure the rules of evidence are followed. The United States Supreme Court in the case *United States v. Wong You* (223 U. S., 67) approved of the practice of subjecting Chinese to the provisions of the immigration act as well as those of the Chinese exclusion law, the effect of this being to subject the Chinese to strictly administrative proceedings where they lose the benefit of the structures incident to the rules of evidence.

It may be stated at the outset that the United States courts have consistently held that the powers of the Government to exclude or expel are coterminous.

The proceedings under the expelling provisions of the immigration laws are from first to last before the Secretary of Labor, an administrative or executive officer of the Government.

There has been more or less loose talk recently about trials and rules of evidence, etc., in these cases; and, in this connection, the observations of the Supreme Court in *Fong Yue Ting v. United States* (149 U. S., 698), will be interesting, "that the proceedings here provided for is in no proper sense a trial and sentence for crime, nor is the order of deportation a banishment in the technical sense; but the whole proceeding is merely a method of forcing a return to his own country of an alien who fails to comply with the conditions for his continued residence here," and later the same court, in the *Low Wah Suey* case (225 U. S., 460), in passing upon not the law, but rather the regulations of the Secretary of Labor laying down the procedure to be followed by the inspectors holding the hearings, commented thus "It is provided that a hearing shall be had at which the alien shall have a full opportunity to show cause why he should not be deported * * * we are not prepared to say that the rules are so arbitrary and so manifestly intended to deprive the alien of a fair, though summary, hearing as to be beyond the power of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor under the authority of the statute."

In sum, the trend of the decisions of the supreme and inferior courts of the United States have been that in proceedings looking to the expulsion of an alien that there must be "some" evidence before the administrative officer to justify the issuance of an order of deportation, and on questions of fact the decision of the administrative officer is final and not subject to review by the courts. However, it has been held that the hearing must be appropriate to the nature of the case upon which the executive officers are to act, and the alien must be given all opportunity to be heard upon the question involving his right to remain in the United States (*Yamataya v. Fisher*, 189 U. S., 86, often referred to as the Japanese immigration case.) In that case Mr. Justice Harlan, speaking for the court, observed:

"This court has never held, nor must we now be understood as holding, that an administrative officer, when executing the provisions of a statute involving the liberty of persons, may disregard the fundamental principles that inhere in 'due process of law' * * * It is not competent for * * * any executive officer, * * * to cause an alien to be * * * deported without giving him all opportunity to be heard upon the questions involving his right to be and remain in the United States. No such arbitrary power can exist where the principles involved in due process of law are recognized."

In practice, before the Secretary issues his warrant for the arrest of an alien at least a *prima facie* case must have been made, and that accordingly there is "some" evidence before him on which to base the institution of the deportation proceedings.

The object of the hearing as pointed out in the foregoing decisions is to afford the alien an opportunity to show cause why he should not be deported. These hearings have been repeatedly characterized by the courts as "administrative" and "summary" and that the rules of evidence do not apply, and the rule is probably best stated in a decision by Judge Learned Hand in the case of *Maria Munafò Catalfano v. Uhl*, in a succinct but comprehensive brief opinion from which the following is quoted:

"The evidence is not such as would be admitted in an action at law, but need not be. Any evidence rationally prohibitive may be taken in these cases, regardless of whether it falls within the rules of evidence or not. Nothing would more greatly embarrass the work of the officers than to introduce rules of evidence into their hearings."

In view of the foregoing it is submitted that these hearings can in no sense be termed trials. They are summary and conducted before an administrative officer of the Government, they do not involve imprisonment nor fine, or, as has been frequently asserted, even punishment; there is no crime involved nor is the case heard by a judicial officer or by a jury.

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY.

The first immigration act of Congress to take cognizance of radicals was that of March 3, 1903, wherein "anarchists" were included among the list of persons excluded from entry into the United States.

The act of February 20, 1907, contained a provision as to anarchists, which in effect was a reenactment of the corresponding provision of the act of 1903, which had in the meantime been held constitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States in the case *Turner v. Williams* (194 U. S., 279). In the act of May 1, 1917 (passed over the President's veto), section 19 contained a provision for the expulsion of anarchists as well as their exclusion, and removing the statutory period contained in the previous acts, making it possible to deport persons of that class at any time rather than within three or five years of their entry. The act of May 1, 1917, as amended by the act of October, 1918, amplified the previous acts and made provision for the exclusion as well as expulsion of not only anarchists but alien members of organizations entertaining belief in, teaching, or advocating the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States; and removing the statutory limitation within which deportation could be effected.

A detailed list of those affected by this provision is set forth below:

(1) Aliens who fall within any of the following classes are subject to deportation (sec. 1, act of Oct. 16, 1918): (a) Anarchists; (b) those found advocating or teaching anarchy; (c) those who believe in, or advocate, or teach, the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States; (d) those who believe in, or advocate, or teach, the overthrow by force or violence of all forms of law; (e) those who disbelieve in, or are opposed to, all organized government; (f) those who advocate, or teach, the assassination of public officials; (g) those who advocate, or teach the unlawful destruction of property; (h) those who are members of, or affiliated with, any organization that entertains a belief in, teaches, or advocates the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States; (i) those who are members of, or affiliated with, any organization that entertains a belief in, teaches, or advocates, the overthrow by force or violence of all forms of law; (j) those who are members of, or affiliated with, an organization that entertains or teaches disbelief in, or opposition to all organized government; (k) those who are members of, or affiliated with, an organization that teaches the duty, necessity, or propriety of the unlawful assaulting or killing of any officer or officers, either of specific individuals, or of officers generally of the Government of the United States, or of any other organized government, because of his or their official character; (l) those who are members of, or affiliated with, an organization that advocates or teaches the unlawful destruction of property.

Mr. Post at one point in his testimony before this committee is reported as stating as follows:

"Has the alien resident in this country the same right as a citizen under the Constitution of the United States. Now, mark the distinction; an alien appearing at the port and asking to be admitted, concededly has no rights under our Constitution; but an alien once lawfully admitted and resident in this country—our contention has been, the Secretary's, and that is what I have followed, that he has the same constitutional rights, except as to voting and purely citizenship rights."

In the *Whitfield* case, which Mr. Post relies on in his above argument, in his letter to this department asking for its appeal, he took a position diametrically opposite to his present attitude.

In the *Turner v. Williams* decision (194 U. S., 292), Chief Justice Fuller, speaking for the court, observed:

"It is, of course, true that if an alien is not permitted to enter this country, or having entered contrary to law, is expelled, he is in fact cut off from worshipping or speaking or publishing or petitioning in the country. * * * He does not become one of the people to whom these (constitutional rights) are secured by our Constitution."

As to the "deprivation of life, liberty, or property," there is no such question involved in these proceedings. *Turner v. Williams* (194 U. S., 290, *supra*):

"That the deportation of an alien who is found to be here in violation of law is not a deprivation of liberty without due process of law and that the provisions of the Constitution securing the right of trial by jury have no application. * * * Detention or temporary confinement, as part of the means necessary to give effect to the exclusion or expulsion was held valid."

It will be interesting to note that Congress on one occasion attempted through a Chinese exclusion law to provide for the trial, without a jury, of a Chinese person found here illegally and on conviction before a United States commissioner (hence without a jury) given a prison sentence. The Supreme Court promptly held that section of the act unconstitutional, *Wong Wing v. U. S.*

(163 U. S., 228), permitting the balance of the law to remain unaffected. This case is adverted to for the purpose of showing that the proceedings under the immigration act are in no sense criminal. There being no provision made for a "trial" in the legal sense of the word, the provisions do not come in conflict with the "deprivation of liberty" and "due process" clauses of the Constitution. Mr. Post seems to overlook the fact that in these proceedings he sits not as a judge or jury; that he can ascribe no judicial or quasi-judicial status to his functions; that it is an administrative hearing pure and simple, and that he is confined to passing upon questions of fact; that in the last analysis the alien is deprived of nothing but a continued residence in the United States, and that the rules of evidence, as observed in criminal or civil procedure do not apply.

Mr. Post, in his testimony, elects to stand or fall on the "Whitfield" decision, which is in direct contravention of the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States.

THE WHITFIELD CASE (222 FED., 745).

The decision of the circuit court of appeals for the eighth circuit was adverse to the Government, but is resorted to by Mr. Post as a correct enunciation of the law, notwithstanding the decisions of the United States Supreme Court are in apparent contradiction of this previous opinion as set forth in his letter No. 53678-484 of July 14, 1915, reading as follows:

"The ATTORNEY GENERAL.

"SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 9th instant (WWJr-HSR 169527-23), in which you state that you have concluded not to ask the Supreme Court for a writ of certiorari in the case of *Whitfield v. Hanges*. It is noted that you regard the decision of the circuit court of appeals in said case as erroneous, but that you think the chances of the Government's obtaining a writ of certiorari will be much better if that decision is allowed to take its course, the case reheard before the District Court, and then appealed to the circuit court of appeals and then by that court again decided adversely to the Government; that the Supreme Court is not usually disposed to grant such a writ unless there has been a final decision below.

"Respectfully,

"LOUIS F. POST,
"Assistant Secretary."

In the *Whitfield* case the court intervened through habeas corpus proceedings before the administrative officer had rendered a decision in the case, and in this connection there is quoted an excerpt from the brief of the Secretary of Labor.

"This department (Labor) is seriously embarrassed by Judge Reed's decision, which it believes to be erroneous, not only because, as already shown, the writ was granted prematurely, but also because experience in the administration of the immigration law has long since demonstrated that the procedure for the arrest and deportation of aliens can not be modeled on court procedure, nor the rules that obtain in a court of law regarding practice or evidence applied to this summary administrative proceeding. No doubt it was a realization of this which led Congress to make the proceeding a strictly administrative one. If the orderly conduct of the department's business is to be interfered with by the premature granting of writs of habeas corpus, or if the department is to be tied down in these proceedings to an observance of the methods of taking evidence that obtain in courts of law, the administration of the immigration law, already sufficiently difficult, will become almost impossible."

Aside from the question of jurisdiction the matter of the unfairness of the hearing is also out of consonance with the decision of the supreme court. For instance, the right of the alien to have counsel present at all stages of the hearing. That question was raised in the case of *Low Wah Suey* (225 U. S., 460), wherein the supreme court held as follows:

"It is alleged that the rules of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor are arbitrary and illegal, particularly certain sections of rule 35. From these rules, it appears, that, while provision is made for an examination in the absence of counsel, it is provided that a hearing shall be had at which the alien shall have full opportunity to show cause why he should not be deported, and that at such stage of the proceedings as the person before whom the hearing is held shall deem proper the alien shall be apprised that he may thereafter be represented by counsel, who shall be permitted to be present at the further

conduct of the hearing, to inspect and make a copy of the record of the hearing so far as it has proceeded, and to meet any evidence that theretofore has been or may thereafter be presented by the Government, and it is further provided that all the papers, including the minutes and any written argument submitted by counsel, together with the recommendations upon the merits of the examining officer, and the officer in charge shall be forwarded to the department as the record on which to determine whether or not a warrant for deportation shall issue. Considering the summary character of the hearing provided by statute and the rights given to counsel in the rules prescribed we are not prepared to say that the rules are so arbitrary and so manifestly intended to deprive the alien of a fair, though summary, hearing as to be beyond the power of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor under the authority of the statute."

Even in criminal proceedings, which immigration proceedings are not, confessions obtained from defendants after advising them that it may be used against them, etc., are admissible in evidence, as are admissions of the defendants, without being placed on their guard; and, in practice, counsel is not present when statements are taken from defendants at time of arrest. The wording of the immigration act of May, 1917, is significant, section 17 of which provides as follows:

"All hearings before such boards shall be separate and apart from the public, but the immigrant may have one friend or relative present."

And in the regulations of the Secretary of Labor it is provided:

"First, that such friend or relative is not and will not be employed by him as counsel or attorney."

Query: Is an alien, after a residence in the United States, with the consequent opportunity to learn his rights and thereby conserve them entitled to more consideration than the immigrant just landing in this country entirely ignorant of its laws or institutions? It is unnecessary to discuss this in any detail, as the question was settled in the best and most conclusive way that a question of law can be settled by the United States Supreme Court in its decision in the *Low Wah Suey* case, and this not by way of dicta, as it was one of the main questions involved in the case. Several points in this decision are discussed subsequently in dealing with Mr. Post's ruling upon admissibility of evidence in these proceedings.

Mr. Post maintains that the admissions of the alien to the Government officers before he has been accorded the opportunity of securing counsel are inadmissible.

It is a settled principle of law that admissions on the part of a defendant can be used against him, and the question of the presence of counsel does not enter. This being the situation in criminal cases, how can there possibly arise such a situation in purely administrative hearings where the rules of evidence are not applicable?

We need go no further than the district and Federal circuit courts of New York to find decisions directly contrary to Mr. Post's views. Judge Hough, the present presiding judge of the Second Circuit Court of Appeals, then acting as district judge, significantly remarked in the case *United States v. Lem You* (224 Fed., 519):

"A point of law is raised by this appeal which to me is novel. When Lem You was arrested, instead of being taken for examination * * * he was haled directly before Commissioner Houghton and there asked certain questions and made certain answers. This examination was offered in evidence by the Government, and objected to on the ground, substantially, that such an examination carried on without counsel was unlawful. In my opinion, proceedings in the matter of Chinese exclusion are summary; they are not to be compared with the trial of either a civil or criminal suit, nor do they resemble hearings before a committing magistrate. The statute contains no prohibition upon asking a Chinaman questions regarding his right to remain in this country at any time or place, or by any officer or official, and what the statute does not forbid it is not in the interests of justice to read into the act, because (as I have said in other Chinese cases) it is highly conducive to ascertaining the truth to find out what the Chinaman will say when suddenly asked as to his right to remain."

This decision was shortly followed by another, *United States v. Moy Toom* (224 Fed., 521), in which Judge Lacombe, then presiding judge of the Second Circuit Court of Appeals, acting in the case as a circuit judge in the district court, held "as to the technical point raised that on his first examination de-

fendant was instructed to answer any questions as truthfully as he could, although he had stated that he did not want to answer any question till he saw a lawyer. I fully concur with Judge Hough's ruling in *United States v. Lem Youn* (224 Fed., 519). It would seem to make little difference whether this preliminary inquisition is had before inspector or commissioner, so long as thereafter the Chinese person is given opportunity to appear with counsel, to be examined (this defendant did not take the stand on the formal examination), to call witnesses, and to have counsel, if he chooses, to cross-examine witnesses called by the Government. All these privileges he had. An offer to hear further testimony in this court was declined. Examination of very many records in these cases has induced the conviction that it tends greatly to elucidate the truth to hear what the Chinese person has to say about such simple facts as his age, parentage, relationship, occupation, and localities where he had lived, and the circumstances attending his latest entry into this country, 'before' his lawyer appears."

The emphasis of "before" is Judge Lacombe's.

Judge Learned Hand in the case *United States v. Too Toy* (185 Fed., 838) makes the following remarks:

"I do not think I ought to discredit the testimony of the inspector, who was present at the time (of the arrest), and whose contemporaneous notes are an undoubted record of what the defendant * * * said. * * * I do not think that such an admission should be discredited. It is taken at once without preparation, and is the most likely expression of the truth."

So that the decisions of the courts, where Ellis Island cases would necessarily come before in the event of habeas corpus proceedings, are in consonance as to the use of admissions without counsel, even in these Chinese-exclusion cases, which are quasi civil and hence subject to the rules of evidence. If there were any question as to the legality or propriety of the procedure whereby aliens are examined without counsel in immigration proceedings, that has been definitely and for all time settled by the United States Supreme Court in the *Low Wah Suey v. Backus* case (225 U. S., 460) when it was held:

"It is further alleged that Li A. Sim was refused the right to be represented by counsel during all stages of the preliminary proceedings, and was examined without the presence of her counsel and against her will by the immigration officer at the port of San Francisco, and before she had been advised of her right to counsel and before she was given an opportunity of securing bail, and that afterwards an examination was conducted by the immigration officer, acting under the orders of the commissioner of immigration, at which she was questioned by the immigration inspector against her will and without the presence of counsel, who was refused permission to be present, and that at certain stages of the proceedings she was refused the right to consult with counsel. This objection, in substance, is that under examination before the inspection officer at first she had no counsel. Such an examination is within the authority of the statute, and it is not denied that at subsequent stages of the proceedings and before the hearing was closed or the orders were made she had the assistance and advice of counsel."

As regards the objection to examination wherein the answers were put down on form papers, what objection can be had to that method provided it is conducted fairly and reported verbatim. Mr. Post overlooks the many hundreds of these examples which were not undertaken through form papers, but wherein the questions and answers were taken through stenographers who reported the same verbatim.

Mr. Post has stated that "automatic membership does not constitute membership within the act of October 16, 1918, unless supported by proof of individual activities or declarations tending to show knowledge of the character of the organization."

The law cited by Mr. Post makes no discrimination as to "automatic" or other forms of membership, nor does it make any mention of activities or declarations, so far as the particular status of membership or affiliation with the prescribed organizations is concerned. The observations of Judge Hough, the present presiding judge of the Second Court of Appeals (New York) in *United States v. Lem You* (224 Fed., 519), are significant:

"The statute contains no prohibition upon asking a Chinaman questions regarding his right to remain in this country at any time or place, or by any officer or official, and what the statute does not forbid it is not in the interests of justice to read into the act."

An apt illustration of the incorrectness and unsoundness of Mr. Post's view will be found in the conviction in the case of Walter Gabriel, the secretary of the Communist Party for the State of New Jersey, a native-born citizen, who was apprehended with his comrades on January 2, 1920, and made the subject of a criminal action under the State antianarchy statute by the State's prosecuting attorney. This man was, within a period of a little over a month, indicted, convicted, and sentenced, and this in a criminal proceeding not supposed to be summary as are the immigration (administrative) proceedings, and a big feature in that case was the admissions made by the defendant at the time of his arrest, which was undertaken without a warrant, and without the presence of counsel and this in the face of a flat request made by the defendant for a lawyer of the person questioning him, which request was declined. Here you have a sad commentary on the work "summary" as applied in the immigration proceedings. Nearly six months have elapsed and the aliens arrested at the time that Gabriel was have not been disposed of and not an order of deportation executed as yet.

It would seem that the admonition of Judge Hough that "what the statute does not forbid, it is not in the interest of justice to read into the act," applies with some force to the rulings of Mr. Post in these cases. It is, indeed, novel to find an executive officer of the Government grappling for adverse decisions and ignoring favorable decisions of courts. Mr. Post has ruled that:

"When the accused alien appears to be a person of good general character, fit for American citizenship, except for the activities in hand, and there is reasonable doubt for his membership, the warrant of arrest will be canceled."

The question of "reasonable doubt" pertains to criminal law, and has not place in administrative proceedings. In these administrative deportation proceedings there is no "trial" in any sense of the term. They are conducted from first to last before the Secretary of Labor, an executive officer of the Government—without judge or jury—a strictly administrative hearing. There is no indictment, criminal information, accusation, or any other instrumentality of the criminal law; hence the term "accusation" is inept to say the least.

Testimony of character witnesses is gratuitous and can have no application to the case so far as it concerns the alien's status as that of a member of the Communist Party; and, in this connection, testimony as to his fitness for American citizenship is irrelevant as there are no naturalization proceedings which are had before a judge after an administrative investigation by the Commissioner General of Naturalization. There is no question of citizenship involved in these proceedings except as to the determination of the noncitizenship or the alienage of the person made the subject of deportation proceedings. Alienage is a question of fact and is a part of the administrative proceedings. The sole questions under this heading resolve down to those: (a) is the person an alien; (b) is he a bona fide member of the Communist Party? These two questions being resolved in the affirmative, then the duty of the executive officer is plain and mandatory—he must issue his order of deportation in the premises.

Mr. Post has ruled that "statements of the 'accused' alien, whether oral or in writing, made while he is in custody and without opportunity fairly afforded him from the beginning to be represented by counsel, and without clear warning that anything he says may be used against him will be disregarded," and that "exhibits seized upon the premises or the persons of the accused alien without lawful process will be disregarded."

This rule Mr. Post seeks to justify by the Silverthorne and Jackson decisions. It is submitted that neither of these decisions stand for such a "principle." The "Silverthorne" decision is based on a criminal proceeding concerning the application of the fourth amendment of the Constitution as regards unlawful search.

The Supreme Court passed on this question of the alien's right to be represented by counsel in the deportation proceedings in the *Low Wah Suey* case (225 U. S., pp. 460-470), and held directly contrary views to these of Mr. Post.

It might be well now to discuss the much-referred-to cases of *In re Jackson* and *Silverthorne v. United States*.

There are two questions involved in these cases, first, whether an alien can invoke the constitutional guaranties, and, second, whether the decision would apply to these strictly administrative proceedings, wherein no crime is involved.

Prof. Willoughby, in his treatises on the principles of the "Constitutional Law of the United States," in discussing the fourth amendment, observed that: "The question as to the right of the Government to compel the production of books and papers is closely connected with the provision of the fourth amendment with reference to unreasonable searches and seizures. This provision has received comparatively little direct interpretation and application at the hands of the Supreme Court."

Since the publication of Prof. Willoughby's treatises the Supreme Court has passed directly on the fourth amendment; first in the *Al Adams* case (192 U. S., 585), later in the *Weeks* case (232 U. S., 383), and recently in the *Silverthorne* case, which decision was handed down January 26, 1920 (358, not yet reported). These decisions related to the rights of citizens under the Constitution and all of them arose out of criminal proceedings.

Regarding the right of an alien to invoke the constitutional guaranties, the Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of *Turner v. Williams* (194 U. S., 279, 292), held that—

"It is, of course, true that an alien is not permitted to enter this country, or, having entered contrary to law, is expelled. He does not become one of the people to whom these things (rights under the Constitution) are secured by our Constitution by an attempt to enter forbidden by law. To appeal to Constitution is to concede that this is a land governed by that supreme law, and, as under it the power to exclude has been determined to exist, those who are excluded can not exert the rights in general obtaining in a land to which they do not belong as citizens or otherwise."

In the case of *Ex parte Lampul* (217 Fed., 462) it was remarked:

"While the petitioner is not entitled to demand the constitutional guaranties accorded to our citizen of birth and adoption, he is entitled to demand that he be accorded a fair hearing as near as may be in accordance with elementary rules of procedure obtaining in all nations having organized government, securing the liberty of its own citizens and those of other nations within its borders by invitation or permission."

Much has been said about the right of an alien to invoke "the due process" clause of the Constitution. In this connection the United States Supreme Court, speaking through Mr. Justice Hughes in the case *Tang Tun v. Edsell* (223 U. S., 681), observed:

"The record fails to show that their authority was not fairly exercised, that is, consistently with the fundamental principles of justice embraced within the conception of due process of law. And, this being so, the merits of the case were not open to judicial examination."

It will be thus noted that the phrase "due process" is not used in the constitutional sense.

One case has come up since the *Silverthorne* decision, that of *John Jackson*, who was ordered deported by the Secretary of Labor and who obtained a hearing before Judge Bourquin in the district of Montana on habeas corpus proceedings. In that case the court sustained the writ holding the evidence, inadmissible having been obtained without a search warrant. Mr. Post in his letter 54616/77 of March 30, 1920 (photostat copy of which is attached), gave it as his opinion that the case should be appealed to the Supreme Court. It is submitted that the observation of Mr. Post as expressed on March 30 is a correct enunciation of the law, the opinion in the *Jackson* case, notwithstanding. As previously pointed out it is definitely settled that these deportation proceedings before the Secretary are strictly administrative, not criminal nor quasi criminal. The Supreme Court in the *Fong Ting* case (149 U. S., 698) held—

"That the proceedings here provided for is in no proper sense a trial and sentence for crime, nor is the order of deportation a banishment in the technical sense; but the whole proceeding is merely a method of forcing a return to his own country of an alien who fails to comply with the conditions for his continued residence here."

The result is that Mr. Post is basing his grounds for the cancellation of warrants and release of aliens on the *Jackson* and *Silverthorne* cases and his opinion as to the inapplicability of these decisions to deportation proceedings, which he contends, and rightly so, are administrative whereas the decisions referred to are confined to criminal proceedings, places himself in an inconsistent position.

There is a significant situation involved, in this connection, in the release of the members of the *Era Nuova* Group and *Francesco Ferrer* Association. In

every one of these cases the evidence was secured through the instrumentality of search warrants, obtained before the apprehension of the alien involved. Moreover, in every instance, a warrant had been issued for the arrest of the alien and he was apprehended pursuant to that warrant and the testimony of the alien at the time of the arrest was taken in the presence of an immigrant inspector. Those facts seem to have had no influence on Mr. Post's action, as in nearly all of those cases, he canceled the warrant, notwithstanding overwhelming evidence in some of the cases, particularly that of Franz Widmer, in whose case it was conclusively shown that he was an anarchist before his arrival in the United States, an anarchist at the time of his arrival in the United States, and that he has been an anarchist ever since he arrived in the United States and that he is an anarchist at the present time.

Now, Mr. Chairman, there is only one thing more I want to say. The 12 attorneys who filed this statement, after accusing us of violating the fifth amendment to the Constitution, which provides that: "No person shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself," after sending broadcast throughout the country over their signatures as lawyers, the statement that that amendment to the Constitution had been violated by the Attorney General, although they know perfectly well that these are not criminal cases and that the fifth amendment does not apply, as one of the signers of this very statement, Mr. Kane, declared in his article in the Nation, they wind up their criticism with the allegation that the legal functions of the Attorney General are to advise the Government on questions of law, and to prosecute persons who have violated Federal statutes. Of course, everybody knows that the legal functions of the Attorney General are very much broader than that; everybody but these gentlemen know that, and then there is added this statement:

"For the Attorney General to go into the field of propaganda against radicals is a deliberate misuse of his office and a deliberate squandering of funds intrusted to him by Congress."

I think that nothing we have done seems to have so greatly embittered all of the friends of these ultraradical persons as our sending out last January to many magazines and editors throughout the country copies of the documents which showed the history of the communist and communist-labor movements in America, and the presence of criminal anarchists in our country. I make no apology for that. I was not engaged in propagandist work. We had inquiry after inquiry, after the bombings and during the preparation for the raids of January 2, and after that, from newspapers and magazines for the documentary evidence to show what these people were doing, what they believed in and all that, and I conceived the notion, for the sake of convenience of the newspapers and magazines of the country, that I would issue a pamphlet containing all of these papers, and using the money which was appropriated which covered that purpose. I published a pamphlet entitled, "Red Radicalism," and had it sent to all the magazines and newspapers in the United States everywhere for the information of editors and for such use as they might see fit whenever they wanted to make use of it.

These gentlemen think it not improper to address the American people, with charges of illegal practices against the Attorney General of the United States. They think it not improper to put those charges out through the newspaper associations and through the

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pers of the country in advance, including bitter, vicious, slanderous, and unlawful attacks upon Government officials. They have not hesitated to give the widest publicity to their defenses of all of these communist and criminal anarchists and to their charges that these people have been outrageously treated. They seem to insist that the alien shall have the fullest right to the ear of the people and deny that the Government itself shall be heard by the people. I think, Mr. Chairman, that the people's case is as much entitled to presentation to the people in this matter as the case of the public enemies against the Government. I think the public is entitled to know what is going on in the country. I have tried to tell them. I have told them the truth. I have received for it vilification, abuse, and ridicule, but I propose to continue.

Mr. VAILE. And so do I.

Mr. PALMER. To the end, without fear or favor, and without pain or prejudice.

Mr. RALSTON. Mr. Chairman—

Mr. POU. I think the people of the United States would be interested in knowing who financed that pamphlet there and who put up the money for its wide publication.

Mr. RALSTON. That information can be at the service of the committee at any moment.

Mr. POU. It would be very, very glad to know that, I think.

Mr. RALSTON. If you will call Mr. Kane, he will give you a list of all the subscribers.

Mr. POU. Perhaps you know. You seem to know a great deal about this.

Mr. RALSTON. I do know some of them; at least, I think I do.

Mr. POU. There is a great deal of money behind that thing in order to poison the minds of the people and a little publicity on it would not hurt.

Mr. RALSTON. It is absolutely at the service of the committee. Mr. Chairman, I think before the Attorney General goes I ought to make one brief observation. It will take only three or four minutes, I think. On May 13—

Mr. POU. I move an executive session.

The CHAIRMAN. I have promised an executive session—

Mr. KINKAID. Mr. Chairman, I want just a word—

The CHAIRMAN. We are going into executive session on your matter and on other matters here that must have action by this committee in order to complete the work of the Congress.

Mr. RALSTON. I do not want to disturb the plans of the committee. I assume, then, that as soon as this evidence is printed I will have an opportunity to go over it and make suitable reply.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, undoubtedly.

Mr. GARRETT. You will have an opportunity to go over it, but I do not know about the other.

(The committee thereupon proceeded to the consideration of executive business.)

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ATTORNEY GENERAL A. MITCHELL PALMER ON
CHARGES MADE AGAINST DEPARTMENT OF
JUSTICE BY LOUIS F. POST AND OTHERS

HEARINGS
BEFORE
U.S. Congress, House,
THE COMMITTEE ON RULES

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SIXTY-SIXTH CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION

4 NOV 25

PART 2
(EXHIBITS)



WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

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1920

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HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SIXTY-SIXTH CONGRESS.

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ATTORNEY GENERAL A. MITCHELL PALMER ON CHARGES MADE AGAINST
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE BY LOUIS F. POST AND OTHERS.

EXHIBIT No. 1.

BACCINI CASE.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
Washington, July 2, 1919.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL,
Washington, D. C.

SIR: The department has the honor to bring to your attention the case of one Ruggiero (or Ruggero) Baccini, who was ordered deported to Italy on March 19, 1919, on the ground that he is an alien anarchist; that he disbelieves in all organized government; and that he is an opponent of all organized government.

When he was arrested under a warrant issued on May 11, 1918, authority was granted for his release under a bond in the sum of \$1,000, which was furnished. On April 19, 1919, the commissioner of immigration at Ellis Island, New York Harbor, notified the bondsmen to produce the alien at Ellis Island for deportation not later than April 25, which time was later extended until May 12 at noon. The alien was not produced, and I have the honor to request, subject to your approval, that the appropriate United States attorney be instructed to institute suit, with a view to collecting the penalty of the bond, which is inclosed herewith.

Respectfully,

JOHN W. ABERCROMBEE,
Acting Secretary.

EXHIBIT No. 3.

PARSONS CASE.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
BUREAU OF IMMIGRATION,
Washington, August 25, 1919.

J. E. HOOVER, Esq.,
*Special Assistant to the Attorney General,
Department of Justice.*

MY DEAR MR. HOOVER: With further reference to the cases of Nicholas Michaeloff and Robert Parsons, two anarchists against whom this bureau has instituted deportation proceedings, I am transmitting herewith a copy of a communication from the commissioner of immigration at Ellis Island which has to do with the suggestion of your department that the bond of these men be increased. You will note that our Ellis Island office is of opinion that their present bonds are sufficient guaranties of surrender upon the basis of the evidence now in its possession. If you have anything further to submit on the subject, the bureau will be glad to give the matter further consideration.

Very truly, yours,

ALFRED HAMPTON,
Assistant Commissioner General.

EXHIBIT No. 4.

PARSONS CASE.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
BUREAU OF IMMIGRATION,
Washington, November 18, 1919.

JOHN T. CREIGHTON, Esq.,
Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice.
(Attention Mr. Hoover.)

MY DEAR MR. CREIGHTON: The bureau refers to your letter of August 19, in the case of the alien Robert Parson (or Parsons), and has to advise that the department has this day issued its warrant directing the alien's deportation to Canada at Government expense.

For the commissioner general:

ALFRED HAMPTON,
Assistant Commissioner General.

EXHIBIT No. 6-A.

INSTRUCTIONS TO AGENTS.

APRIL 21, 1920.

DEAR SIR: I note from the morning papers that there appears a statement to the effect that in the habeas corpus proceedings being conducted before Judge Anderson, the conclusion has been drawn that the agents of the Department of Justice have engaged in provocateur work in the Communist Party and that they have assisted in stimulating the activities of this organization and disseminating some of its literature.

As I am not familiar with the evidence which has been introduced in the proceedings referred to, I, of course, can not state as to whether or not the conclusion which has been drawn has been properly or improperly drawn from the testimony. I, however, can most emphatically state that no testimony of any nature truthfully given could in any way lead to the conclusion that agents or confidential employees of the bureau of investigation of the Department of Justice have ever engaged actively in the activities of the Communist Party of America. One of the long-standing rules of the bureau of investigation, with which you are no doubt familiar, is to the effect that none of the employees of the bureau of investigation who may be engaged upon investigations of organizations charged with radical activities are to in any way participate actively in the councils of such organization.

In regard to the specific instance referred to, I gave very definite and specific instructions to all of the employees of the bureau of investigation who were assigned to make investigations of the Communist Party of America when that organization was formed in August, 1919, that they were under no condition to become actively identified with the pernicious activities of this communistic group. In order that the bureau of investigation might be fully advised as to the plans and propaganda proposed by the Communist Party, it was necessary to secure the services of persons who could obtain information as to such matters. The confidential employees of the bureau of investigation engaged upon these investigations were employees of long standing, as it is common knowledge to those who are in any way conversant with radical activities that the same groups of persons who were pro-German during the period of the war are to a large extent pro-Bolshevik at the present time, and will continue to participate in any movement which has for its purpose the embarrassment of the Government of the United States and the undermining of its institutions and form. Therefore, the persons who were engaged upon these investigations were persons who had been specially trained and who were well conversant with the instructions issued to all employees of the bureau of investigation.

As you are well aware the confidential employees of the Bureau of Investigation are specially investigated and no appointment is ever made of this nature until the reliability and trustworthiness, as well as the loyalty, of the employee is definitely established.

The reports of the confidential employees are regularly made and forwarded to Washington and a careful check is made upon the same and information contained therein is forwarded to the respective field offices for their information. In no instance has a confidential employee of the Bureau of Investigation ever participated in the preparation, publishing, or distribution of any of the literature of the Communist Party; likewise, no confidential employee of the Bureau of Investigation has ever appeared upon the platform either publicly or secretly and spoken in favor of the Communist Party of America.

I assume that there has been a wrong interpretation of that section of the confidential letter of December 27, 1919, which states that if possible undercover employees should arrange to have meetings of the Communist Party on the night of January 2, 1920. As Friday evening was the usual meeting night for communists to assemble, it was for this reason that Friday, January 2, 1920, was selected for the date upon which the arrests were to be made. It occurred to me that in some instances postponement of meetings would be made for various reasons to either the 5th or 6th and it was my intention that where such proposals were being seriously considered that the confidential employees wherever possible were to endeavor to have the meeting held on the regular night, in order that the arrests might be facilitated. I see nothing in this instruction which in any way could be construed as bordering upon even the outermost fringes of provocateur work, since the meetings were going to be held upon some date and there could possibly have been no objection to the meeting being held on a certain night. I might state that confidential employees have never been instrumental in the calling of any special meetings of any of the unlawful organizations and in the instance referred to in the confidential letter of instructions it was not the case of the calling of a special meeting, but the mere fixing of a date upon which the regular meeting would be held, which certainly is not actively participating in the councils of the organization.

I have communicated the above to you in order that you may be fully informed as to the instructions issued from Washington in connection with the arrests of January 2, 1920. As you no doubt will be called upon to explain fully the operations incident to these arrests, I thought that an understanding of the operations conducted throughout the country would be of assistance to you in this matter.

Very truly, yours,

FRANK BURKE,
Assistant Director and Chief.

EXHIBIT No. 6-B.

INSTRUCTIONS TO AGENTS.

[Strictly confidential.]

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION,
Washington, December 27, 1919.

DEAR SIR: I have already transmitted to you two briefs prepared in this department upon the Communist Party of America and the Communist Labor Party with instructions that these briefs be carefully examined and studied for the purpose of familiarizing yourself and the agents under your direction with the principles and tactics of these two respective organizations.

You have submitted to me affidavits upon various individuals connected with these respective organizations, stating that these persons are aliens and members of the organizations referred to. I have transmitted to the Commissioner General of Immigration the affidavits submitted by you with the request that warrants of arrest be issued at once. This action is now being taken by the Bureau of Immigration and warrants of arrest are being prepared and will shortly be forwarded to the immigration inspector of your district.

Briefly, the arrangements which have been made are that the warrants will be forwarded to the immigration inspector who will at once communicate with you and advise you of the names of the persons for whom he has received warrants. You should then place under surveillance, where practicable, the persons mentioned, and at the appointed time you will be advised by me by

wire when to take into custody all persons for whom warrants have been issued.

At the time of the apprehension of these persons every effort should be made by you to definitely establish the fact that the persons arrested are members of either the Communist Party of America or the Communist Labor Party. I have been reliably informed that instructions have been issued from the headquarters of each of these organizations to their members that they are to refuse to answer any questions put to them by any Federal officers and are to destroy all evidence of membership or affiliation with their respective organizations. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that you at once make every effort to ascertain the location of all of the books and records of these organizations in your territory and that the same be secured at the time of the arrests. As soon as the subjects are apprehended, you should endeavor to obtain from them, if possible, admissions that they are members of either of these parties, together with any statement concerning their citizenship status. I can not impress upon you too strongly the necessity of obtaining documentary evidence proving membership.

Particular efforts should be made to apprehend all of the officers of either of these two parties if they are aliens; the residences of such officers should be searched in every instance for literature, membership cards, records, and correspondence. The meeting rooms should be thoroughly searched and an effort made to locate the charter of the Communist Party of America or the Communist Labor Party, under which the local organization operates, as well as the membership and financial records which if not found in the meeting rooms of the organization will probably be found in the homes of the recording and financial secretaries, respectively. All literature, books, papers, and anything hanging on the walls should be gathered up; the ceilings and partitions should be sounded for hiding places. After obtaining any documentary evidence, the same should be wrapped in packages and marked thereon, the location of the place, and the name of the persons obtaining the evidence and the contents of each package.

Violence toward any aliens should be scrupulously avoided. Immediately upon apprehending an alien, he should be thoroughly searched. If found in groups in meeting rooms, they should be lined up against the wall and there searched; particular evidence being given to finding the membership book, in which connection the search of the pockets will not be sufficient. In no instance should money or other valuables be taken from the aliens. All documentary evidence taken from an alien should be placed in an individual envelope, provided for the purpose, which envelope should be marked showing the contents contained in the same, whether they were found in the possession of the alien or in his room, and if in the latter the address of the house should be given as well as the name of the alien and the officer who obtained the evidence. A duplicate record should be kept of all evidence thus obtained. At the time of the transfer of the alien to the Immigration Inspector, you should also turn over to the Immigration Inspector the original evidence obtained in the particular case, plainly marked so that there may be no complaint made by the Immigration officers as to the manner in which evidence has been collected by the agents of this bureau.

I have made mention above that the meeting places and residences of the members should be thoroughly searched. I leave it entirely to your discretion as to the method by which you should gain access to such places. If, due to the local conditions in your territory, you find that it is absolutely necessary for you to obtain a search warrant for such premises, you should communicate with the local authorities a few hours before the time for the arrests is set and request a warrant to search the premises.

Under no conditions are you to take into your confidence the local police authorities or the State authorities prior to the making of the arrests. It is not the intention nor the desire of this office that American citizens, members of the two organizations, be arrested at this time. If, however, there are taken into custody any American citizens through error and who are members of the Communist Party of America or the Communist Labor Party, you should immediately refer their cases to the local authorities.

It may be necessary in order to successfully make the arrests than you obtain the assistance of the local authorities at the time of the arrests. This action should not be taken unless it is absolutely necessary; but I well appreciate that where a large number of arrests are to be made it may be impossible for the same to be made by special agents of this department, in

which event you are authorized to request the assistance of the local police authorities. Such assistance should not be requested until a few hours before the time set for the arrests in order that no "leak" may occur. It is to be distinctly understood that the arrests made are being made under the direction and supervision of the Department of Justice.

For your own personal information, I have to advise you that the tentative date fixed for the arrests of the communists is Friday evening, January 2, 1919. This date may be changed, due to the fact that all of the immigration warrants may not be issued by that time. You will, however, be advised by telegraph as to the exact date and hour when the arrests are to be made. If possible you should arrange with your under-cover informants to have meetings of the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party held on the night set. I have been informed by some of the bureau offices that such arrangements will be made. This, of course, would facilitate the making of the arrests.

On the evening of the arrests this office will be open the entire night, and I desire that you communicate by long distance to Mr. Hoover any matters of vital importance or interest which may arise during the course of the arrests. You will possibly be given from 7 o'clock in the evening until 7 o'clock in the morning to conclude the arrests and examinations. As pointed out previously, the grounds for deportation in these cases will be based solely upon membership in the Communist Party of America or the Communist Labor Party, and for that reason it will not be necessary for you to go into detail into the particular activities of the persons apprehended. It is, however, desirable that wherever possible you should obtain additional evidence upon the individuals, particularly those who are leaders and officers in the local organizations. The immigration inspector will be under instructions to cooperate with you fully, and I likewise desire that you cooperate in the same manner with the immigration inspector at the time of the arrests, as well as following the arrests. At the hearings before the immigration inspector you should render any and all reasonable assistance to the immigration authorities, both in the way of offering your services to them and the services of any of your stenographic force. It is of the utmost necessity that these cases be expedited and disposed of at the earliest possible moment, and for that reason stenographic assistance and any assistance necessary should be rendered by you to the immigration inspectors. An excellent spirit of cooperation exists between the Commissioner General of Immigration and this department in Washington, and I desire that the same spirit of cooperation between the field officers of this bureau and the field officers of the Bureau of Immigration also exist.

I desire that the morning following the arrests you should forward to this office by special delivery, marked for the "Attention of Mr. Hoover," a complete list of the names of the persons arrested, with an indication of residence, or organization to which they belong, and whether or not they were included in the original list of warrants. In cases where arrests are made of persons not covered by warrants, you should at once request the local immigration authorities for warrants in all such cases, and you should also communicate with this office at the same time. I desire also that the morning following the arrests that you communicate in detail by telegraph, "Attention of Mr. Hoover," the results of the arrests made, giving the total number of persons of each organization taken into custody, together with a statement of any interesting evidence secured.

The above cover the general instructions to be followed in these arrests, and the same will be supplemented by telegraphic instructions at the proper time.

Very truly, yours,

FRANK BURKE,
Assistant Director and Chief.

EXHIBIT No. 7.

THE REVOLUTION IN ACTION.

[Part II of a popular survey prepared in the Department of Justice.]

Neither time nor the purpose of this review will admit here anything that might approach a competent story of what has been happening in the world since the Russian revolution. The undertaking is briefer and sufficient for the need.

When a structure is ready to fall a slight jar is sufficient to topple it. For years, even before the war, the pillars of Russian society were being loosened and undermined. They had never been firmly set.

The foundation for stability is character. For character there must be independence. But dependence, through centuries, had been the Russian rule. Without an exception her modern institutions were built upon western credit, and had never natural embedding in the native soil. The dynasty was furrowed. The State, what there was new of it, with all its machinery for the handling of finance, industry, and social governance was made of pieces of foreign importation or grafted upon the decay of feudal remnants. In spite of vast resources and the possession of an almost unlimited labor supply, the capital for industrialization was not of Russian supply. Nor was its engineering or mechanics. All leaned for repair and maintenance constantly upon the western support. The war cut the prop. By March, 1917, had there existed a Russian independence capable of amputating Czarism, with all its corruptions and inefficiencies, and conserving what was left of industrial equipment, no debacle need have occurred. There might have been a saving national character and competence. But beneath the Romanoff failure stood nothing strong of Russian inheritance. Bolshevism, a German fabrication, the only virile political organization—the only body of thought that could assume control of affairs—became the stake upon which helpless Russia was impaled.

Two principal circumstances conspired to develop this tragedy; the personal dynamics of the Communist leadership, and the paralysis of opposition. They are both tremendously significant. The situation enabled a small group of determined men, knowing exactly what they wanted, and driving ruthlessly for it without hesitation or scruple, as to wield the whole engine of power; to crush every obstacle of resistance and to win the most singular victory of minority dictatorship the world has ever witnessed. These circumstances illustrate, alike, the almost unbelievable potency which in favorable fields attaches to the acts of individual men, and the disaster which at any time may happen where hysteria grips the public mind while vacillation, purposelessness, and fear in all magistracies stampede and trip, grow frantic, stumble, and fall beneath the feet of mobs.

Leon Trotzki, writing in "The Proletariat and the Revolution" (1904), said: "We have got to summon the revolutionary forces to simultaneous action. How can we do it? First of all we ought to remember that the main scene of revolutionary events is bound to be the city. Nobody is likely to deny this. It is evident, further, that street demonstrations can turn into a popular revolution only when they are a manifestation of masses; that is, when they embrace, in the first place, the workers of the factories and plants. To make the workers quit their machines and stands, to make them walk out of the factory premises into the street; to lead them to the neighboring plants; to proclaim there a cessation of work; to make new masses walk out into the street; to go thus from factory to factory; from plant to plant, incessantly growing in numbers, sweeping police barriers, absorbing new masses that happen to come across, crowding the streets, taking possession of buildings suitable for public meetings, with audiences coming and going, bringing order into the movement of the masses, arousing their spirit, explaining to them the aim and the meaning of what is going on; to turn, finally, the entire city into one revolutionary camp; that is, broadly speaking, the plan of action. The starting point ought to be the factories and the plants. That means that street manifestations of a serious character, fraught with decisive events, ought to begin with political strikes of the masses."

And thus the Russian revolution—the revolution—with which civilization now has still to deal, did begin, precisely as the literal interpreters of the German Karl Marx had hoped and wished and worked for.

There was nothing particularly smacking of human sympathies and merciful regard in their frame of mind. It was coldly intellectual, brutal in its disregard for casualty or the hardship of mistake, and there are pictures of its cruelty that can never be effaced.

[Translation from Petrograd Pravda, Dec. 13, 1919.]

"OUR MISTAKES.

"Here are a few of the things which I saw in Detskoye Selo:

"First on the children's colonies: The colonies seen by me and two other comrades was a two-story house in which were lodged groups of children of

two colonies. These colonies belong to the commissariat of people's enlightenment. There were not more than 80 children. We visited it in the evening. It was dark and not a single adult present. Finally we found the door and entered. At a table a small boy was fumbling around trying to light a lamp without a chimney. With the help of this lamp we began to inspect the sleeping rooms. On the floor, dirty and thin, pale children. On a small table stood an iron dirty dish. This dish was used to serve the food, and according to the children was always in this state. The children were hungry, cold, dirty, thin, abandoned, frightened, without care, and made a very oppressive impression. One felt that the children had not fallen into the hands of people who were really caring for them. The children related how the 'countess' (the administrative power of the colony) handled them roughly and constantly threatened to send them to a colony of criminals. The children told us how on one occasion they were on the point of sending a group of children to such a colony for 'telling the truth,' and this 'truth' was that the children protested when the 'countess' did not give them their full ration of bread.

"Who is in charge of the education and the health of the workmen's children? The children were right. The heads are former countesses, who evidently consider it beneath their dignity to give motherly caresses to children of workmen. Thus the children remain all night without adults to watch over them.

"Who is to blame? Why have the criminals not been punished? Who will answer?

"There is another fact which must be mentioned.

"Detskoye Selo is rich in beautiful palaces and artistic productions, antiques, furniture and other valuables. Here the bourgeoisie lived like Tsars.

"And all of this was created by the hands of workmen, by their sweat and blood. Therefore, it would seem that when power passed into the hands of workmen and peasants, then all this wealth should also pass, as it had been created by workmen, and that we should protect this wealth from destruction, robbery, and looting.

"The director of the communal economic enterprises of Detskoye Selo relates that in Selo more than 35 palaces were destroyed and that all that was in them was looted, carried away, broken up, and torn to pieces. We went with Comrade Kubiak into one of such houses. It is difficult to describe the horrible scene we found. Something barbaric and criminal met our eyes. How could one even imagine such barbaric uncultured methods?

"The beautiful rooms had been converted into water-closets. The manager explained that some one had the clever idea of bringing horses into these houses. In all of these 35 rooms our military detachments had lived.

"All of this causes bitter thoughts but requires that each of us should make every effort to raise the cultural level of our military units. One must set about seriously to develop cultural work among the red army soldiers. Military sections, and political sections, must convince our comrades in the red army that we have not the right to destroy and steal what has been created by the hands of workmen and taken away from the bourgeoisie at such a cost and at such a sacrifice."

As the third year of the war drew toward its close, Russia was ready to drop out of the line of combatants. Her loss of life had been fearful. None other of the belligerents had in this respect suffered so deeply. Incompetence, treachery, and failure of munitions supply were responsible for the dispiriting defeats in the field. Profiteers had enriched themselves at the expense of the nation, but the masses were in want. The people were hungry and they were heartbroken. An alternative had been reached of rest or ruin. There was no chance for rest.

On March 12 and 13, 1917, the striking mobs of Petrograd, the sullen soldiery, and bitter crowds from the Baltic to the Ukraine, rose and struck down almost in a single bloody day and night the régime of Romanoff exploitation. The act was spontaneous, like the convulsion of a chained animal in brute rage bursting its fetters—and had not a whit more plan or reason.

Yet there had been long preparation for it. During more than a half century groups and generations of persecuted, fought, prisoned, and exiled men and women who loved freedom though they, under absolutist repression, could but grub and grope in the ways that might lead to it, had struggled to plant the seeds of revolution—social, industrial, political, fundamental, red revolution in the Russian field. The labor had begun before 1860, in the reign of Alexander II. Tourganieff, as a student saw then, "among the students of the universities and the higher technical schools, a new and strikingly original

type. Young men and women in slovenly attire who called in question and ridiculed the generally received convictions and respectable conventionalities of social life, and who talked of reorganizing society on strictly scientific principles. They reversed the traditional order of things, even in trivial matters of external appearance, the men allowing the hair to grow long and the women cutting it short, and adding the badge of blue spectacles." The appearance, manners, and conversation of these original "nuts" and "parlor bolsheviks" were apt to shock ordinary people, but to this they were profoundly indifferent, for they had raised themselves above the level of so-called public opinion. For æsthetic culture, sentiment, and refinement of every kind they had an open contempt. Professing extreme utilitarianism and delighting in paradox, they were ready to declare that a shoemaker distinguished in his craft was a greater man than a Shakespeare or a Goethe, because humanity had more need of shoes than poetry. Tourganieff called these warped intellectuals "nihilists." They soon ceased to occupy an academic and meaningless position. Under the influence of the literature of St. Simon, Godwin, and the German, Stirner, they fell naturally into the line of anarchistic thought; Michael Bakunin, perhaps the most active of all anarchist propagandists, rapidly organized them into aggressive conspiracy against the existing order.

There are some important differences between anarchists, conventional socialists, and communists, or Bolsheviks. The anarchist, generally speaking, accepts the Marxian theory of economics but balks at its materialism. Neither does he accept the notion that in a new order of things there should be any control of the people except that which may be expressed through the free will of each individual, or an industry built only upon the plan of any other than voluntary cooperation. He wants no state or government of any authoritative sort and would found all life and morality upon a liberty wholly without superior restraint.

From the middle of the nineteenth century, then, until the opening of the twentieth, the Russian anarchists, in conjunction with less radical revolutionaries, some socialists, some communists, and some even no more than democrats, waged bitter, painful and unsuccessful battle against the Russian feudal and absolutist order. They bombed and they assassinated. They were imprisoned, exiled and sometimes killed. We have a remembrance of them from the proverb "In darkest Russia," and they gave to Siberia the grim and universal meaning of its name. Even before 1905 the constant pressure of this dissatisfied and ever militant minority, which had given illustration of its rebellious striving to every Russian home, was rewarded, although, to be sure, in feeble part, by greater liberties in the government scheme of things, by much improvement in the hard condition of the working class and the establishment of promise, at any rate, of a national parliament and the electoral franchise. The movement which previously had been, among the more intelligent of the people, a revolutionary protest of the minority, became a majority hope, and it was broadened, embraced more of the masses, and was lifted to the level of a genuine, popular, national evolution toward early victory that appeared to have constitutional democracy as its end. This belief seemed to be encouraged when, after the Russo-Japanese war of 1904, and the pathetic and otherwise futile peasant and workmen's uprising in 1905, far-reaching political reforms were proclaimed from the Crown, the Duma was established, and the Empire moved formidably into the heavy task of industrial recuperation. But between 1905 and 1914 there went on an opposite yet simultaneous development in the Russian life which was sinister indeed. At the top, the wealthy noblemen and fat handlers of big business, pursued, and stupidly, a policy of conscienceless exploitation and profiteering; the landlords cling to their huge estates without serious care for the poor and illiterate peasantry that tilled the soil; and with equal tenacity the merchandising rich held on as stubbornly in indifference to the general welfare. Beneath, among the workmen, and among the peasants also, so far as the latter could be reached, developed a persistent propaganda of the communists.

While most of Europe was convulsed with the disturbances produced in the historical revolutionary period 1830-1848, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels had engineered what is known as the First International, and issued its communist manifesto, the accepted platform of radical social revolution to this day. The international liaison as social revolutionists then achieved it had no widespread body of support and it perished in 1869. A new international, the second, was formed after the subsidence of the Franco-Prussian war, holding during its term with varying fortune of strength and influence until it was broken by the

opening of the World War in 1914. In connection with this a constant social revolutionist conspiracy was maintained throughout Europe, in England, Australia, and America. The different conditions in the different countries colored the character of this conspiracy. It was affected also by the growing development of trades-unionism and the rapid adoption everywhere of collective legislation designed for the benefit of the workers. For the most part the revolutionary implications of the socialist program were suffered to become subordinate, while it was in the sporadic and local violence of strikes and furtive riots that the spirit of unrest in the lower levels of society found its physical vent. At the same time there was developed in the governmental policies of both Europe and America a striking trend toward gradual adoption of socialist principles, and an evident growth in governmental paternalism. The anarchists had their little groups, did now and then a lunatic crime, and kept alive their strange philosophy, but were nowhere considered a grave menace to society at large.

The Syndicalists of Western Europe, however, still skeptical of any adequate victory for the working class under the capitalist system drove strongly on with their agitation for the doctrines of sabotage and the ownership of industry by labor. To sabotage means to "slow up," and sabotage carries in its meaning a theory of Proudhon that the way to gain possession of the means of production is simply to quit work so that the helpless investing owners must of necessity, in the presence of a demoralized and crippled state, transfer without compensation the title. Meanwhile grew, too, the strength of the British Independent Labor Party, with its program of socialistic innovations, now, in its antebellum amendments, scarcely distinguishable from that of Communism itself—leaving out the soviet and its dictatorial means. In Germany Liebknecht had lifted the standard of communism which is but another name for socialism of the liberal Marxian statement and the Spartan extremists, with their affiliated Independent socialist group, were contesting vainly for leadership against the more moderate and majority Socialist Party. La Salle had founded there a vigorous revolutionary faction in the ranks of union labor. In Italy and Spain the revolutionary thought had followed in the anarchist and syndicalist path rather than after the Marxian lead. Revolutionary action was chiefly manifested, as in Portugal, in the exercise of local strikes. In Belgium, Holland, and Scandinavia was repetition of the typical revolutionary picture of the period—the masses of labor swinging through trades-unionism to political organization, carrying always an underburden of more violent elements but holding them in strict minority of power. Most of the European socialists were affiliated with the Second International, but while they talked glibly of the revolution to come, they were neither strong enough nor daring enough to put it in present action.

The doctrines of revolutionary communism were brought to Russia not by the anarchist, Bakunin, or the agitators of the earlier revolutionary periods. It was a German importation, not only in its idea, but in the personality of its principal preachers.

Not that the bare idea of communistic or cooperative form of a sort had no Russian nativity, for in the Russian land system it had existed from time immemorial. In all the northern part of Russia, above the more fertile and productive fields of Poldavia and below, the nobles owned the country village communities, the communities included the land around them, and the latter was farmed on a communal plan under direction of the village hetman whose duty it was to allot the season's labor. The peasants, therefore, broadly speaking, had never entered the contractual stage of industrial culture, and while both they and the groups of tradesmen and craftsmen who lived with them had carried out the cooperative idea in their industry more habitually and more extensively perhaps than an equal number of people anywhere else in Europe, they had not developed it in modern mechanical industry, and they had not paralleled it with institutions of self-government based upon representative democracy. These people, as a matter of course, have taken to the governmental system of the socialists with much naturalness and turned to it inevitably as their line of least resistance toward the Marxian goal. In other words, they have used the means that were readiest to their hand.

Nickolai Lenin and Trotski had been for a decade or more leading spirits in the international social revolutionary plot which had been inchoate from the time of Marx and is still in operation, the Russian Bolshevik outbreak being simply an enacted part of it, a more or less finished chapter. Lenin

is a Russian of good family. Trotski is a German Jew. Both had lived under the old Russian régime; both were intellectuals; both of the fanatic temperament; and both became enamored of the Marxian philosophy of social rebellion very early in life. They moved naturally into the usual experience of such affiliations, as had Kropotkin. They were hounded by the Russian police, imprisoned, escaped, wandered in the underground corridors of political exile across Europe—even to America and back again. Plausible evidence exists that both had been adjuncts of the German international police system. Both had kept in touch with the Russian communist conspiracy. They were its heads and commanders; Lenin the abler director, Trotski the indefatigable executive. The former was in Russia when the preliminary revolution occurred in March. That was a bloody affair and made a great noise in the world, but neither for terror or change was it comparable to the real revolution which came on afterwards in late October. Following a day or two of riot at Petrograd when the Czar was dethroned, the whole nation in a throes of desperation threw off the absolutist yoke. There were killings in the capital, in the army and the navy, murder and pillage and turmoil in the towns and countryside—but no destruction of the State. The machinery of that was kept intact and a provisional government, in which Kerensky became the chief figure, filled the vacant places of personnel. The Duma sat. A constitutional assembly was promised but never held.

Lenin knew the provisional experiment would be short lived and hastened to prepare for its demolition. He attended the formation of the workmen and soldiers' councils and saw that dependable communists were given places on the prominent committees. Daily he exhorted the masses in their conclaves and daily he issued his theses of program and comment. They were appealing documents to the crowd and eagerly read.

The provisional government appeared formidable enough at the first. It was a national body and had the backing of all the upper classes. The Allies hailed it as a savior. The Germans feared it and began to dig its grave. They backed Lenin and the communists with money and summoned Trotski from New York. He left his \$12-a-week newspaper job in the East Side and went immediately.

The new government, the Duma, and the classes these represented, however, were fearful almost from the start. It had no constructive plans that were feasible. It saw the rising waves of proletariat rebellion, but did not comprehend the menace.

"They did not know that strange, powerful pressure of elements let loose by revolution in the mass of the people, and particularly in the masses of soldiers—the pressure which strained to the utmost the whole organism of the State. They did not grasp the reasons for the apparent slowness with which the government exercised a cooling influence on these elements, nor realize that any imprudent measure might only enable these elements to break out afresh and sweep everybody before them, and first of all the officers, and with them the entire Russian Army."

The government was corrupt. It played with politics and quarreled for factional power.

"Now began a tragic misunderstanding; one side lost faith in its strength, which was real, while the other, hearing its power talked about, believed in this myth. The former grew demoralized, and thereby contributed toward a reestablishing in the masses of the anarchial—bolshhevik influences—the other side became bolder and bolder in its attacks on the revolutionary democracy, and so irritated the people, to the great joy of the unruly elements."

A further passage from Kerensky's *Prelude to Bolshevism* is illuminating:

"It is enough to run over the leaves of the *Izvestia* of the central executive committee for July-August to be convinced of the immensity of this struggle between the statesmanlike and the anarchist parties to see how the class feelings were more and more subdued in the minds of the democracy to the needs of the State, how the longing for work and order was reviving, and how the consciousness of the necessity of sacrifices for the country's sake was penetrating deeper and deeper into the minds of the people. One should remember how unselfishly the army organizations and commissaries struggled on the front with bolshhevik propaganda, 'My precious life first,' how many of them redeemed their unwitting errors of the first days of revolution and sanctified their struggle with cowards and traitors by their blood. One has only to look through the many hundreds of resolutions drafted by battalions,

regiments, and divisions at that time to be convinced that a process of purification was rapidly going on in the minds of the soldiers themselves, and that the position of the commanding officers was steadily getting better. At the same time the activity of newly formed local government bodies was developing in the country at the expense of the soviets and various self-appointed committees. The leading soviet papers acknowledged this fact and thought it to be a symptom of the healthy development of revolutionary statesmanship, but first and foremost we must not forget that everywhere the bolsheviks were then a small minority and were playing the part of an irresponsible opposition."

But it was not by any means an inactive opposition. On the contrary, the bolshevik agitators, including the most vigorous and acute personalities in the entire revolutionary personnel, were spreading their propaganda, organizing their party branches, sowing sedition, sabotizing industry, corrupting the military, and spreading demoralization and destructive thought wherever they could; preaching their everlasting cries for "Mass action," "Down with the State," "Long live the proletariat revolution" in Russia then just as they have been doing ever since in every country they have been able to reach. For these bolsheviks, as they are otherwise called, have no patriotism whatsoever, no sense of moral scruple or responsibility recognizable by our standards, and they move toward the destruction of the State and the seizure of property with a facility comparable to that of high-class criminals with forces thoroughly trained.

Internationalism, from the first, is a keystone of the Communist structure. Marx and Engels had laid it. "Proletarians of the World, Unite!" is the never-forgotten slogan. The French Syndicalists, following earlier examples, had lined their courses out on a narrower map. The revolution they had planned and the rebellions they had taken part in were of national aim only. But Lenin, Trotzki, Joffe, and Kropotkin, and their fellow intriguers have realized all along the impracticability of Communist reconstruction on the merely national scale. Their superbroad conception of the industrial problem, overestimating its international phases, has carried them away from sane realization of either the necessity of nationalism or the loyal patriotism essential for its support. The Russian Bolsheviks, then, were traitors. Russia for them was but a means, not an end, in the Communist conspiracy, and already, even in these earliest days of the growing Bolshevik power, the same presses, which were grinding out the propaganda, papers, and pamphlets for the poisoning of the minds of the Russian people who still had thought and respect and love for decency and the fatherland, were printing also translations by the thousands for distribution in foreign lands.

The Provisional Government did not know how to distribute production, bread, or munitions. It did not know what to do with the land question. Its armies were whipped.

"The wine of hate for all things new had gone to those wise heads. Russia and the Provisional Government obtained no counsel, no aid from the military chiefs. Its navies grew disorganized. Its officers were mocked."

"All criminal elements" were "engaged in written or oral propaganda inciting to disobedience and refusal to carry out the battle orders."

Kerensky tried desperately to halt the ruin. "I struggled, from first to last, I struggled." With responsibility forced into his hands he rushed frantically from city to field, from the council chamber to the firing line, white, desperate, fatigued, loaded with impossible burdens and doomed to defeat. "I did not succeed; the man who, in his own way loved Russia passionately, was doomed by some power to bring about the victory of those who hated and despised her."

The reactionary army clique saw his downfall looming and under Korniloff attempted a coup of counter-revolution October 25. It failed utterly.

Lenin had forced a furtive Communist revolt in July. Kerensky arrested him but allowed his escape to Finland. He was back in a few weeks. His partisans had proselytized everywhere. They won the military, and won the peasants. They won the leaders of the workmen. Under the banners of peace, bread, and land, they marshalled the masses of all colors of thought, hoisted the red banner and on October 27, and thence into November, launched, at last, the Bolshevik deluge. In vain had Korniloff's appeal been spoken:

"People of Russia. Our great country is dying. The hour of its end is near * * * All you in whose breasts a Russian heart is beating; all you who believe in God in the Temples; pray to the Lord to manifest the greatest

miracle of saving our native land * * * I can not bring it upon myself to hand over Russia to its hereditary enemy, the German race and to turn the Russian people into slaves of the Germans, but prefer to die on the field of honor and battle, so as not to see the shame and the infamy of the Russian land. Russian people, the life of your country is in your hands!"

But the life of Russia was not in her people's hands. It was in the hands of Lenin and Trotzki and the crazed mob, who mutilated it without compunction.

"Compromise," said they, must be struck at the roots * * * the extraordinary powers and irresponsibility of the provisional government can no longer be tolerated. The only remedy lies in the creation of an authority composed of representatives of the revolutionary proletariat and peasants, whose policy would be based upon the following principles: Immediate abolition of all private land property, that of the land owners to be abolished without compensation, etc.; labor control of all production and distribution upon a scale embracing the entire State; nationalization of the most important branches of industry * * * ruthless taxation of large investments and property and confiscation of war profits; annulling of all secret treaties, and the immediate proposal of a democratic peace to all nations. The following immediate measures must be decreed; revocation of all repressions directed against the labor classes (read "Bolsheviks") and their organization; abolition of the death penalty at the front, and restoration of complete liberty of propaganda and of all democratic army organizations."

We shall see later the Bolshevik conception of a democratic peace, and we shall realize also how the radical proposals thus early made, sharp as they seem, were hardly more than camouflage for the thoroughgoing political and industrial iconoclasms that were ultimately intended.

When the Korniloff revolt was crushed very much as a waxen bullet might be upon impact against a mountain of stone, the flood of outrage was opened and the red mob turned loose. It was a very great mob, a mob of the frenzied, poverty-stricken soldiers and sailors and workmen and peasants of all races. "Abominable massacres occurred daily." The better-known and more helpless of the rich were chased and slaughtered as sheep by wolves.

Upon the breaking of the Duma and the crash of the old order, the councils of the soviets of soldiers and workmen immediately furnished the only avenues by which the restoration of a semblance of control could be had. These bodies, indeed, were already organized, and had been hashing over their plans for months. They elected at once a central executive committee with Lenin and Trotzki at its head, and the celebrated "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" was begun. One might, perhaps, as well say, "dictatorship of the mob." In plain English that is what it was, with this reservation, that the mob was organized and its dictatorship came from its demagogues. But though begun, it was as yet far from complete. The mob remained to be communized, and there were still but a comparative handful of Communists, party wise, to do the communizing. The anarchists had no plan. The Conservative Socialists had no plan. Nor had they adequate machinery to have prosecuted a plan had there been one. Lenin had a plan ready. He had found it in the commentaries upon the gospel of Karl Marx, and had struck it out according to his own designs. The first thing was to seize everything seizable and convey as much as possible of it into the agencies of the executive committee of the soviets. The next thing was to block out a skeleton organization for the administration of the stolen property and such surviving industry as might be induced with the help of this capital. The next was to repress opposition, from any quarter, against the new control; to provide red armies, and distribute food to the workers. It remained, also, to bribe the peasantry by communist settlement of the land question and to yield Germany an allowance of peace which stripped Russia of all its western border dominions and destroyed in a moment the results of Russian expansion policies which had been consummated only through the lapse of centuries and the sacrifices of wars innumerable.

The bolshevik government, therefore, proclaimed an intention for peace to the outside world. There was no sincerity in it. The nature of the peace was equivocal. A surrender to Germany was already under contract and the peace so schemed was such that under cover of its respite the Russian revolutionaries could continue and strengthen the international proletariat conspiracy. The aim of that was not to strike down Russian law and order alone but to compass the destruction progressively of every other national government. The Allies understood this situation, at least in part, and whether wisely or not, refrained from participation in the infamy at Brest-Letovisk.

The soviet central council went swiftly to work upon the preparation and pronouncement of a communist constitution and an endless number of laws and decrees. They came out in sections and were completed in piecemeal covering a long period that is not yet ended. The skeleton form of the soviet government thus produced is simple enough. It begins with the universal suffrage for all workers whether on land or in the shops, and even admits participation of men and women engaged in professional callings. The voters, according to locality and nature of employment, elect representatives in the branch councils of soviets of their particular commune; these in turn choose representatives to more central councils and again, finally, the all-Russian Congress of Soviets, the authoritative body from which issue the seventeen or more executive committees or commissaries which take the responsibility of administering the departments throughout from foreign affairs to the public health. At the head of this structure, dominating it in the name of the proletarian dictatorship, Lenin and Trotski have remained steadily supreme, governing its performances by the sheer might of their personal genius rather than by any titular power formally bestowed. It has taken a long time to put this system into smooth operation, but the actual present accomplishment of it is undeniable and is a tribute to the spirit of mutual cooperation native to the Russian people, as well as to the determination and organizing genius of the men who made it.

Of imperative importance for consideration at the very beginning by any political element which sought to retain power was the land question—the bone of Russian contention for decades. The greater proportion of the Russian people are peasants. They had never tilled land, except upon rentals and tithes and taxes generally so burdensome that neither they nor the village communes under the landlord ownership had usually more to show for their season's work than the bare necessities of living. The peasants wanted the land and they must have it. And the workers in the towns and villages also wanted land. A distribution without some dissatisfaction was impossible, but a tolerable disposal was quickly made. All private property in the Russian lands was declared confiscated without compensation to the former owners. Every land inheritance in the nation was summarily wiped out—stolen outright by the bolsheviks and the future title of it was announced to be in the bolshevik state itself. But the use of the land was granted to the individual peasants everywhere according to their ability to till it, under the direction of local supervisors. The proceeding was a rough one and with difficulty done, but it answered the purpose. The peasants have their land, and although the bolshevik state has not hesitated to appropriate the produce most freely, its victory upon the peasant adherence has steadily grown.

Many authentic stories have accused the bolsheviks of completing their overturn of the old order of things by a nationalization of women. What the bolsheviks have done is to destroy effectively the marriage institution. They have done that by making divorce obtainable upon no other ground than whim and on the application of either party, and by decreeing that the status of children shall be identical whether born in or out of wedlock. No penalty whatever of either law or convention attaches to cohabitation without marriage.

To do all these things and more, and to crush the church also as ruthlessly as the State had been broken, required an evergrowing increase of the strictly bolshevik power as contrasted with the initial sway of the loose mob then at the basis of command. Proselyting went on more vigorously than ever. The propagandizing increased, and through the destruction of free speech for other opinions was made manifold more effective. Throughout 1918 the chaotic and mob-struck condition of Russia is indescribable. The terrors and hardships and thieveries and sufferings that occurred in it can, in their relation, see the light only upon an ill day. Hordes of people were compelled to subsist upon the rations of famine, and the drink of almost raw alcohol. Fighting went on intermittently practically everywhere, as this or that faction of divisionists, or reactionaries, or plain bandits struggled for control of loot. The whole land was filled with roving soldiers, singly or in bands, long since deadened to any sense of discipline and forced to live upon what they could beg or steal. Nevertheless the soviet did establish, gradually, a foundation for the fabric of their notions of restoration and the trend toward more normal and sustaining life was, upon the whole, steadily maintained.

Information coming out of Russia is scant and unreliable. There have been so many interests engaged, so many animosities aroused, so many distrusting created, so much of fear and prejudice, so much downright chicanery and wrong, that upon both sides of sympathy either for the revolution or against it, has subsisted continual falsehood and confusion. The history of these days, like that of the war itself, can only be written in fullness and accuracy long after we are gone. But we do know, at least sufficiently for an understanding of their meaning, and to catch the lessons they imply, the main things that have happened.

During 1918 the initial attempts of the Communists to found their State were a dreary failure. It was impossible to establish communism in Russian industry—off the farms. In any manufacturing business superintendence is an indispensable knowledge, and the workmen, of course, did not have it. The whole of the machinery can not work without the power of the engine that drives them, nor can the engine be serviceable for power without the means of transmission. It is the brains and capital at the head of an industrial plant that furnishes the dynamics of its operation, and it is the organization of skilled executives and managers which furnishes the transmission. The bolsheviks at the outset deprived the plants of both direction and management by driving off those to whom these responsibilities had formerly been intrusted. The result was inefficiency, stagnation, and collapse. As soon as the first few months of ruinous and furious persecution to the bourgeoisie had passed, there came a realization of the difficulty, and the soviet government was driven by necessity to restore as far as practicable the original personnel.

The men who had been in charge of running the mills and larger businesses, a majority of whom still survive, were forcibly put in their old places, not upon ownership but upon pay. And indeed the workmen themselves had to be kept upon pay. Even to this day the communists have never in Russia established the system called for by their platform. In the matter of the distribution of food and housing they have in large degree attained it, for these have gone by allotment, and with the maintenance, to a considerable degree, of equality, but in other respects merchandising and trade has gone on in its form of transaction much as formerly except that the ownership of all but the small concerns has been in the Soviet Republic.

The economic condition of Russia as a general proposition can almost be said to have been more anarchist than socialist in its principle, for the people, whether their former class was high or low, faced with the alternative of work or starvation, have gone to work of their own accord and often without any other compulsion. The money has been provided by means of the printing press and it was given arbitrary purchasing powers by the Soviet fiat.

We shall comprehend better how the Russians have been able to live if we remember that the great mass of the country had always depended upon a primitive order in which each community was, for the main necessities of food and clothing and shelter, self-sustaining. It is only within the last two or three months that the real communization of industry has begun to be seriously attempted on a large scale, as the armies in the field have been released from duty and are being distributed over the land as literal "armies of labor." This is being done with an "iron discipline" and with an enthusiasm of popular willingness of cooperation which can not in itself be said to be an evil augury for the developments of the future.

While the Russian Bolshevik presses are prolific enough in the spread of propaganda and are replete with very elaborate and learned treatises upon the academic aspects of the revolution—while they are full of discussion about technicalities of reorganization, they have been strangely silent concerning the actual life of the Russian people, and most guiltily reticent toward the story of Bolshevik terrorism. There has been a terrorism ruthless beyond description. No authoritative figure can be given of the number of men and women who have been killed by the Russian revolutionists for the repression of the bourgeois. There is little doubt, however, that it exceeds in the aggregate 200,000 persons. An American representative writing to the Department of State from Finland on June 25, 1919, has stated:

"The fall of bolshevism (an event that did not occur), which seemed inevitable even two months ago, has created the wildest terrorism. People are executed without trial in masses on mere suspicion of sympathy with the Soviet's enemies. Agitation is growing abroad, created chiefly by Russian Jews, and others who are interested in prolongation of the Bolshevik régime and against the aims of the Gens. Kolchak, Yudenich, and Denikin, who are de-

nounced as representing the supporters of Tzarism. The attempt is made also to convince foreigners that improvements are going on in Soviet Russia with an ardor which would seem to indicate the hopelessness of the situation. Some American journalists, received and well treated by the Bolsheviks, also have reported favorably. The Russians who are opposed to the Soviet government naturally believe these to be bribed. I think this unlikely. I have seen a number of them and it is my belief that their conclusions are due rather to prepossessed ideas and to ignorance of real conditions and unfamiliarity with the language. It is my own strong conviction that even the dark elements are by now disillusioned. The bulk of the workmen and the peasants, to whom so much has been promised, are disgusted. The increasing support which the Bolsheviks found in 1917 has gradually disappeared. Reliable opinion counts not more than 160,000 communists by conviction, and these are mostly young workmen. Terror and necessity compel work for the Soviet government but the work is much incumbered by theory, inexperience, and corruption. The continued existence of Soviet Russia is largely due to enormous stocks accumulated during the war. Even now colossal quantities of cotton goods exists."

And a refugee from Soviet Russia, on July 2, 1919, has stated:

"Terror is daily increasing, and people are shot not only for agitation against the soviet government or for any other accusation; the nonbelonging to the soviet service, or relative being abroad, or the possibility of intending to join a new government are sufficient reasons for execution. For instance, Bakharev was shot because he was not serving the soviet and his wife had gone abroad."

"He was a young officer who lived in Chergov with the parents of his wife, and his mother went to Moscow. When, in August, 1918, all officers had to be registered he could not appear, living in the Ukraine. His old mother was then arrested in Moscow. Hearing this he managed to go to Moscow and see the commandant. He was immediately arrested and his mother remained one and one-half months longer in prison. The judgment against Bakharev was the following: "Is not in soviet service, lived in the Ukraine, appeared only after arrest of his mother. To be considered a White-Guardist and to be shot." The cook, serving at the extraordinary commission, where Bakharev and many thousands have been shot, related afterwards that serious differences arose between the so-called "Commissars of Death," as to whom Bakharev's clothes should belong. Bakharev was very well dressed, and it is usual that what the delinquent wears belongs to the commissary of death carrying out the sentence. When Bakharev was brought to the "room of souls" where prisoners were taken for final questions and for taking away of any valuables, commissaries of death noticing his fine clothes began to quarrel as to who should execute. After long disputes and quarrelling they decided to toss; the winner had then hastened to carry out the sentence on this unfortunate Bakharev. The officer Kamensky was executed on a supposition of the commissary that he was expecting a change of government to which he might be useful; and people dangerous to the soviet power must be shot."

"Beginning from the middle of April terror increased, people were shot on suspicion of being in sympathy with Kolchak or the allies. After the decree of Lenin concerning the cleaning out of all counter revolutionists in the rear, on account of the danger from Kolchak and others, besides executions, many have been taken as hostages. The names of only a small percentage of those shot are published. When I was two and one-half months in prison at the extraordinary commission I had occasion to notice that of 36 shot 7 names were published. And another of 58 persons, 11. Another instance (executions are going on nearly every night), either the names are not published at all or only very few, and the names of thieves and other criminals are always mentioned. Many people were shot by mistake, especially in August and September, 1918. Officer A. Leite, who was in prison from July, 1918, until February, 1919, told me that from the day of the attempt on Lenin's life 80 to 100 persons were shot daily, of which on an average 60 per cent were officers and former policemen, 20 per cent bourgeois, and 20 per cent workmen belonging to the capital Right Socialist-Revolutionary or the Menshevik party. Mistakes were made, due to the arrests of persons having the same name, not much attention being given to the first names. Often men were shot at night and called up for judgment or release the following day. For belonging to the Socialist-Revolutionaries at large, the president of the trades-union of workmen in Smolensk was arrested and shot. But his trial was the next morning. When called up the chief jailor declared that prisoner was sent to the "staff of souls."

"In the house where I lived a man called Vlov died of smallpox. His corpse was sent to the cemetery and remained there with several hundred others unburied for three weeks, although the widow asked several times to be allowed to inter her husband. It was refused and all were buried in one big grave. A workman, Polianker, receiving 800 rubles a month was not able to supply his family with sufficient food. His wife was unable to work and had to look after the children. Friends helped with 200 to 500 rubles a month; still they remained hungry. He could not stand to see their sufferings and killed them all and himself. The administrator of my houses received from the soviet government 400 rubles a month; I gave him 300 and besides he earned another 700. Still he could not find sufficient food for his only daughter, and committed suicide. A wealthy woman, Mrs. I. Shaposnikov, committed suicide leaving a note saying, 'Hunger and cold forced me to do this.' The president of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission, Dzerzhinsky, appeared last New Year's Eve in your prison and commenced asking all the reason of their imprisonment. Most declared that they were absolutely ignorant why they were arrested. I was next to Col. Fraise. When Dzerzhinsky asked him, and the colonel knew only English and French, whilst Dzerzhinsky only Russian and German, I had to translate in French. The colonel's exhausted condition induced me to transmit only part of Dzerzhinsky's talk: I do not wish to increase his sufferings. No wonder he was exhausted. Long imprisonment, bad food were sufficient reasons. Our rations were: Morning, one-eighth to one-fourth pound of bread and 1 teaspoonful of sugar; at noon, very small amount of bad fish. Nothing more, only after the second half of December we received at 4 o'clock portion of fish. That is how prisoners are kept for several months in the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission. In the regular prison food was slightly better. We received 1 pound of bread and twice, at 12 o'clock and 4 o'clock the same fish and some sort of porridge, consisting chiefly of water. Still, all prisoners want to be transferred to the regular prison in order not to hear the nightly shootings of the extraordinary commission. Espionage and provocation are developed to highest perfection. Agents of the extraordinary commission are everywhere * * * in all departments, railroad carriages, streets, and private houses. A. Hoelzke, with family and several friends, was arrested and remained one and one-half months in prison for expressing the opinion that the Bolsheviks would scarcely be able to collect the extraordinary taxes as they were too high. I. Lopatin was arrested because he said in his home that he did not believe the Allies would recognize the Bolsheviks. His servant denounced him and he sat two months.

"Even Bolsheviks are alarmed at the misdeeds and the newspapers publish sometimes protests of dissatisfaction against the numerous executions of innocent persons without judgment or even examination. Krylenko and Klakonov protested in meetings and newspapers; they agitated against the right of the extraordinary commission to execute people without proof or guilt. The official 'Izvestia' answered 'If among 100 executed 1 was guilty, this would be satisfactory and would sanction the action of the commission.' Still, a compromise was found. The extraordinary commission obtained the right to execute without judgment only in places where martial law was declared. But as the cities are long ago under martial law, and in other parts of Soviet Russia martial law can be declared any time, nothing has changed. In fact, prisoners whom it desires to shoot without judgment are simply brought to Moscow, as was done February last with those officers of the organization in Vladimir. No meetings except those arranged by the Bolsheviks are allowed, and those caught at any gathering are shot, or interned, according to the character of the meeting, in former monasteries.

"February last the Socialists—Revolutionaries were permitted to publish their newspaper, which, however, was suppressed after a few days. From time to time antibolshevikist proclamations appeared, but in case it is discovered where they have been printed, the owner of the typography, even if he knew nothing of it, is shot. Such was the fate of the owner of the typography Ivanoy.

"About half of the arrested persons sentenced to death are not examined, and it is for this reason that so many deplorable mistakes occur. During the time of my imprisonment five such cases transpired."

"Discontent and hatred against the Bolsheviks are now so strong that a shock or the knowledge of approaching help would suffice to make the people rise and annihilate the communists. Considering this discontent and hatred it would seem that elections to different councils should produce candidates of

other parties. Nevertheless, all councils consist of communists. The explanation is very plain. That freedom of election of which the Bolsheviks write and talk so much consists in free election of certain persons, a list of which has already been prepared. For instance, if in one district six delegates have to be elected, seven to eight names are mentioned, of which six can be chosen. Very characteristic in this respect were the elections February last in the district —, Moscow Province where I have one of my estates. Nearly all voters, about 200, of which 12 are communists, came to the district town. Seven delegates had to be elected and only seven names were on the prepared list, naturally all communists. The local soviet invited the 12 communist voters to a house, treated them with food, tea, and sugar, and gave each 10 rubles per day; the others receiving nothing, not even housing. But they, knowing what they had to expect from former experiences, had provided for such an emergency and decided to remain to the end. The day of election was fixed and put off from day to day. After four postponements the soviet saw no way out. The result was that the seven delegates elected by all against 12 votes belonging to the Octobrists and Constitutional Democrats. But these seven, and a number of the wealthier voters were immediately arrested as agitators against the Soviet Republic. New elections were announced three days later, but this time the place was surrounded with machine guns. The next day official papers announced the unanimous election of communists in the district of Vereia. After a short time peasant revolts started. To put down these Chinese and Letts were sent and about 300 peasants were killed. Then began arrests, but it is not known how many were executed.

"Of course, no freedom of professional trade union exists, either. If a union elects as member of the committee one not belonging to the communists, the union and committee are subject to all sorts of ill-treatment, like requisition of their premises, arrests of members, house searching, etc., as it happened to the printers' union who elected Mensheviks as managers.

"This is in general the political situation. Appalling terror, defenseless population, espionage, and provocation are the factors thanks to which the soviet government still exists."

This description, while it is given by an actual sufferer under the bolshevik régime who certainly has had no cause to be friendly to it, may be questioned for its accuracy by the revolutionary apologists. But the essentials of it are true and the official documents of the soviet government itself disclose in a report of an examination into the doings of the extraordinary commission, confession that the number of executions ran into the thousands. The personal stories, also, of other refugees with regard to executions and prison conditions often picture these to far more revolting details than is found in the relation above cited.

Pictures of the economic situation are supplied in the following quotations gathered from reliable sources:

"For three months Moscow will have no electric lights and no gas; tramways are running on three lines only and until 6 o'clock. The price of 1 cubic sashen (7 feet) now is 4,800 to 5,000 rubles (normal price 30 to 50 rubles). About 50 per cent of houses with central systems of heating are no longer fit to use. The pipes have been frozen and burst.

"Water and canalization pipes also burst, and there is nothing to replace them with and no workmen either.

"The best houses were occupied by bolsheviks, having no fuel they used the parquet, and when pipes burst and canalization would not work they used a room as water-closet, and when it was no longer possible to live in such a flat, they requisitioned another one, remarking cynically: 'Let the bourgeois clean the place after us; plenty of lodgings remain for us yet.'

"Furniture from private houses and storehouses is requisitioned and given, free of charge, to communists and commissaries; commissaries take and sell the best furniture, carpets, and pictures.

"Most factories and mills have stopped working and the machines left to their fate. The rest, due to want of fuel and raw material, will soon follow."

"Zinoviev remarked of these: 'They barely groan and scarcely cover the cost of fuel.'"

"Twenty-four rubles per day has been declared as the minimum wage, and February last an increase of 30 per cent was accorded, but not paid for want of currency."

"Payment of wages is delayed four or five weeks, sometimes two months. According to Commissary Gandler, who was imprisoned with me, most of the

printed money is used for propaganda in all countries. In February large amounts were sent to India and Afghanistan. As the exchange has now fallen too much, the Bolsheviks send diamonds and other jewelry stolen from safes and during searches, and from the results of their sale the propaganda is carried on. Still this is not sufficient, and from the beginning of March the Bolsheviks have been printing foreign money. I am repeating the words of Commissary Gandier. I believe he said the truth, as he was furious on account of his arrest. He could reveal much, as he was a special commissary on the frontier and received particular instructions for passing agitators."

"The bourgeois are literally starving, and they are selling their last belongings. Belonging to the third category, they receive three-fourths of a pound of bread, and during the whole winter a few pounds of herring and other fish. Sick persons receive increased nourishment if certified by the Soviet doctor and a local Soviet. (Before the war the number of physicians in proportion to the population in Russia was 1 to 12,000.) My wife obtained this grant after a series of petitions. And besides the ordinary allowances sick persons received in the course of one month 5 pounds of lentils and one-eighth pound of salted butter."

"On all the market places one can see the bourgeois selling clothes and other belongings to be able to buy food."

"The agricultural situation is desperate. All agricultural equipment stolen from the estates is spoiled and there is no one to repair it. It would not be of much use, as there are no seeds, and persons possessing such do not intend sowing them, but try to sell on the sly, as the Bolsheviks took last autumn's crop from the peasants at a low figure. Peasants just cultivate sufficient for their own needs and a quantity, which is allowed, is kept. Former private estates are managed by a commission of all kinds of rabble or by a Soviet steward. In most cases all that was left on the estate disappeared, enormous accounts are presented, money received, and except immense losses, the estate produces nothing. Live stock, formerly stolen and sold by the Bolsheviks, now is requisitioned from the richer peasants."

"A drive by cab from the center of the town to the station (about 2 miles), 250 to 300 rubles. Very often fallen horses remain in the streets for several days. Moscow is slowly dying from hunger, cold, and epidemics. (An authorized statement by Mr. Davidson, of the Red Cross, states on March 23, 1920, that typhus and the white plague are at present raging in Russia, millions being affected and a terrible loss of life in consequence.) Corpses remain unburied for two to three weeks; coffins can not be had in sufficient numbers. Frequently some unfortunate bourgeoisie makes a coffin out of a chest of draws for his dead child. Suicide is now not at all uncommon. Last winter corpses of persons which did not die from any contagion, were buried temporarily in the snow. Hungry dogs were feeding on these corpses, and one could find in streets near the cemetery hands and legs torn off these bodies."

"All Moscow is seen daily on the Sukharev market buying and selling. Everything can be bought for money; forged passports cost from 1,000 to 5,000 rubles. For all sort of false orders and certificates prices vary according to their importance. I have myself paid 10,000 rubles to a war commissary for a forged certificate for the right to travel by railroad."

"At the time of my departure from Petrograd (May 17, 1919), the condition of affairs in Bolshevik Russia was very distressing. The majority of the industrial enterprises are not operating. In the Moscow district 63 textile factories stopped working last fall, and the picture appears with respect to the textile industry in the vicinity of Ivan-Voznesensk, near Petrograd, etc. The chemical industry, the paper industry, and many others are likewise in a miserable condition."

"This lamentable picture of our country's decay has led to terrible complications for the workmen on account of the great shortage of provisions and an enormous increase in prices. Bread, "black bread"—"rye bread"—because there is no wheat left, costs 35 to 40 rubles per pound, in Petrograd; sugar, 180 to 200 rubles per pound; butter, 140 to 180 rubles; tea, 200 rubles; men's footwear, 1,200 to 1,500 rubles per pair, etc. Horse meat costs 30 rubles per pound. In Moscow prices are about on the same scale. On the big market in Moscow (Sukharev) dog meat is being sold openly, and the official Financial Gazette publishes statistics showing the fluctuation in the price of such meat (5 to 7 rubles per pound). Even a box of matches costs between 3½ to 4 rubles."

"I could mention many more such figures, but I believe that these are sufficient to prove to you how great the material sufferings are which Russia's

population must bear, even though it was promised a communistic paradise. Oh, it has obtained a very unsatisfactory position!"

"On account of the shortage of provisions, fuel, soap, and other commodities that are absolutely indispensable for the public health and welfare, contagious diseases are spreading everywhere. In Moscow the official statistical bureau calculates 10,000 cases of contagious diseases per week. Of that number, 8,000 cases are typhoid fever (typhus exanthematicus). In Petrograd 30 per cent of the patients in communal hospitals die of ordinary consumption, which is the result of famine. Coffins for burying the dead are lacking, and in Moscow, the same coffin is used for various interments; a corpse is transported to the grave in a coffin, buried without the coffin, which is sent back to the city to be used for the transportation of the next corpse, etc. * * *

"In Petrograd there are only about 700,000 inhabitants left out of 2,500,000. Two-thirds of the city's population, which I represented in the Duma, no longer exists; a part migrated into the country, another part died of starvation, etc. Some believe that we can only count on 2,000,000 or 2,500,000 industrial workmen, instead of the 10,000,000 or 12,000,000 Russia had prior to the war of the domestic crisis. The remainder has spread like chaff before the wind, among the small bourgeoisie and the agricultural population. To use a comparison, I might say that the industrial proletariat's oases in Russia have been devoured by mighty stretches of sand out into the country's desert, and now it is the country that rules over the towns."

Statistics illustrating the present industrial paralysis of Russia might be cited to great length and from authentic sources, but their presentation is unnecessary. To prove the corpse, it is not required to enumerate the bones. Maxim Gorky, in a newspaper statement made in March of the present year, declares flatly that communism in Russia has been a failure. All our recent translations from the Russian press, and from intercepted wireless dispatches, contain constant reference to the deplorable situation of the mills and factories, of the breakdown of transport, the extreme scarcity of railroad equipment and rolling stock, and of the absolute necessity of obtaining new materials, machinery, and expert assistance from abroad to begin the work of restoration.

Much has been said in recent months concerning the value of a reopened Russian trade. While the fundamental resources of Russia, her forests and minerals and, no doubt considerable quantities of hemp, remala, the Russian people and the Russian Soviet have but scant capital for the work of purchase. They have no credit system that is dependable enough to constitute a basis for reliable currency; what gold they have belongs largely to Roumania and is in no greater supply than should be needed in the necessities of home use. The Russian situation for the Russians seems desperate, indeed. Beginning in February, 1920, the policy of the Soviet Government is developing toward out-and-out conscription of labor as a last drive for relief. It is a forlorn hope, indeed, although the people seem to be submitting to it with an acquiescence that amounts to support, and it represents the last and worst phase of "proletariat dictatorship," the utter submergence of the individual with all his liberties and hopes and possession, physical and moral, in the Red deluge—a communization which has in it no more elements of humane consideration than are to be found in the colonies of ants and bees. This, let it be remembered, is precisely the goal of the philosophy of Karl Marx.

In spite of the Bolshevik determination for peace, partly executed in the settlement with Germany, they have never been able to maintain peace, nor have they altogether wished it. The country has been constantly torn by civil wars induced by factional and reactionary disturbances and by racial conditions. Beginning with the old Russia of the Muscovite kings as the nucleus, the empire has been built up by a long series of conquests, and it was held together less by any sense of national interest than by the tradition of force. Below greater Russia and extending to the Black Sea, where the vast, rich plains of the Ukraine, inhabited by more than 40,000,000 people who have always felt a nationality of their own. They had been in old time rivals not only of the kindred Slavs in Great Russia, but of their cousins, the Poles, who stretched in their settlements over the areas to the northwest. Almost immediately upon the Bolshevik irruption the Ukrainians declared for independence, and the fight for it has not yet ended in spite of the recent Bolshevik success. The Provinces along the Baltic, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and the regions below Poland, Ruthenians, and Bessarabians, were also people with races distinct from the old Russian brood. And these, too, have all struck for independence, and have quarreled with one another and still quarrel with each

other over the questions of boundary and respective prestige. There has been constant fighting and of a very bitter kind. Against all these the Bolsheviks have been compelled to present a front of arms. They were faced again by allied and reactionary armies across the northern frontier. There were battles also to be fought in the Caucasus among the Cossacks, who were never Slavs, and even below the Caucasus in the region southwest of the Caspian, where new races may be encountered almost with each new day's journey.

And there was fighting in Siberia. There have been atrocities committed, cruelties like those of the middle ages, murders, burnings, sacks, and rapine, committed by all contenders, as the tide of victory or defeat might turn. And within the bloody circle have been other violences, all gradually put down. The presence of so many enemies forced into the Bolshevik position an element of patriotism not contained in its ideology. If the Bolsheviks were traitors to the Empire and to the old State, they were not betrayers of their own cause and the natural predisposition of the Slav people, as such, to maintain their racial dominance, has found abundant expression.

The constant attitude of enforced self-defense operated as a posture to aid the Communist movement. The Communist leaders were able always to use the pressure from without as an argument for unification within. In this respect the revolution in Russia had a parallel in the revolution in France. By the same token, the aggressive spirit of nationality and drive for conquest which, following the French revolution, threw French armies in hordes of invasion across Europe, may yet find its Russian counterpart, for not only have the Russian Slavs begun already to conceive and speak of the Soviet "Empire," but within the purview of their purpose from the very outset, inherent to the internationalist excuse at the foundation of the idea of proletarian dictatorship, is the spread of communism everywhere attainable, and by force.

As a central organization of impetus the Russian Communists established on March 2 to 6, 1919, the Communist International at Moscow, the celebrated Third International which is to-day still the central organ of the international revolution. This Third International was made up of delegations and memberships from all the principal social revolutionary parties in the world, and through the liaison thus formed the international revolutionary plot is being steadily, and with increased formidableness, maintained. In this Third International the Marxian manifesto of 1848, with little essential alteration is made the proclamation for action, and Lenin and Trotzky, as in Russia, are the dominating personal influences.

Throughout 1918 the foreign propaganda work of the Bolsheviks was most industriously carried on. It was spread with ample means and by an army of devotees in all the countries immediately bordering Russia upon the west and south. The Bolshevik conspiracy was carried to Finland, to Sweden, to Denmark, to Holland, to Germany, to Poland, to Hungary, Bulgaria to Turkey, and it was carried also into the very heart of Asia.

The chief attack of this was upon Germany. The German armies in Russia were flooded with Bolshevik pamphlets.

"Brothers, German soldiers: The great example of your comrade Karl Liebknecht, the eminent leader of international socialism, the persevering and long-continued struggle which you have conducted by publishing newspapers and pamphlets, by numerous demonstrations and strikes, the struggle for which your government has thrown into prison hundreds and thousands of your comrades, and lastly, the heroic revolt of your sailors of the fleet, serve as a guarantee to us that the mass of the working class of your nation is ready to enter the decisive struggle for peace. Hasten to our assistance! In the name of the workers' and peasants' government we guarantee that our soldiers shall not move one step forward if you decide to take into your hands the flag of peace, and even if the struggle for peace inside of your own country takes away part of your forces from the front.

"There is only one means of putting an end to the present butchery and misery of the workers—the overthrow of the government and the bourgeois class, in the way that this was done in Russia. It is solely by mass effort, by the revolt of the masses, by a mass strike paralyzing all economic activities and all war industries; it is solely by a revolution and the establishment of a peoples' republic in Germany by and for the working class, that an end may be put to the slaughter of the toilers of all lands, that a general peace can be achieved."

The bolshevik ambassador, Joffe, carried into Germany 25,000,000 rubles, and spent it there in aid of the Spartacists and in the formation of innumerable nuclei of discontent in the industrial plants. There were in 1918, as an ac-

companionment of the revolution which took over the government upon the fall of militarism and the Kaiser's abdication, very many manifestations of mass strikes and violence calculated toward a breakdown of the old industrial order.

Fraina, in his pamphlet upon the social revolution in Germany, relates:

"In January and February, 1918, all this agitation expressed itself in action. Great strikes and demonstrations against the war and for peace broke loose in Germany and Austria. This action verged on revolution. In Austria, in one district alone, 90,000 were on strike, and the total must have been over a million. It was the initial mass action of the proletariat, out of which might have emerged general revolutionary action against war, against capitalism and Imperialism. The strikes and demonstrations in Austria broke loose against the orders of the union bureaucracy and a majority socialism. When the news of these strikes reached Trotski he badgered the Austro-German diplomats into postponing the conference for a week, hoping that the movement would broaden and deepen. But in Austria majority socialism, in spite of not having acted to produce the movement, placed itself at the head of and betrayed it into 'legal' action. The movement spread to Germany, where hundreds of thousands of workers were involved, but again the union bureaucracy and majority socialism acted against the movement. Majority socialism ordered the strikers back to work, preached incessantly against a revolution, betrayed the German proletariat and the Russian proletariat, the cause of socialism and peace. 'The movement was not broken by the Government but by counterrevolutionary socialism. That is the great fact.'

"In May, 1918, German imperialism staked all on one desperate offensive and lost. Instead of peace, the unparalleled butchery brought more misery to the German proletariat. The revolutionary unrest developed more acutely. Great industrial strikes broke loose, in spite of the union bureaucrats, and appeal to the strikers to "be calm"—particularly in the Essen regions. The Kaiser made a speech to the Krupp workers, warning them of the terrible results of revolution in Russia. The soldiers were uneasy, and mutiny spread. On August 5, German soldiers at Reval, 'corrupted' by Bolshevik propaganda, disarmed themselves to show they were tired of war. The telephone wires were cut. And at a meeting held the same day speakers denounced the war. The cry was: 'Enough of bloodshed! We do not want to fight any longer!' Two hundred soldiers were arrested. At Felling, in Livonia, at the end of July, trouble started in the garrison, which thereupon received orders to place itself in readiness for the western front—an order never executed. Detachments sent to enforce the order joined the rebels, and, singing revolutionary songs, they all marched to the railway station, divesting themselves of military insignia. Upon their arrival at Meiskull depot they met detachments coming from Pärnu and Weissenstein on their way to the western front. After a meeting, the new soldiers divested themselves of military insignia and dispersed with cries: 'Enough of war! Peace and bread!' Revolutionary Socialists in Bremen issued a pamphlet declaring that not only the Scheidemann majority Socialists, but also the Independent Socialists of the Haase type, were simply adepts in radical phrases while avoiding deeds. The International Socialists and Communists insisted upon revolutionary action.

"In October, the Radical Socialists of the Spartacus Party redoubled their agitation and in the course of it issued this characteristic appeal.

"Workers, awake! The dreams of world domination of German imperialism have vanished into smoke. On heaps of corpses, in seas of blood, they wanted to establish that domination. Vain are their efforts. The sword can not forever rule the world. In one night everything has collapsed. The shameless traffic with the destiny of the peoples of the East has brought its fruits; it forced the peoples of the West to unite for defense. Everything is falling. On the field of battle—defeat after defeat; in Flanders, the Balkans, in Palestine. The alliance of the Central Powers that was to serve as the means to the world domination by Germany has failed completely. Hardly had the robbers ended their quarrels over the spoils * * * Germany and Austria for Poland, Austria, Turkey, and Bulgaria for Roumania, Germany and Austria and Bulgaria for the Dobrudja—than Bulgaria leaves the coalition and concludes a separate peace with Germany and England. The German people do not want world dominion, they do not want war, they want peace. But already German soldiers are being driven from the western front in order to force Bulgaria to continue the war. The German proletariat, which has nothing to eat, whose wives and children suffer and languish * * * this proletariat must now take the Bulgarian proletariat by the throat and force it to fight! Thus the ruling

clique in Germany tries to retain power. It feels the ground slipping. It is bankrupt; bankrupt on the field of battle, bankrupt in external and internal policy. The hairs of the masters are standing up in fright at the consequences of their criminal military adventures. A shiver runs through their body at the very thought of the awakening of the tortured and deceived proletariat, at the thought of the people's judgment."

On October 17, the executive committee of the social democratic party, which has been the majority party in Germany, declared against revolution:

"All this agitation by confused irresponsible persons using Bolshevik revolutionary phrases, who are trying to rouse the workers to strikes and demonstrations against the Government that would have no sense nor object at present, makes it more difficult to bring about peace and democratize Germany."

Except in the acceptance of the severities imposed at Versailles the Social Democratic Party has not known how to make peace, nor has it evolved a plan to satisfy the industrial dispute. It has not known what it wanted.

The old government was, indeed, "bankrupt on the field of battle, bankrupt in external and internal policy." In early November, upon the first anniversary of the social revolution in Russia, "the German fleet was seized by mutinous sailors. Sailors at Kiel acted in favor of the revolution, organized councils of workmen, soldiers, and sailors; and when a government delegation arrived at Kiel to give orders the delegation itself was given orders to bring back to Berlin.

The revolutionary movement showed itself strongly throughout Germany. But the time had not come for Communist success, or even for ultraradical supremacy. Throughout the remainder of the year, and indeed until the present time the unrest in Germany has continued to develop more and more toward as complete a revolution against the old order of things in all its social phases and political establishments, as has happened in Russia. But as in Russia the Communist form, provided by the tradition of the agricultural cooperative system of land tenure furnished the key to political reconstruction, so the disciplined habit and accustomed reliance of the Germans upon a responsible executive and bureaucratic administration, should turn the revolutionary outbreak in Germany now apparently in process into somewhat different and more orderly political means.

The national spirit of the Finns was concerned most immediately with the securing of political independence, long hoped for, and it operated to defeat the Bolshevik ends, at least temporarily. But in Hungary, where want and hunger and industrial depression had produced a sad situation indeed, and where in the person of Bela Kun there existed a powerful leader, Bolshevik revolution, as we know, was for a time successful. The terrors and horrors accompanying it were worse than had happened in Russia. Popular revulsion against these together with intervention of the Allies, after a brief period threw down the Bolshevik régime. The reaction, however, still stands upon a precarious footing. In Poland, also, the political revolution has until now controlled the course of events, the Polish people, under the pressure of land-owning nobles being apparently more concerned with foreign conquests than with industrial reform.

From the formation of the third international the international revolutionary conspiracy has swiftly become a terrible menace to civilization indeed. It has behind it the asset of ample funds. It is strengthened by a carefully prepared plan. The parties concerned in it are in deadliest earnest; they are determined; they know what they want, and they are forging for it without rest.

During the last year the agents of bolshevism invaded every country in Asia. They allied themselves with all the rebellious groups of all the native peoples, from Japan to Korea to India, and to Suez. They have been stirring up toward social revolution and revolt against Caucasian dominance every radical element throughout this tremendous area. They have been organizing it, and they have been plotting to give it the coherence of a common movement. The influence of this invasion, and of the conspiracies carried with it are of gravest consequence for the immediate future. The Reds have been setting the fires for a revolution against Great Britain in India. They have won over the people of Afghanistan for a revolution soon to break; they have connived for the now threatening Mohammedan insurrection involving more than 50,000,000 of people in the bribes from Mesopotamia to Egypt. They have made the preliminary organization for revolt in Persia. They have brought into the international revolutionary conspiracy great numbers of Chinese and Koreans. They have increased industrial discontent in Japan.

Nor have they been by any means idle in Europe. The Third International has spent untold millions in propagandizing Germany and laying the foundations there for the revolutionary effort now in bloody progress. They have brought into line for the same sort of development all the radical elements of the masses in France, Holland, Denmark, Scandinavia, Italy, Austria, and Spain. They have, through the instrumentality of the I. W. W., won thousands of adherents in Canada and the United States. They have proselyted among the foreign population of this country to a disconcerting degree. They have brought Mexico to the verge of bolshevik uprising. They have worked industriously to disaffect the negroes of the United States. They have taken their revolutionary plans and thought to the lower classes of South America. They have affected and inflamed the native population of most of the islands of the West Indies. They won control of the laborers in Panama.

The methods pursued in this campaign of laying the foundations and preparing the ground for universal revolutionary cataclysm have been everywhere the same. An inexhaustible press has been pouring out tons of radical literature in all tongues, and these have been distributed by the millions. They have roused, wherever they could, every element of discontent to realization of the "class struggle" and to the temptations of mass action. The conspirators have planted their missionaries in the armies and in the navies, in the shops and in the fields, in the manufacturing plants, in the labor unions, in the mercantile fleets, in the transportation industry, in the newspaper offices, in the magazines, and even in churches and schools. Everywhere their tactics have been to establish individuals and groups, even though the latter might be small in number in any one spot, throughout the whole mass of population and industry, there to "bore from within," to preach the revolutionary doctrine, to stir up class hatred, to spread without scruple all the revolutionary implications of the Marxian invention.

Let it not be understood that when we say the revolutionists have been propagandizing among the tribes of Asia that they have been carrying to all these people the doctrines of socialism or anarchy. The typical Asian tribesmen would be no more able to glimpse Marxian social philosophy, even in simpler terms, than to comprehend the intricacies of Chinese metaphysics. What the bolshevik emissaries have done, rather, is to stir up, foster, and help the political revolutionary elements in all these lands, practically all of which are held in suzerainty and economic dependence by the various nations of western Europe, and more particularly by Great Britain. In ordinary times none of these elements, or all of them taken together, could muster strength enough to constitute a formidable menace against the overwhelming power of civilization; but these are not ordinary times, and any very general precipitation of this sort of disturbance, if it should take place while the arms of Europe are tied at home, must engender consequences deplorable indeed. Conditions are somewhat the same in Egypt. There is a strong political revolutionary body in this British dependency, but its adherents are largely of the wealthy classes, and it is dominated by them. Egypt has also an agrarian problem. The fellah is a peasant, and, like the peasants of Russia before 1917, he does not own the land he tills but lives in a proletariat status, owning no more as a result of his toil at one end of the year than at the other. The Red Socialist International is working upon both these Egyptian elements, fraternizing with the political rebels on the ground of antilmperialism and striving to reach the mob of the lands and the town with the preachments of communist sedition.

Not even continental Africa has escaped this insidious bolshevik propaganda attack. There are very many thousands of both white and black labor that have been brought into touch with the red program, and upon the black people in many districts is being maintained a pressure from the agitators pushing toward the arousal of racial rebellion.

In Spain and Italy, as in France, but more dangerously in the former, the spirit of discontent and soreness of the laboring class in the industrialized towns is intense. The development of it to the revolutionary stage is being pushed by the Third International, and the radical bodies have become very strong. In Spain especially the disharmony between employers and employed is extremely acute. The Italian unrest has political implications of a serious nature that deal only indirectly with the Socialist movement. A great body of Italian thought desires to overthrow the Kingdom to make room for the establishment of a Federal Republic. Serious revolutionary outbreaks have occurred in the Kingdom since 1914, and the play of politics there is still dangerously

inflammatory. The radical Socialists and anarchists are striving hard to kindle the flame and take advantage of its havoc. Holland is a hotbed of industrial revolutionary conspiracies. The Dutch laboring classes there dwell fiercely upon the class struggle and have the upper hand in the trade-unions. At the moment of this writing, under the sabotage of these influences, a serious dock strike at Rotterdam is on, which the international of radicals among the marine workers of all nations hope to induce very presently into an international stagnation of shipping. Indeed the reds have been long at work sabotizing the shipping trade. They have their spies and emissaries on all the avenues of maritime commerce diligent in this business, and there had been many a wreck and fire criminally done by these men.

As before the German War the German general staff had planted ahead of the German advance into Belgium and France covert gun positions and formed there its groups of espionage, so the Third International, but lately in session at Amsterdam, through its agencies of affiliations in planning its positions and groups throughout the field of international industry. It plants its individuals and groups agitators in the factories, in the labor unions, on the railroads, among the ships, and in the gangs of floating labor, and spreads them according to design and in contemplation of "the day."

It is not true to say even to-day that there is a revolution of the working class in the United States. Good pay and happy homes do not revolt. The great mass of the people of the United States are well paid and in comfortable homes; and they may do a great deal of growling, but one might as well expect a sane man to murder his wife, burn his house, throw his children down the well, and commit suicide as that the average American—and the average American is a worker—should even think sedition, much less do it. But there is a revolution in the working class; that is to say, we have a disaffected and badly infected body of labor that has already become disloyal at heart, and we have a very much larger number of people who, either from fancy or real hardship in living, are beginning to think disloyalty and are being tempted toward the revolutionary thought. This unwholesome element in our people bears somewhat the same general relation to the mass as the presence of diseased tissue in the human body bears toward it. So long as the body is in other respects functioning normally and there is vitality enough and nourishment to either replace the diseased tissue or hinder its further damage, no great harm ensues. But if on some other account the condition of the body becomes impaired and the vitality runs low, then the diseased tissue may become responsible very quickly for even fatal results.

In the preamble of a manifesto of the I. W. W. is this paragraph:

"The revolutionary movement of the working class will date from the year 1905, from the organization of the Industrial Workers of the World. The old form of unionism has long since fulfilled its mission and outlived its usefulness, and the hour has struck for a change."

But the I. W. W. was not the first revolutionary organization of labor here; we had the Mollie Maguires in Pennsylvania long years ago, although we have pretty much forgotten them; and we had that sort of thing isolatedly as far back as 1834. We had the Knights of Labor, too, who, although they did not know of the word "sabotage" practiced it and in the eighties were threateners of just the same kind of social rebellion that the I. W. W.'s are working for now, although the Knights of Labor had a far less definite notion of what they were complaining about or what they were driving at and they did not have the impetus of sympathy and assistance which the I. W. W. has been receiving from the international.

Revolutionary action for the United States, so far as is considered in this review, begins with the organization of the Industrial Workers of the World; yet, even so, the development of this fraternity of malcontent workmen had no patently deep significance in our general life until its very recent connection and affiliation with the greater social revolution in Europe, whereunder it became a part of the international conspiracy.

While some very interesting and cruel pages in our industrial history have had to be written on account of the place the I. W. W. had previously taken in the story of our local strikes and disturbances, in the tragedy at Ludlow and the sadnesses of Lawrence and Paterson, these represented no more than prophetic incidents. They were nothing that needed to touch our emotions of real alarm and suggested inflammations and wrongs in parts of our industrial system rather than fundamental difficulties menacing the entire fabric.

The I. W. W. was organized at Chicago in 1905. By the following year it professed to have 60,000 members. It was composed of a mixture of bumptious, fanatic elements, partly blind disgruntlement, partly radical socialist, partly anarchist, but mostly syndicalist. That is to say, the burden of the program of the I. W. W. from the beginning was to work for the ownership of industry by the workers, whom they claimed produce it, and to work for this through the means of labor unions which should strike, and sabotage, and revolt, with violence, if necessary, not merely for the increase of wages and the betterment of working conditions but for the physical seizure of industry itself, for the ownership of the means of industry. The party, if we may call it that, or the fraternity, for that is what it more closely resembles, was international in its sympathies and in its statement of the industrial problem, but not in its plan of action. It put out its branches in Canada and Mexico, and it joined hands in communication with radical labor and revolutionary parties abroad and at home, but the thing it was immediately trying to do was infect the labor body of America with the syndicalist idea and press toward it with all the means and opportunities that might be at hand.

In ordinary times it is not easy to find a body of American labor susceptible to revolutionary teaching. Revolution means risk and sacrifice, the chance of imprisonment, prosecution, outlawry, and, in America, certain defeat. But there did exist a body which could be reached. London tells very ably of this in his book, *The Class Struggle*. It was a body of unkempt, homeless, ragged, dispirited, and underfed floating labor—the "hoboes" of the American Continent. There were thousands—yes, hundreds of thousands of them—who roamed the country from east to west, north to south, and back again, according to the seasons and the prospects of temporary employment. They drifted to construction jobs. They drifted into new industrial plants where workers were wanted in a hurry and the combing-out process for efficiency could not yet be begun. They made up the armies of the scabs and strike breakers. They did the hard and dirty work upon ships and wharves. They harvested the hops and the grapes and the corn and the wheat and were shipped into the freshly opened mines. They filled the timber. They were in Minnesota and the cypress swamps of the Southwest. They were in California, in the vineyards and orange groves, in the orchards of Oregon, the melon ranches of Colorado and Arizona. They were in the stock yards and in the steel mills. They were on the truck farms of Florida and Texas. And they were in jail frequently. They were everywhere and gone again, a wandering migratory host. And nobody loved them. Some of them climbed up out of their troubles and despairings, and as many more tumbled down in. These were the people who became the I. W. W. foundation.

"But, as is usual in such concerns, there were able men at the head. St. John, Ettor, Mooney, Hill, Varney, Haywood, Whitehead, and fellows of their stamp have been tremendous engines of effectiveness in their apostleship of "class warfare." And the I. W. W. has had its pre s, and its clever writers, its pamphleteers, and its songsters pushing its propaganda, moving its enthusiasms, and spreading its doctrines all these years. It has indefatigably organized, too, and shoved its groups into all manner of leverages of advantage "for the cause." An I. W. W. speaker, addressing a recent labor meeting in England, claimed an American membership then of 300,000, from Centralia to West Street. That may not be an exaggeration.

Prior to 1914 there were in this country, also, numerous radical socialists, Marxians; and a great many small socialist, anarchist, and communist societies, formed among the aliens, for the most part, making no very great noise, and doing no very great damage. They should have been more diligently watched and broken up.

During the war, these revolutionary bodies, prodded by the Germans, and often subsidized by them, turned their attention chiefly to obstructionist pacifism, sincere enough, and to the fomenting of unnecessary strikes. A great many of the reds were prosecuted and imprisoned; and justly so, because they deliberately broke the laws, and deliberately tried to weaken the power of the United States in what was literally a struggle for the salvation of democracy; inviting upon themselves a "martyrdom" which Americanism can never justify. The loyalty of American labor and an overwhelming wave of public condemnation, coupled with these prosecutions, crushed this vicious revolutionary effort to earth.

Then came the news of the revolution in Russia, the formation of the Third International, and the advent of more sinister and dangerous socialist revolutionary activity in the United States.

The I. W. W. had been bolshevik in its aspirations from the start. Harold Varney thus writes of it in the *Revolutionary Age*, April 19, 1919:

"Possibly the I. W. W., of all the world's movements, was shaken least by bolshevism. The I. W. W. welcomed the bolshevik triumph with the joy of the unexpected. The final link in the I. W. W. theory had been forged at last. But there was naught in the new happening to compel a revision of belief. The I. W. W. had always been antiparlimentary. The I. W. W. had always sought industrialism. The I. W. W. had preached bolshevism while the Bolsheviks were still groping. And the Wobblies felt like one who had long since swum to an island of idealistic truth as he watches the Russian swimmers coming into port. The naive exuberance with which the new left-wing American socialists began to propagate industrialism was naturally amusing to those who had fought the industrialistic battle for nearly a generation. Bolsheviks, the new left wingers styled themselves, but well the I. W. W. knew that bolshevism was but the Russian name for I. W. W., and that, after a few flights of left wingism, the socialists would learn that every road of industrial revolution leads inevitably to the Industrial Workers of the World."

In his report to the executive committee of the Third International at Moscow, Louis C. Fraina, international secretary of the Communist Party of America, said:

"The Socialist Party was organized in 1901, of a merger of two elements: (1) Seceders from the Socialist Labor Party, like Morris Hillquit, split away in 1899, largely because of the Socialist Labor Party's uncompromising endeavors to revolutionize the trades-unions; (2) The Social Democratic Party of Wisconsin, a purely middle-class liberal party tinged with socialism, of which Victor L. Berger was representative." And again:

"During 1918 the Socialist Party was in ferment. The membership was more and more coming to think in revolutionary terms. Then came the armistice and the German revolution. The response was immediate. On November 7, 1918, a communist propaganda league was organized in Chicago. On November 9 local Boston Socialist Party started to issue an agitational paper, the *Revolutionary Age*. This paper immediately issued a call to the party for the adoption of revolutionary communist tactics, emphasizing that the emergence of the proletariat into the epoch of the world revolution made absolutely imperative the reconstruction of socialism. In New York City, in February, 1919, there was organized the left-wing section of the Socialist Party. Its left-wing manifesto and program was adopted by local after local of the Socialist Party, the left wing acquiring a definite expression. The left wing secured the immediate adhesion of the Lettish, Russian, Lithuanian, Polish, Ukrainian, South Slavic, Hungarian, and Estonian federations of the party, representing about 25,000 members. The official organs of the federation did splendid work for the left wing. In January, 1919, the national executive committee of the Socialist Party decided to send delegates to the Berne congress of the "great betrayal." This action was characteristic of the social patriots and centrist bent of the party administration. There was an immediate protest from the membership—the left wing—using the Berne congress as again emphasizing the necessity for the revolutionary reconstruction of socialism. In March we received a copy of the call issued by the Communist Party of Russia for an international congress to organize a new international. The *Revolutionary Age* was the first to print the call, yielding it immediate adherence, while the left-wing section of New York City transmitted credentials to S. J. Rutgers to represent it at the congress. Local Boston initiated a motion for a referendum to affiliate the party with the Third International. This was thrown out by the national administration of the party on a technicality, but after much delay another local succeeded in securing a referendum. (The vote was overwhelmingly in favor of the Third International.) The left wing was now, although still without a definite organization, a formidable power in the Socialist Party. Previously all revolts in the party were isolated or consisted purely of theoretical criticism; now there was this theoretical criticism, united with a developing organization expression. There was not as yet any general conception of the organization of a new party; it was a struggle for power within the Socialist Party."

This struggle, however, was of short duration. By the end of August the radical revolutionary element had, according to the testimony of its own

historians, won commanding control of the rank and file of the Socialist Party, but no control whatever of the party machinery. The latter held firm under the dominance of its old national executive committee. The conflict between the left wing and the right became irreconcilable. On September 1 the American Bolsheviks broke away from the socialists and formed parties of their own, the Communists and the Communist Labor Party. The first of these comprised practically all of the "foreign" branches of the Socialist Party. It claimed originally 58,000 members. The Communist Labor Party, which in its principles and plans does not differ materially from the other, represented a faction of the reds with native American membership. Perhaps there were 15,000 of them. The number has since very much increased.

There already existed still another numerous and seditious revolutionary organization, the communist-anarchists of the Federation of Russian Workers of the United States and Canada.

All these three parties, while separate societies, and quarreling among themselves as to which should be the formal and designated standard bearers of the bolsheviki and the international revolution in the United States, were united in their greater purpose and were working together for the movement. They all indorsed and stood for the manifesto of the Third International, and they recited together in their meetings and in the propaganda of their voluminous press which reached and still reaches hundreds of thousands of the workers in our country:

"Spurning the half-heartedness, hypocrisy, and corruption of the decadent official socialist parties, we, the communists, assembled in the Third International, feel ourselves to be the direct successors of the heroic efforts and martyrdom of a long series of revolutionary generations from Babeuf to Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg. As the First International foresaw the future development and pointed the way, as the Second International gathered together and organized millions of the proletariat, so the Third International is the international of open mass action of the revolutionary realization, the international of deeds. Socialist criticism has sufficiently stigmatized the bourgeois world order. The task of the International Communist Party is now to overthrow this order and to erect in its place the structure of the Socialist world order. We urge the working men and women of all countries to unite under the Communist banner, the emblem under which the first great victories have already been won.

"Proletarians of all lands! In the war against imperialistic barbarity, against monarchy, against the privileged classes, against the bourgeois state and bourgeois property, against all forms and varieties of social and national oppression—unite!

"Under the standard of the workingmen's councils, under the banner of the Third International, in the revolutionary struggle for power and the dictatorship of the proletariat, proletarians of all countries unite!

"The new era has begun! The era of the downfall of capitalism—its international disintegration—the epoch of the proletarian communist revolution. In some countries, victorious proletarian revolution; increasing revolutionary ferment in other lands; uprisings in the colonies; utter incapacity of the ruling classes to control the fate of peoples any longer; that is the picture of present world conditions.

"Humanity, with its entire culture now lying in ruins, faces danger of complete destruction. There is only one power which can save it—the power of the proletariat. The old capitalistic 'order' can exist no longer. This ultimate result of the capitalist mode of production is chaos—a chaos to be overcome only by the great producing class, the proletariat. It is the proletariat which must establish real order, the order of communism. It must end the domination of capital, make war impossible, wipe out State boundaries, transform the whole world into one cooperative commonwealth, and bring about real human brotherhood and freedom.

"World capitalism prepares itself for the final battle. Under cover of the League of Nations and a deluge of pacifist phrase mongering, a desperate effort is being made to pull together the tumbling capitalist system and to bring its forces against the constantly growing proletarian revolt. This monstrous new conspiracy of the capitalist class must be met by the proletariat by seizure of the political power of the State, turning this power against its class enemies, and using it as a lever to set in motion the economic revolution—the final victory of free mankind.

THE WAY TO VICTORY.

"The revolutionary era compels the proletariat to make use of the means of battle which will concentrate its energies, namely, mass action, with its logical restraint, direct conflict with the governmental machinery in open combat. All other methods, such as revolutionary use of bourgeois parliamentarism, will be only of secondary significance.

"Down with the imperial conspiracy of capital!

"Long live the international republic of the proletarian councils!"

In addition to these revolutionary organizations, we have had a great many unaffiliated individuals, social revolutionists, not only an extremely numerous group in the ranks of labor, sympathizing with and encouraging the organized revolutionaries, but among the intellectuals, those educated men and women who from the advantage or the pinch of their position of life have been strenuously thinking, with none too commendable logic, about the incongruities and injustices of the times, and, catching the revolutionary thought, have turned to it both their feelings and interests. Among them are the "parlor Bolsheviks," the Philistines of our social period, who, enveloped in cigarette smoke and airs of superiority, have lost the touch of just proportion in their measurements of "the good and the bad in modernism," and lent themselves to writing and talk and financial contributions—these people seldom take the risk of doing anything—toward paddling along the revolutionary flood.

In the latter half of 1919 all these protagonists and helpers of the international revolutionary scheme, the I. W. W., the communists, the Communist Labor Party, the anarchists, the radical associations of rebellious schools, and unaffiliated Reds, and parlor Bolsheviks, fired by the enthusiasm thrown across seas by flaming Russia and the glowing torch of the third international, began to work, hammer and tongs, "to beat anvil blows," the revolutionary poets would say, for an actual revolutionary uprising in the United States.

In Canada broke out Bolshevik strikes at Winnipeg and elsewhere, as had occurred before in Oregon, where Ole Hanson stamped out the enkindling. These strikes were an ominous foreboding. In the United States the revolutionary faction in the ranks of organized labor egged on a series of great strike demonstrations. These strikes were all of them aimed ostensibly at nothing more than wage increase or some alterations in the conditions of work, but they set by the international inflamers. Last and most dangerous was the coal strike.

This strike battered at the very foundations of the safety of American democracy. It threatened not only a universal hardship, cruel to our own country and dangerous to the world, but it threatened also absolute defiance of law and the public welfare by American labor. Confronted with this challenge of circumstances, the Government of the United States acted under the authority of the Federal statutes and enjoined the strikers. The issue was brought to immediate head. It was settled by decision of the loyal majority in the labor unions, "American labor is obedient to law." No grander and more hopefully reassuring decision than this was ever registered in the history of our Republic.

Aroused finally to a realization of the growing danger of graver disturbances, under the pressure of public opinion, Congress began to turn to urge upon the administration the necessity and wisdom of counteraction. For this the Department of Justice had been long preparing. In November, in cooperation with and in aid of the Bureau of Immigration and the Department of Labor, it raided the anarchist parties of the country and forwarded some 380 of the worst offenders of the Russian anarchist group to Ellis Island for deportation. It destroyed a number of Red presses and put an end, for the time at any rate, to several of the more venomous of the revolutionary publications.

In January there were similar raids, resulting in the detention of nearly 3,000 Communists. There followed throughout the country numerous arrests and prosecutions under State laws, and particularly those directed against the favorite tactics of the I. W. W. sabotage, and against the outlaw nature of their criminal revolutionary program.

In May and June there had been sensational bomb outrages perpetrated by as yet unapprehended members of Italian anarchist parties in the United States.

During these winter months, notwithstanding, the reds continued, with the aid of Bolshevik funds brought to the United States from Europe, and with the connivance of agents of the Third International who had been sent or commissioned here, the campaign for revolutionary organization and propaganda

was even more vigorously pushed. Their drive for footholds in the trades-unions was unrelenting, and they have won over in notable instances the entire membership of some of these. In others they have distributed themselves individually and in groups of varying size, and there they carry on constantly their conventional and insidious "boring from within." All these conspire together to definite ends.

The reds have done a vast amount of evil damage by carrying doctrines of race revolt and the poison of bolshevism to the Negroes. The revolutionary writers speak of the colored race here as the "black dynamite," upon "explosion" of which the day of revolution can be announced. In New York and Chicago, in Arkansas, in Texas, in other States, and wherever there exists considerable numbers of colored workmen in the towns, the damage done by these incitations and by the well-subsidized radical Negro propaganda press which has been aiding them, has been most serious. This business has been perhaps the most contemptible and wicked performance of our American revolutionary fanatics.

The revolutionaries have justly considered the American Federation of Labor as their deadly enemy. They hate loyal and law-abiding workmen worse than they hate the most conscienceless of the rich, and with instinctive knowledge that revolution has less to dread in the opposition of the honest American workman.

Following the raids and deportations and the general counteractionary wave of prosecutions, there came a natural reaction of American feeling, unwarranted but inevitable. We do not in this country like anything that can have even the appearance of color of political repression. We love freedom. We treasure freedom of speech and opinion. We are extremely tolerant and our Nation is, above all, humane. There was in the situation of the apprehended reds a certain specious appearance of martyrdom which touched the American heart. But there would have been no vicious and hurtful criticism of the administration, but rather free praise from all reasonable sides for its promptness and good effect, had it not been that the press agents of the reds and their hallucinated friends among the parlor bolsheviks, and even a certain class of liberal writers from whom better discretion might have been expected, drenched the newspapers and magazines with malicious or false descriptions of the raids, of the deportations, and the policy of the administration. They particularly accused the Department of Justice of a spirit of Bourbonism, and an animus against free speech. There was no justice in the screeds. Not only had the department practiced all practical precautions against inhumanities of any sort, and made careful provision where need might be (and there seldom was need) for the distressed families and dependents of deportees, but never upon any occasion has the department wavered from the traditional American position which holds free speech and opinion, where law abiding, among the most cherished of our inalienable rights. It had deepest respect for the acknowledged champions and exponents of these rights. As to legitimate free speech:

Erskine (known the world over as the father of free speech) has said (*Rex v. Paine*, 22 Tr., 357): "He who wishes to avoid sedition must not excite individuals to withdraw from their subjection to the law, by which the whole nation consents to be governed."

Mr. Justice Storey, in his Commentaries on the Constitution, paragraph 1874, defines the phrase to mean, "That every man shall have the right to speak, write, and print his opinions upon any subject whatever, without prior restraint, so always that he does not injure any other person in his rights, person, property, or reputation, and so always that he does not thereby disturb the public peace, or attempt to subject the Government."

Mr. Justice Vann (*People v. Herr Most*, vol. 171, N. Y. Court of Appeals Reports) states: "The punishment of those who publish articles which tend to corrupt morals, induce crime, or destroy organized society, is essential to the security of freedom and the stability of the State; it does not deprive the State of the primary right of self-preservation. It does not sanction unbridled license, nor authorize the publication of articles prompting the commission of murder or the overthrow of government by force. All courts and commentators contrast the liberty of the press with its licentiousness, and condemn as not sanctioned by the constitution of any State, appeals designed to destroy the reputation of the citizen, the peace of society, or the existence of the Government."

Judge Learned Hand, of the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York, recently said in a case involving the publishers of the

Masses "Words are not only the keys of persuasion but the triggers of action, and those which have no purpose but to counsel the violation of law can not by any latitude of interpretation be a part of that public opinion which is the final source of government in a public State."

Theodore Roosevelt, in his famous speech at Columbus, Ohio, declared: "The first essential to the achievement of justice is that law and order shall obtain, that violence shall be repressed, that the orderly course of law shall be unobstructed, and those that commit violence shall be sternly punished." But while this is the first vital essential to the achievement of justice, it is of value primarily as leading up to justice after law and order have been secured. Not before but after, then, comes the question of seeing that absolute justice is attained.

And by way of illustrating the indefensible venomousness of character in the nature of much of these criticisms there may well be inserted here a copy of recent specific reports made to the Department of Justice by one of its division superintendents:

JANUARY 23, 1920.

FRANK BURKE, Esq.,

Assistant Director and Chief,

Department of Justice, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Supplementing letter from this office yesterday, marked "Personal and confidential," relative to circular appeals for funds for Communists detained by the Immigration Bureau of the Department of Labor at Deer Island, copies of which were inclosed therewith, the following memorandum in answer to what seems to be propaganda contained in these appeals is furnished you for your information and such further instructions in regard to answering same locally as you may see fit to extend.

The appeal distributed by Dr. George W. Galvin, ostensibly for "working-men's defense conference of New England," is revived as follows:

"Seven hundred men and women are being held at Deer Island, Boston, Mass., by the United States Department of Immigration."

NOTE.—Only 400, approximately, were brought to Deer Island for detention.

"These men and women were taken from their homes, dragged from their beds, torn from their wives and families, corralled in their clubrooms, herded at the point of guns, shackled and chained together and caged like wild beasts."

NOTE.—The prisoners were not "dragged from their beds," nor "herded at the point of guns," nor "shackled and chained together and caged like wild beasts." This office has failed to find any evidence of any instance in which a gun was drawn during the progress of the arrests.

"They have been denied the right to see counsel."

NOTE.—There has been no denial of right to see counsel so far as allowed under immigration regulations. In each case heard by the immigration authorities the alien has been permitted representation by counsel at the hearing of his case, and the only difficulty encountered with reference to this phase of the situation has been due to squabbling on the part of attorneys where several were interested or attempted to become interested in one case.

"They are not permitted to see their loved ones."

NOTE.—Arrangements have been in vogue for some time permitting relatives of the prisoners to visit them up to the limit of the number to be accommodated at Deer Island in accordance with the rules governing the prison.

"They are held without bail; or bail has been made so excessive as to make it almost impossible to be procured."

NOTE.—None have been "held without bail." Bail has been in the uniform amount of \$1,000, with the exception of cases involving prominent officers and active organizers in the Communist Party who are without families in the United States, in which cases requests have been made for increase of bail to \$5,000, and, in a very limited number to \$10,000.

"They have been searched and arrested without having seen a warrant."

NOTE.—As far as searches and arrests are concerned, the agents and police followed the procedure laid down in department instructions covering this work. In practically every district an immigration inspector had been assigned and such warrants as had been received were served at time of arrests, and in other cases telegraphic warrants were immediately requested.

"They have not been informed of the nature of the charge against them."

NOTE.—Each prisoner knew the nature of the charge through the preliminary questioning made by the agent to develop alienship and membership in the Communist Party.

"Their meeting places have been invaded; their private papers, mail, personal property, money, and other effects have been confiscated."

NOTE.—No private papers, personal property, money, and other effects have been confiscated, nor has any such claim been made by any prisoner to this office whatsoever, which in itself is a perfect refutation.

"They have been denied the right to voice their protests and petitions."

NOTE.—They have not been denied the right to voice their protests or petitions, and such protests and petitions have been heard and investigated by the immigration authorities with a view to giving any proper relief.

"They are unlawfully seized and illegally held."

NOTE.—They have not been unlawfully seized and illegally held; to the contrary, every person in detention is an alien member of the Communist Party and properly held under immigration warrant of arrest, which warrants are in the possession of the immigration authorities.

"They are workingmen. They are poor, as all workingmen are."

NOTE.—In many cases the prisoners have lived in comparative ease, many having considerable amounts of cash in bank, and in one case a prisoner having \$3,600 in cash on his person.

"They are in dire distress. Their families are in need."

NOTE.—Comparatively few of the families are in distress. A complete canvass of the prisoners was made, which developed 162 cases of possible hardship to result from the confinement of a prisoner. Careful investigation was made of each of these, and among dependents found each case was immediately referred to a local charitable organization and a check kept upon the situation in order to see that assistance was in reality rendered.

Referring to the appeal distributed by the "civil liberties committee of the League for Democratic Control, affiliated with the American Civil Liberties Union," the following résumé of the situation, prepared by Acting Asst. Supt. McGrath, is quoted for your information also.

"The family of Mr. Radzivilovitch, 179 Otis Street, East Cambridge. There are three children and a mother. They will need steady aid until the father is released."

NOTE.—Report on this case shows investigation made by Agent McLaren, of this office, on January 13, 1920, which states that he referred this matter on January 13 to the overseers of the poor, Cambridge, Mass., at which time the overseers of the poor, Mr. Finnegan, agreed to furnish aid to this family. Agent Lewis, on January 20, called on the above family, and also on Mr. Finnegan, of the overseers of the poor, Cambridge, Mass., to see what amount had been furnished in the way of aid. This matter was covered in Agent Lewis's report of January 20, 1920, in which it appears that Mr. Finnegan's office secured for the above family check amounting to \$5.90 from husband; that Mr. Finnegan had also sent one-half ton of coal to family and that he would continue to look out for the needs of the family until their case was taken up by the State board of charity, the latter part of this week, at which time he would recommend the payment of \$12 to \$14 per week. At the present time the family owes no bills; the rent is paid until February 1, and he will personally see that this family is not in want of food or fuel pending the decision of the State board.

"Mrs. Adler at 21 Willard Street, West End, has a 6-year old boy and expects a baby in a few weeks."

NOTE.—Investigation of this case was made by Agent Irish under date of January 13, 1920, who called at the above address at which time she explained her needs to him. He took this matter up with J. J. Kelley of the overseers of the poor department, Boston, who stated at that time that the Jewish Welfare Society was taking care of this family but that if they needed any help, he would see that they were not in need.

Under date of January 20, Agent Goode investigated to see whether or not aid had been furnished at which time he found that aid had not been furnished. He then took this matter up with Mr. Hardy of the overseers of the poor department, Boston, requesting that immediate assistance be given. He again called at the above address on the 21st and again reported that no assistance had been given. Later he again called this matter to the attention of Mr. Hardy who immediately informed Mr. Kelley to call at the above address. Agent McGrath communicated with Mr. Hardy that the case needed immediate attention. Mr. Hardy stated that his agents had called there on several different occasions but no one was at home and that he would personally see that the family was

not in want. He further stated that the investigations by his agents disclosed that there was no distress up to the present time and that he had made arrangements whereby the city physician and the local visiting nurse for the city would call on Mrs. Adler regularly until the termination of her present sickness. Mr. Hardy also agreed to furnish this office information as to the amount of relief furnished by his office.

"Mrs. Stantichuk of 38 Kirkland Street, South End, has two children and another to arrive soon. Absolutely helpless without father's wages."

NOTE.—The dependency of this family was investigated under date of January 14, 1920, by Agent McLaren and reported by him under that date. This case appeared a worthy case and was reported by him under the date of January 14, to the overseers of the poor, Boston, for immediate attention.

Under date of January 20, Agent Goode investigated this case to check up statements in the above letter and found that no assistance had been given. He took the matter up with Mr. Hardy of the overseers of the poor, Boston, who stated that he would have the matter given immediate attention. Agent Goode again called at the above address on the 21st and states that relief had not been given up to the present time. Agent McGrath communicated with Mr. Hardy who informed that his agent had called at the above address every day but had been unable to find anyone at home but that he would again have one of his agents call during the afternoon and that he would inform agent as to whether or not the family was in need and if they were in need he would take care of them. Agent McGrath then instructed Agent Goode to get in touch with the associated charities at Boston, which he did, in regard to this case. Mrs. Stebbins, agent of the above society, informed him that she had gone to the above address and there had found the family living in two rooms, that Mrs. Stantichuk had informed her that she owed no money at the present time, that her grocery bill was paid and that her rent was paid up to February 1; that she was getting two quarts of milk every day for the children and that she was receiving help, but would not state from where she was getting help. Mrs. Stebbins further stated that this family is not unknown to this society, as it had frequently been aided in the past. She promised to personally see that there was help given this family, but that up to the present time no aid was needed and mother and children were getting along in a first-class manner; having plenty of coal in the cellar and being comfortable and warm.

"Mrs. Doscinsky, 87 Pearl Street, whose husband was taken, has four small children, one a nursing baby."

NOTE.—The dependency claim in this case was investigated by Agent Seward under date of January 13, 1920, at which time he referred same to Mr. Follansbee, overseer of the poor department, Chelsea, Mass., who stated that he would make a personal investigation of the matter the following day. It will be noted that the name of this family is misspelled and that instead of being as stated in the above letter, it should be Mrs. Frank Deptula.

On January 20, 1920, Agent Ashe called at the above address to see whether or not assistance had been rendered. Ascertaining that assistance had been rendered to this family on January 14, by Mr. Follansbee, overseer of the poor, Chelsea, Mass., who had given \$5 worth of groceries and who had arranged to have the city physician call to see one of the children who was sick, Agent Ashe later interviewed Mr. Follansbee, who stated that he could not allow more than \$5 under the State law, but that he would take the matter up with the State board of charities, in order that his family might receive a larger amount each week, but that in the meantime he would see that the family was not without food or fuel awaiting the decision of the State board.

"Mrs. Vesselofsky, of Chelsea, was taken in one of the raids. Left behind are two children. The father can not care for them and work at the same time."

NOTE.—This case had not been previously investigated, owing to the fact that at the time of the interviews with the prisoners to develop dependency claims Mrs. Vesselofsky was not under arrest. When later placed under arrest she stated that there was no one dependent on her and that her husband could amply provide for himself and family.

On January 20 Agent Ashe called at the above address to check up this matter, and there was informed by the husband that he was fully able to provide for the family and did not need the assistance of the Government.

"The agents came to take John Kliavo, of 103 Highland Street, Roxbury. He was not at home. But his wife, a non-English-speaking woman, was. She is a simple peasant woman and knows nothing of her husband's radical activities. She was taken in his place. Two small children were left crying behind. We have to pay some one to care for them until this injustice is corrected."

NOTE.—It was found at the time Agents Valkenburgh, Hill, and Campbell called at the above address that the husband was not at home, but Mrs. Kilavo this date admitted membership in the Communist Party and she produced her membership card, stating that she had just recently returned from New York, where she had left her husband, and that during her absence from Boston had left her two children—one 12 years and the other 6 years—with the family in the same house by the name of Williamson. Mrs. Kilavo was placed under arrest because of her own activities in the Communist Party, as stated by herself on January 8. At this time she stated also that on Tuesday, January 6, she had returned from New York and had taken \$631 from the bank; that she had spent some of the money for clothing for the children and that the balance was in her possession at that time. Before she left the house, accompanied by Agent Hill, she turned her pocketbook, with a considerable sum of money, over to her son, 12 years of age, and retained one \$5 bill herself. Since that date Agent Hill called at the above address on several occasions and found both children attending school and well cared for by the Williamson family; that there is no distress, as there is a considerable amount of money left with the son. Agent Campbell's report shows that the husband, John Kilavo, was formerly editor of the *Strahd-neeks*, and amongst his own people was considered to be well educated, intelligent, and a fairly wealthy man. Kilavo is also known as John Arkettis and John Klawa, and has been listed by us in the warrant under the latter name. Although warrant for him has been received, he has not as yet been apprehended, and is still being sought for by this office.

In each of the above cases it will be noted that there was absolutely no distress on the part of dependents referred to in the above letter, as all had received aid from either the local, State, city, or private organization and that the matter of their dependency had in every instance been called to the attention of the local authorities by this department on January 13 and that in two of the cases aid was not desired from any source.

Of the 161 dependency cases handled through this office the above cases are the only ones cited by the League of Democratic Control. The attorney for this league is one Morris Katzsoff, who is defending 100 of the detained Communists at Deer Island.

It may be noted further that the activities of the League of Democratic Control, both during the war and the postwar periods, has been under investigation by this office. There are related investigations also reported upon some of the individuals actively associated therewith.

Respectfully,

G. E. KELLEHER,
Division Superintendent.

As a result of the vigilance of the Federal authorities, handicapped as that still is by the lack of adequate United States law under which to deal with revolutionary parties and with individual revolutionists who are aliens, upon the advice and order of the Third International, the seat of Communist conspiracy in America, its headquarters, so to speak, has been shifted to Mexico. There the revolutionary plot is in full swing. Under the leadership of Gale and his associates Mexico has become a cauldron of Communist agitation. The Communists and the I. W. W. have united their forces there and merged them into a single organization which has proselytized until it has won an enormous number of adherents. From Germany and Japan arms have been shipped into Mexico all winter. The revolutionists have been actively spreading sedition among the negroes in our own South, and beyond doubt it is their intention, if they shall be able to do so, to bring on a Mexican Communist revolt in connection with any revolutionary disturbance which may develop in the United States.

At the conference of the Third International recently held at Amsterdam, participated in by representatives of the communists in America the current revolutionary situation was thoroughly discussed and the following plans of immediate action were determined upon.

(1) In view of the necessity for the salvation of the revolution in Russia, that allied intervention should be forestalled and the blockade be opened, it was decided that in all of the allied countries there shall be inaugurated, as soon as possible, revolutionary mass strikes for the purpose of bringing pressure to bear upon the respective government to recognize the Soviet sovereignty and lift the blockade.

(2) In order to crystallize and make more effective the revolutionary movement in England, a communist party shall be formed there to unite all the revolutionary parties.

(3) To foment an international marine strike and tie up the world's shipping with the idea of increasing industrial hardship everywhere because it is in the presence of hardship that the revolutionists find their readiest opportunity to further their ends. This strike they plan to develop from the present strike of the dockmen in Holland. Not a ship has left Holland, at this writing, since the 15th of February. Marine transportation there is at a complete standstill with serious deprivation to Germany and Austria as a result.

The March revolution in Germany, in which many lives have been lost, was not precipitated by the Reds, but by the popular impulse of socialistic reaction against the revolt of the militarists under Kapp—a movement charged with folly. When this Kapp coup was attempted, the Bolsheviks, although they had spent millions of marks in developing their conspiracy in Germany, had lost hope of accomplishing anything there for the present because, as was reported at the Amsterdam conference, "The German proletariat is tired out and wants rests." Still, as a late accession of a great fortune of jewels from the revolutionary treasury in Russia has fallen into the German Bolshevik's hands, they used the money and made the most of their sudden opportunity.

This matter of funds should be more dwelt upon. It is one of the sinister facts of the times that the social revolutionists are, as never has happened before in history, to-day equipped with ample money to back their enterprise. They are able to bribe and corrupt, and they are able to purchase munitions, and they are able to support thousands of the idle while strikers are engineered and manipulated for the revolutionary benefit.

To sum up, then, the revolution is established and entrenched in Russia—governing a population of not far from 120,000,000 people.

The masses of Europe, from Scandinavia to Portugal and from Glasgow to the Black Sea, are predisposed to a socialistic industrial system in a proportion which, so far as the working classes are concerned, is in excess of two to one, and in many reasons is practically unanimous.

The revolutionary conspiracy is international, it is being fiercely pushed, and most cunningly led.

It is being favored by circumstances of increasing hardship among the people, by confusion, cross purposes, and disorganization in the ranks of opposition. The revolutionists know what they want definitely; no scruple stands in the way of their endeavors; they are in earnest, and they are determined.

Civilization faces its most terrible menace of danger since the barbarian hordes overran West Europe and opened the dark ages.

We have furnished a picture now of the revolutionary thought, and of the revolutionary presence. It remains to see the social-industrial problem as it is, apart from our hopes or fears, and to win sight of the ways and means of preventing international collapse.

EXHIBIT No. 9.

STEEL STRIKE OF 1919.

[Solidarity, Mar. 19, 1910.]

FREE SPEECH FIGHT ENDED.

At last the great Spokane battle has been brought to a close. This was effected through the instrumentality of a series of conferences between the city and county officials and an I. W. W. committee. The following is an account of the various conferences and the conclusions arrived at by the contestants in this long battle. On February 28 the executive or fighting committee of the I. W. W. elected a committee of three, Fellow Workers Gillespie, McKelvey, and Foster, and commissioned them to call on the authorities and discuss the situation before opening hostilities on the morrow.

This interview terminated in practically a declaration of war on both sides, as the mayor seemed to think the only possible solution of the difficulty was to test the ordinance in the court. He frankly stated that he don't indorse a prohibitive or discriminative ordinance, but said he had no other choice than to enforce the laws already on the books. He professed willingness to treat on the

matter, but claimed lack of jurisdiction. This was considered unfavorable by the committee, and the mayor was told that the fight must continue until the I. W. W. was crushed or free speech assured. Next day the committee, enlarged by the addition of Fellow Worker Stark, called on the police department, where a general conference was held. The authorities showed a willingness to reasonably consider the situation and asked for specific credentials from the committee which would show their authority to talk business. These credentials were secured, and on March 3 the general conference met. The city and county were represented by Mayor Pratt, Prosecuting Attorney Pugh, Corporation Counsel Blair, Chief of Police Sullivan, and Captain of Detectives Burns. The I. W. W. was represented by Fellow Workers Stark, McKelvey, Gillespie, and Foster. The conference took on the nature of demands by the I. W. W. These were four in number: First, the promise that landlords would not be intimidated into refusing the rent of halls to the I. W. W., as has been done during the past few months of the fight, and that I. W. W. hall meetings be absolutely free from police interference, provided, of course, that we kept within the common rules—in short, hall conditions were to be the same as those prior to November 2. Second, freedom of the press and the right to sell the Industrial Worker on the street just as other newspapers are. Third, the release of I. W. W. prisoners in the city and county jails. Fourth, the use of the street for public speaking.

The first two propositions were granted after but slight discussion.

The third proposition was very closely related to the fourth, and after a very unsatisfactory discussion of it the committees turned to the fourth, so as to find out how they stood on that. The mayor, corporation counsel, etc., assured the I. W. W. committee that free speech is to be allowed in Spokane in the near future; and though no date was or could be set for this new arrangement to take effect, they were positively assured that it will be only a short while. And meanwhile the many religious organizations will not be discriminated in favor of, but must await the time when the streets are open to all.

With this proposition established as a working basis, the conference again took up the matter of the release of prisoners, which was a delicate one to handle. Prosecutor Pugh professed to have no animosity against any of the prisoners, but stated that it is impossible to release them all at once. It was agreed that the city prisoners, some 15 in number, should be immediately released, and the county prisoners, 14 in number, released on a sliding scale, to begin immediately, without discrimination. In return for these concessions he demanded a hostage in the shape of National Organizer F. W. Heslewood, who was then vigorously fighting extradition proceedings at Coeur d'Alene City, Idaho. The conference came to a stumblingblock here, as they had no jurisdiction over Heslewood, who is employed at Coeur d'Alene by the national headquarters. To obviate this difficulty, it was necessary to put the proposition before Heslewood, so the conference adjourned to meet again in Coeur d'Alene three hours later.

Owing to poor connections Heslewood could not be reached before 7.15 p. m., and the final extradition proceedings, scheduled to start at 7.30 p. m., were postponed while the conference met in Judge Dunn's private chambers. Meanwhile the committee had been increased by E. Gurley Flynn, Heslewood, and Attorney Moore. The situation was outlined to them and the further proposition made to Heslewood that if he surrendered himself he would be released on \$2,000 bond and his case continued from time to time for 90 days, when it would be dropped. Filigno's case is to be allowed to vegetate also, and it, too, will be dismissed at the end of 90 days. Meanwhile the appeal will pend and he be allowed his release on bonds.

The Burns case and the damage suits against the city are to be dropped.

This decision, so far as Heslewood was concerned, could not be postponed, as the court was waiting while the committees conferred, and upon the strongest recommendations of the I. W. W. committee Heslewood accepted the terms in so far as he was concerned. The effect of this was not to bind the organization in any way. Heslewood simply placed his head in the lion's mouth at the instigation of the committee and his own belief that the rank and file, on referendum, would accept the conditions jointly agreed upon. The next day he surrendered himself to Spokane County and is now out on bonds. The following evening at a mass meeting in Hilliard, composed of all the I. W. W. members in town, regardless of where they hail from, the action of the committee was

indorsed, and the street fight was officially declared off, pending the good faith of the authorities. The conference committee has visited the boys in the county jail and explained the situation. They also have indorsed the action. The city prisoners were released by Chief Sullivan according to the agreement. The charters seized by the police in the raid on the hall have been returned.

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, SPOKANE LOCAL, I. W. W.

[Solidarity, July 30, 1910.]

A. F. OF L. PROTECTING ITSELF.

SAMUEL GOMPERS AND THE C. L. U. OF TRENTON, N. J., OBJECT TO I. W. W.'S "BORING FROM WITHIN."

Several months ago Solidarity reprinted a circular letter signed by the president of the local pottery workers' union, A. F. of L., of Trenton, N. J., advocating industrial unionism and urging the potters to study the principles of the I. W. W. Shortly after that, the Central Labor Union of Trenton took up the matter and undertook to discipline the signer of the document. Jules Scarceriaux, another delegate to the C. L. U., then came forward in defense of his fellow worker, and acknowledged that he himself was the author of the circular. The central body then voted to revoke the credentials of Scarceriaux and unseated him as a delegate. He appealed the case to President Samuel Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, and the below letter from Gompers tells the story. It is to be found in the July 15 number of the Trenton Trades Union Advocate.

WASHINGTON, July 12, 1910.

REUREN FORKER,
Secretary Central Labor Union.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: I have before me the appeal of Mr. Jules Scarceriaux, of the local union of the Brotherhood of Operative Potters of Trenton, against the action of the Central Labor Union in refusing Scarceriaux a seat as delegate, together with the reply of the central body to the same.

From the evidence submitted by Scarceriaux, as well as by your central body, it is admitted that he is and has been a sympathizer with the I. W. W., an organization antagonistic to the American Federation. He admits that the evening before he was elected as a delegate to your body to be the author of the circular signed by some one else, that was distributed and which reflected upon the Central Labor Union as well as the trades-union movement. The evidence also shows that he had on numerous occasions while not a delegate attended meetings of the Central Labor Union and distributed other literature of the same character, thereby violating the courtesy extended to visitors by the C. L. U. The evidence further shows that on two occasions credentials were received by the Central Labor Union from the local union of Potters bearing Scarceriaux's name. On each occasion a full and complete investigation was made by the credential committee, protest or charges having been made against the acceptance of said credentials. The evidence further shows that on several other occasions he has made himself obnoxious by endeavoring to advance the interest of the I. W. W. to the detriment of the American Federation of Labor. From all the evidence submitted it is shown clearly that Scarceriaux has, on a number of occasions, denounced the A. F. of L. and its policies and advocated the building up of the I. W. W.

I feel that the Central Labor Union was fully justified in its action in refusing Scarceriaux a seat as a delegate after his open and avowed utterances against the central body and the parent organization, and the action of the Central Labor Union of Mercer County in refusing Scarceriaux a seat as a delegate is hereby sustained. This decision, however, does not deny the local union of Potters the right to be represented in the central body.

Yours, fraternally,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President of A. F. of L.

[Solidarity, Oct. 29, 1910.]

C. G. T. CONGRESS.

FRENCH LABOR UNION MEETS IN TOULOUSE—REVOLUTIONISTS IN COMPLETE CONTROL.

[By our special correspondent.]

TOULOUSE, FRANCE, October 10.

The Seventeenth National Syndicalist Congress (eleventh of the C. G. T.) opened Monday, October 3, to the strains of the International.

There were about 500 delegates present representing a total membership of 354,000. In addition to these there were three foreign delegates. Sassenbach, representing the general committee of the German unions, and Appleton and Lee representing the Federated Trades Unions of Great Britain. Before proceeding to the regular order of business the foreign delegates were accorded the floor. Appleton, the English delegate, brought the usual greetings and wishes for greater international solidarity. Sassenbach in behalf of the German unions invited the C. G. T. to send a delegation to Germany to participate in the monster meetings to be organized there during the coming year. Later the congress accepted the invitation and instructed the confederal committee to correspond with the Germans in regard to the matter.

After these preliminaries were disposed of the matter of admitting the press representatives to the congress came up for consideration and after much discussion it was decided to admit all except those representing four of the leading dailies of Paris. This was intended as a rebuke to the latter for their absolutely anti-working class attitude. This step provoked many sneers from the excluded papers who laid their troubles at the door of the revolutionary element. They gloatingly anticipated being revenged, however, as they believed and hoped that the reformist element in the congress would prove strong enough to balk some of the most cherished projects of the revolutionists. They encouraged the political element to hinder the direct-action element as much as possible, and, figuratively speaking, stood by with mouths watering, waiting for the choice morsel of the C. G. T. congress split by dissensions.

After the exclusion of the press representatives an amusing incident occurred. The Toulouse section of the Radical Socialist Party sent a letter of welcome to the congress, but midst a tumult of jeers it was tabled without reading.

CLASH BETWEEN REFORMISTS AND REVOLUTIONISTS.

The trouble between the two contending factions of reformists and revolutionists started early to manifest. The verification of credentials offered the excuse as there were many contested delegates.

The reformist element wished the admission of the delegates of the many more or less yellow unions that had failed to fulfill the obligations that would have entitled them to representation at the congress, while the revolutionary element wished to pursue a rigorous course of exclusion for all delinquents.

The case of the delegates of the cooks' union of Paris was the most bitterly fought. For several hours confusion reigned supreme with business at a standstill. The meeting escaped from the president's control entirely; a hundred men were speaking at the one time; as many more were singing the International, and for a time it looked as though the prophesies of the capitalist papers would come true: "The C. G. T. congress could not transact any business because of the two contending factions of reformists and revolutionists or of politicalists and direct actionists or of socialists and anarchists (take your choice)." Finally, after threatening to suspend the session, the president secured what people of a Latin race might consider a semblance of order, and the delegates of the cooks' union were refused seats.

Many other similar struggles occurred during the two days that were devoted to the verification of credentials, but the issue was always favorable to the direct actionists. In all, 18 syndicates and the Bourse du Travail (trades council) of Nice were excluded. Though somewhat chastened by the defeats already suffered by them, the reformists rallied strong under the next order of business, "Reports of committees and commissions," and they tried hard to discredit the so-called anarchist administration of the C. G. T.

GRIFFUELHES VINDICATED.

The matter on which they counted most was the Levy-Griffuelhes controversy. The Bourse du Travail (building) of Paris is owned by the Government and is loaned to the various labor organizations in order that they may have a place in which to air their grievances. Several years ago the C. G. T., because of its anti-governmental activities, was, as an organization expelled from the building. However, its syndicates of unions still have the privilege of holding meetings there. This step forced the C. G. T. to secure new headquarters, but as the government intimidated landlords into refusing to either sell or rent to the organization, this proved a difficult task.

In this crisis the committee in charge of the matter took to working secretly, and, although accepting funds from the organization, refused to render an account of what had been accomplished. Finally, by deceiving a landlord as to the nature of the business they were going to establish, the committee secured a location and the headquarters of the C. G. T. was established.

The airing of this matter was expected to furnish excellent material for the reformists to work upon, but they were disappointed, as Griffuelhes, the man most responsible for the tactics pursued, in a three-hour speech so clearly explained the necessity for taking the course that had been taken that his action was indorsed almost unanimously after 12 hours' discussion.

NIEL AND YVETOT.

The "moral" report of progress and activities of the confederal committee was the next excuse for a struggle. Liéhon refused to vote for it, because the committee is anarchist, antimilitarist, and everything but simply syndicalist. His speech caused a fresh outburst of disorder, and, after about a dozen speakers had argued the matter pro and con, Niel, ex-secretary of the C. G. T., mounted the platform.

Niel was formerly a revolutionist of the same stamp as Yvetot, Jouhaux, et al., but of late he has become more reactionary and is commonly referred to as a leader of the reform element. In a brilliant three-hour talk, that was listened to with rapt attention, Niel laid bare the workings of the confederal committee—from his point of view—and accused its members of having made life so miserable for him as reformist secretary of the C. G. T. that he had to resign. He said that for the present confederal committee, anarchism and syndicalism are synonymous terms. His attacks were largely directed against Yvetot, who is a sort of devil to the reformists, as they usually blame the waywardness of the C. G. T. upon him.

Although it was long past the usual hour for adjournment when Niel finished speaking, Yvetot asked for five minutes in which to reply to him. He talked for an hour, however. Yvetot unmercifully scored the parliamentarians, and said it was not his fault if anarchism and syndicalism have the same end in view. He described the State as an arch enemy of the working class, and said it was one of the first duties of a syndicalist to be an antistatist. Niel withered beneath Yvetot's eloquence, and interrupted him with, "Since you are opposed to the State, have at least the courage to say so in your statutes." Yvetot answered by saying that as yet in the class war we must be hypocrites; that the workers must first be organized for immediate benefits and educated afterwards. When this education is accomplished then it will be possible to wage the struggle openly. He explained many of the seeming persecutions of Niel, and attributed the latter's downfall to his unfortunate duties in the postal strike. Yvetot descended from the platform amidst vociferous applause.

The editorial policy of *La Voix du Peuple*, the official organ of the C. G. T. was also strongly criticized by the reformists, who claimed, in effect, that the paper is simply an antimilitarist sheet. Of course, the direct actionists made ready rejoinders and argued the great necessity for antimilitarist propaganda.

The question of the adoption of the committee's report was a true test of strength of the two contending factions. The report was adopted by a vote of 1,087 against 97. Thus did the C. G. T. congress indorse the so-called anarchist tactics and propaganda of the confederal committee.

The question of the fusion of the Federation of Machinists with the Federation of Metal Workers was the next matter acted upon. The machinists' delegate strenuously protested against the proposed fusion, and urged all the principal scab arguments for craft autonomy. Failing to convince the congress by these he took to begging for liberty for his organization, but the so-called impartial anarchists were in no mood to listen to his entreaties, and

the Federation of Machinists will be required to fuse with the Metal Workers, if it desires to remain part of the C. G. T.

By Friday noon the congress had finished with but two orders of business, and as five still remained to be considered it was feared by many that they could not all be dealt with fully. However, the congress had voted so strongly revolutionist in the preceding fights that the opposition was considerably lessened and it was possible to transact business a little more rapidly.

OLD-AGE PENSION LAW.

At the afternoon session the important matter of old-age pensions became the order of business. An old-age pension law, recently passed by the French Government, and which is to go into effect in July 1, 1911, provides that the worker who is so fortunate as to reach the age of 65, will be entitled to a pension of 6 cents a day for the balance of his or her life, provided that for 30 years he or she has paid the required assessments, which are about \$1.75 per year for men and about \$1.17 for women, and about 85 cents for minors over 18 years of age. To make this scheme more palatable to the workers, the law also provides that the employers shall pay the same rates for each worker employed and that the Government also contributes a sum equal to one-half of that taxed from the employers. The whole sum to be put in one fund and loaned out at a moderate rate of interest. It has been calculated that if the French working class can be hoaxed into paying its share of the tax, that at the end of 30 years, which must elapse before any pensions will have matured, a sum of 12,000,000,000 francs will have been accumulated. With a tidy sum, to borrow at a "moderate rate of interest," to spend if need be to wage a war with.

The discussion of the matter was lengthy. As usual the congress divided on the matter, the politicians wishing to accept the law and the direct actionists to reject it entirely. Once again Niel took the platform and urged the acceptance of the law, imperfect as it is in lieu of a better one. He said: "The millions of French workers want old-age pensions, and if the C. G. T. refuses to aid in securing them they will say: 'The C. G. T. is not our organization.'"

In spite of Niel's warning, however, the revolutionary element condemned the law entirely. Yvetot, Jouhaux, and others characterizing it as simply a gigantic fake.

Two propositions were placed before the congress, one by Niel to accept the law under protest, and the other by Jouhaux (secretary of the confederal committee) to refuse it absolutely, and to call on the workers to hinder the collection of the assessments by every means in their power. The result showed a vote of 1,009 for the Jouhaux proposition and 251 for the Niel proposition. The C. G. T. has again flung the gage of battle to the Government.

COMPULSORY ARBITRATION.

At present the Government is considering the proposition of passing an obligatory arbitration act, with the usual decorations of penalties for unions that dare to go on strike without first having secured permission, and for unions that dare to break a contract forced upon them by an unfair board of arbitration.

The discussion of this matter threatening to consume too much time, the congress referred it to a committee. This committee brought in a report condemning all such legislation, root and branch, and urging the workers to resist as strongly as possible any attempt to force arbitration upon them. Report adopted by a vote of 1,229 to 11. The reform elements had given up in despair.

The matter of accidents to workers was the next order of business. It didn't provoke a great deal of discussion, as the time for adjournment was close at hand. It was decided to agitate against the infamies of the judges, who decide damage suits, and to insist upon the enforcement of the present laws for the protection of workers, which are being "sabotied" by judges.

The question of the shortening of the work day was disposed of quickly, it being decided to request the subordinate organizations of the C. G. T. to send to headquarters detailed accounts of the situations in their various vicinities, preparatory to beginning a vigorous campaign for an eight-hour day.

Several other matters of minor importance occupied the attention of the congress for a short while, and after these were disposed of, it was decided to hold the next congress at Havre in 1911.

Saturday afternoon, October 6, the congress was adjourned, and the delegates left the hall singing the International.

Yours, for the I. W. W.,

W. Z. FOSTER.

(Next week Fellow Worker Foster will describe the opening scenes of the great railroad strike, which broke out three days after the adjournment of this memorable convention—Ed. Solidarity.)

[Solidarity, Nov. 5, 1910. By our special correspondent.]

FIRST DAYS OF STRIKE.

SCENES IN PARIS AT THE BEGINNING OF GREAT CONFLICT ON RAILWAYS.

PARIS, FRANCE, *October 10.*

The long threatened railroad strike has struck France like a cyclone. At present writing the whole French railroad system is demoralized and the strike is still spreading. I have no idea as to when you will get this letter, if ever, as the mail system here is naturally badly crippled by the strike, but I will chance it and send it anyhow.

On Monday, two days after the C. G. T. congress at Toulouse, like a bolt of lightning from a clear sky came a general strike order to the employees of the Chemins du fer du Nord (North Railroad). It was issued by the strike committee of the Federation of Engineers and Firemen and the National Syndicate of Railroad Workers. The response was quick and in 24 hours the road, owned largely by the Rothschilds, was completely tied up. The Chemin du fer de l'Ouest (the Western, the State road) was next to get the order, and at present writing its service is demoralized. After this a general conflagration began and now every road coming into Paris in more or less crippled, and the strike is still spreading.

Accounts from outside points as to conditions prevailing there are very vague, as immediately the strike was declared the "saboteurs" got to work and clipped the wires in every direction, as they had been advised to do by the militant revolutionists. This feature of the strike has aroused the most heated protest of the capitalist press. They refer to the strikers as being in open insurrection. While on the other hand, the revolutionary papers, *La Guerre Sociale* in particular, are laughing over the matter and encouraging the strikers to cripple the railroad system as much as possible.

La Guerre Sociale bids the strikers to be of good cheer, as the same good fairies who "sabotaged" the telegraph and telephone lines so well in the recent postal strike will no doubt soon be busy again at their merry task. As yet there has been but little violence.

The situation in Paris is one of intense importance. Everyone is wondering what will happen next. Most of the great depots are closed and tenanted by lounging "scissor-bill" soldiers, while about the streets are thousands of curiosity seekers, gaping at the buildings and staring in at the windows in morbid curiosity.

About the bulletin boards of the big dailies crowds of people surge, reading the delightfully vague bulletins posted thereon. At the Bourse du Travail (union headquarters) the strikers are holding meeting after meeting. Hundreds of gendarmes and cavalymen are stationed at the building during these meetings, the cavalymen being drawn up in line just across the street from the entrance to the building ready to make a charge on the workers coming from the building if it is deemed advisable.

The Government, true to its instincts, has early taken in hand the matter against the workers. Briand, the renegade, the socialist president du conseil or prime minister, feels the position to which the work of oppression falls in this affair, and he is demonstrating his willingness to serve his masters faithfully. He is taking active steps to crush the "rebellion." In an interview given to the press, this class conscious socialist says the following:

"The Government don't find itself in the presence of a strike in the true sense of the word, but by the conditions in which the movement of the railroad work-

ers has been prefaced, by the first acts by which it has been accompanied, it finds itself in the presence of a criminal enterprise of violence, of disorder and sabotage. The movement has nothing of a professional nature; it is purely insurrectional. It escapes entirely the personnel of the railroad, who will not be slow to perceive this fact, but too slow for their own welfare, as they will have been led on to the excesses. Whatever pretext the organizers will use to justify what they term their strike, in the mind of the public they will not succeed. The strike has been declared without any just reason, in fact it was declared on the day following that on which the delegates of the Federation of Engineers and Firemen and of the National Syndicate of Railroad Workers had had an interview with the minister of public works (none other than our socialist friend Millerand) and myself in my cabinet. In the course of this interview it had been decided that the workers would send to me their demands; not vague and indefinite, such as they announced in their manifestos, but clear and precise, and particularly so in regard to what refers to an increase of salaries; with these same indications sufficiently detailed as to permit of a discussion efficacious and reasonable. I had agreed with the minister of public works to transmit their demands to the directors of the companies and to invite them to reply. I was to communicate these responses to the representatives of the workers. I had informed the delegates that after they had stated definitely their demands and those on which both parties did not agree had been isolated, that it would be possible to arrange an interview with the directors of the companies. I offered to preside at this meeting.

"Briand tells of further negotiations and of great exertions that he and his man Friday, the minister of public works, had made to help the poor but deserving railroaders; then he continues: 'This is the state of affairs when the strike was brusquely declared, and at once it has taken the course that you know. The faithful workers have been menaced everywhere. Deeds of violence have been done; criminal acts of sabotage have been committed; in one word, the plan of violence prepared and announced in the previous meetings by the instigators of the present movement, has been put into execution. Ah, well! That will not continue. The Government finds itself, I repeat, not in the presence of a strike but of a criminal enterprise. It hopes that the vast majority of the railroad workers will not identify themselves with the authors of such a situation. The Government has decided to protect the 'right to work' by all possible means. It is armed with the penal code, the law of 1845 and that of 1881, against the guilty ones. I have seen fit to receive the delegates in my cabinet and listen to their grievances. They have not paid attention to my advice nor considered the good will of the Government in their cause. So much the worse for them.'"

Monsieur Briand, as revolutionists like to style him, professes to be astonished and shocked at the abruptness of this strike. A few words will explain the situation. The railroad syndicates are members of the C. G. T. The C. G. T. had very important business to transact at Toulouse at its congress. It would have been folly to declare a strike and tie up the railroads and prevent the delegates from going there. The strike committee stalled along with the Government, well knowing from past experience that nothing was to be gained in that quarter. The congress was finished, the delegates scattered to their homes, and, lo! this inexplicable strike occurs. The C. G. T. decided to operate the French railroads long enough to accomplish its business at Toulouse. That finished, it was decided to tie them up to accomplish some more working class business, the bettering of the conditions of the railroad slaves. Mr. Briand is getting a taste of direct action.

This explanation of the strike seems reasonable to me, yet I have failed to hear of anyone else connecting the strike with the congress at Toulouse in this manner.

Briand quickly followed up his threats by definite action. The law (?) gives the right to put the railroads under military law during time of war or of any unusual disturbance. This means the mobilization of the workers, who must remain at their posts or suffer a severe penalty. In the present unusual disturbance, Briand has issued the order to mobilize the railroad employees, the order to take effect in 48 hours; that is, on October 14, and to continue in effect for 21 days. Thousands of letters have been sent to the railroaders telling them to be at their posts on that date, or they must be prepared to take the serious consequences. In all the syndicalist halls of Paris rousing meetings

are being held, and the determination is to ignore the scab-herding order. The following statement has been drawn up and posted all over Paris:

AGAINST THE MOBILIZATION.

COMRADES: The Government is lending itself to measures of violence against the railroad workers. After the dismissal of workers that preceded the strike, the Government yesterday discharged our Comrade Toffin.

To-day the newspapers publish the order of mobilization, which is to be the prelude of still more numerous dismissals. The order of mobilization is illegal. All the measures that it will engender with it will be illegal, null, and void. The Government has not considered that the law of June 9, 1837, chapter 5, article 230, provides that in the time of peace, the men mobilized have 15 days in which to respond to the mobilization order. As the Government's measure is illegal, it is also in vain, for none of you will respond to the notice that will be addressed to you. None of you will let himself be troubled by the combined accusations of M. Briand and Mr. Sartiaux, that our strike is political and revolutionary. Our claims are cooperative, and it is to our co-operative action alone that we can appeal for success. Comrades, the strike has been declared on all the roads. Public opinion that knows our misery is with us. Let us struggle for our right to the end, to the last energy (ditch). You will not respond to the mobilization order.

Vive la greve!

STRIKE COMMITTEE.

The renegade Briand has also other laws at his command that he has threatened to use liberally in this affair. One of these is one making the instigators of acts of sabotage accomplices in the crime. Quite a nice conspiracy law of the usual elastic nature. La Guerre Sociale, that has all along strongly advocated the sabotaging of the railroads, dares Briand to put his threat into action. The strike committee notified him that they could be found at the office of l'Humanite, Jean Jaures's paper. Last night (Wednesday, the 12th) a party of gendarmes, led by the notorious Lepine, chief of the Parisian police, paid a visit to l'Humanite, and put the committee's men under arrest. The visit was expected, and Jaures and some dozen other socialist deputies were present to witness this dirty work. Even they, long since dead to the real working-class movement, were aroused by this piece of Briand's work, and they unmercifully guyed the chief of police and the slaves accompanying him. One of the strike committee, when arrested, was sitting in the old editorial chair of Briand's, the one in which the latter wrote his well-known plan of the general strike. Surely Briand is proving a treasure to the direct action movement of the world by showing how completely even a radical revolutionist can forget his principles when enmeshed in the devitalizing influence of political action. The arrest of the committee has not hindered the prosecution of the strike in the least, as there are provisional committees ready to come forward whenever their services are needed.

Hundreds of arrests are being made all over France. Briand has issued an order to his subordinates to place every known militant direct actionist under surveillance and to arrest them on the slightest pretext.

The tie-up has affected the prices of foodstuffs already in Paris, and the problem of getting provisions into the city is pressing. The plan now being advocated is to take advantage of the fine canal and river system and bring food in that way. Now, if the employees of the canal could develop a little class solidarity and refuse to carry any freight to Paris the strike would soon be settled. Four million hungry stomachs in Paris would force the Government and private railroad companies to come to time in spite of the few thousand soldiers and gendarmes that the latter have at their disposal.

The railroad strike has fanned into flame the smoldering protests of other workers, and a veritable epidemic of strikes of minor proportions has occurred in the last 24 hours all over the country. Not a single Paris paper has yet published an estimate of the number of men on strike. The number is either so great as to forbid it being made public, or else the telegraph and telephone system is so disorganized that no trustworthy estimate can be made. Judging by the spread of the strike during the last 24 hours the future looks bright for the long meditated general railroad strike. Let us say in hearty accord with the cheminots (railway workers), "Vive la greve!"

W. Z. FOSTER.

[Solidarity, Nov. 12, 1910.]

RAILROAD STRIKE.

[By our special correspondent.]

PARIS, FRANCE, October 16.

During the past few days the situation has cleared itself somewhat, and one is able to judge the extent of the strike. It seems that the railroads most affected are the North and the West—State. These two are almost completely tied up. The balance of the roads don't seem to be much affected, although here and there the workers have quit. No official figures of the number of workers on strike are published, though it will probably reach a total of between 50,000 and 75,000.

In Paris the Federation of Building Trades have voted a general strike and the great majority of the workers have answered the strike order by quitting work.

On Thursday evening the electricians went on strike, and threw a severe jolt into the smoothly running order of things. Just after it had gotten nicely dark, all of a sudden half of the electric lights of Paris went out and the trolley cars came to a standstill. The electricians had quit work and were busy sabotaging the machinery. Half the town was left in darkness, even Briand's light went out. Proprietors of hotels, cafes, theaters, etc., hurriedly procured candles or lamps or closed their places. Curses on it, Pataud, the secretary of the electricians, or "the king of the electricians," as the papers dub him, was at his tricks again!

This strike, coming so soon after the general strike on the railroads, threw Paris into intense excitement. Soldiers and police seemed to spring out of the ground, and heavy guards were thrown around the public buildings and power houses. Then, the following day, Briand, the "socialist man on horseback," the French Farley, got busy. He filled the places of the striking electricians with soldiers, and these hoosiers, under surveillance of a few scab electricians, managed to relieve somewhat the pressing demand for power, and incidentally forged their own fetters a little tighter. It is pleasant to note, however, that several of these enlisted scabs have been seriously injured while patriotically endeavoring to steal the bread from their fellow workers' mouths.

TYPICAL FRENCH ARMY RECRUITS.

Certainly these soldiers are heroic figures, something to grow patriotic over. They are the result of a governmental fine-comb search of the scissorbill communities of France for lunkheads with which to garrison the cities. The city workers, who have some education and an inkling of working-class principles, are sent to country posts or to Africa, where they will be out of harm's way in case of labor troubles. Like all working-class patriots, the former are in a state of satisfied ignorance, which is so gratifying to the Government that a couple of days ago a workingman was sentenced to two months' imprisonment for talking antimilitarism to one. He was debauching the virgin purity of the scissorbill's mind, which at present in Paris is almost so serious an offense as to interfere with the sacred right to work—the workers.

These enlisted slaves, scabbing on scabs by taking strikers' places without even getting paid for it, are properly despised by their masters. They are herded like cattle without being given as much consideration. A couple of nights ago a bunch were stationed outside a building where a strike meeting was being held, and because of some one "accidentally" forgetting them they had to stand all night in the chilly weather.

The army is not alone in its scabbing propensities. According to Briand, the navy is some class also. Briand offers to furnish the railroads 1,500 navy engineers and firemen if the situation seems to demand it.

Briand has discovered a plot. He says through his mouthpieces that the campaign of sabotage was planned beforehand; that the central committee of the saboteurs is in Paris, and had it not been that the Government had taken such prompt action and placed guards about the vulnerable spots in the railroad system, that France would have experienced a reign of anarchy such as Europe has never known. This will serve as a good excuse to jail many militants of the C. G. T. if the strike is a failure. Gustave Herve, who was already in jail,

has been placed in solitary confinement and not permitted to see even his attorney. This punishment for his activities while in jail. Two assistant editors of *La Guerre Sociale* have been arrested and the copy intended for the paper destroyed. Only one French paper protested against this outrage, and that is a royalist paper. Hundreds of other revolutionists, or live spirits, are being either arrested, if on strike, or discharged if still at work.

Briand's famous mobilization order has failed to force the striking railroad workers back to work. These are to be given three days' grace, and if at the end of that time they still refuse to scab on themselves they are liable to arrest and punishment as military deserters.

The scabs on the striking roads and the men on the roads not yet on strike are wearing the mobilization badge, a canvas band worn about the arm and bearing the number of company or section to which the slave belongs. Surely it is a disgusting sight to see workers shamelessly wearing these badges of their slavery.

In spite of the thousands of troops and police scattered about the railroad property the sabotage goes on in an ever-increasing volume, while *La Guerre Sociale* howls in glee and urges the strikers to throw a real scare into the railroad companies and the Government.

Wires have been clipped in hundreds of places, signals destroyed, etc. Several accidents were narrowly averted at points where the rebels had removed rails. Many scabs have been "beat up." A bunch of strikers in one place got hold of a scab fireman and forced him to eat a meal of the coal from the engine he was firing. He was made to wash down his gritty meal with a cool draught of engine oil.

Many are criticising Toffin, the president of the Federation of Engineers and Firemen, for having declared the general strike without first having ascertained by referendum the sentiments of workers on the other roads. Below is the strike order.

"The National Syndicate of France and the Colonies informs the workers on all the roads that the tie-up is complete on the North Railroad. It also informs them that since the time of the dismissal of Comrade Toffin, president of the Federation of Engineers and Firemen, that the Government has been giving articles to the press which constitute arbitrary and illegal menaces against the railroad workers, who are claiming their rights. In the presence of this situation, the National Syndicate has decided to appeal to the workers on all the railroads to declare a general strike. In consequence, all are asked to put into execution with the least possible delay after receiving this communication the measures that are indispensable to the success of the movement.

"FEDERATION OF ENGINEERS AND FIREMEN.

"ALBERT LEMOINE, *Secretary*.

"TOFFIN, *President*."

When the strike had been declared and the workers showed an inclination to answer it in force, the Parisian newspapers simply worked themselves up to a frenzy. One would almost think from their howls that the end of society had arrived. Now, when there seems to be at least a temporary lull in the matter, these worthy "opinion molders" have recovered their equanimity, and have entered upon a thoroughly organized campaign of scientific lying in order to not only prejudice the public against the workers who are on strike, but to prevent other workers from joining them. The hand of Briand is seen in this also, as the campaign of lying began simultaneously by all the papers. These papers control the news situation, and it is impossible to learn just how extensive the strike is. It must be a serious one though, from the frantic efforts of the Government to break it.

The papers now take the stand that the strike is over, and are holding up revolutionary tactics as horrible examples of a labor movement gone wrong. They are encouraging a wholesale desertion of the C. G. T., and a return to the beautifully yellow unionism of a few years ago.

The situation is one of such a nature that it is difficult to analyze it, or to prophesy as to its possible outcome. However, the French working class, through the recent great increase of the cost of living, are literally being driven into a corner, and this railroad strike may yet cause an industrial war beside which the present one will sink into insignificance.

W. Z. FOSTER.

[Solidarity, Nov. 19, 1910.]

FRANCE AN UNDEVELOPED COUNTRY.

(Note by Editor: The following is part of fellow-worker Foster's account of the French railway strike, dealing with its close, and the alleged defeat of the strikers. It seems the strike was not as extensive as reported in the American press, only two roads being tied up. Following the mobilization order by Premier Briand, and the campaign of lying by the capitalist papers, the strikers started to break ranks, and the strike committee, in order to save the organization, called the strike off. That appears to have been excellent tactics and the effect of the strike was in fact a victory. The employers have promised to grant the increase in wages demanded, to take effect January 1. On account of the length or our correspondent's letter, we omit the details of the affair, and publish only that part which refers to the industrial and political situation in France.)

PARIS, October 20, 1910.

Although France is rated as one of the greatest of capitalist countries, her industries have not reached such a high state of development as have those of either England, Germany, or the United States. In fact, France is still a typical middle-class country, and exhibits the same phenomena that all countries in this stage of development do.

Compared to the highly developed methods of production in the United States, small production may be said to reign supreme in French industry. Except in very rare instances capital has not yet grouped itself so as to produce the powerful monopolies and ultra capitalists so common in the United States.

The working class simply reflects the development of the capitalist class. The thousands of petty merchants, manufacturers, farmers, etc., have not yet been pushed down into the working class, where they will go when the ultra capitalists get more power. Until this takes place, French society will not have the capitalist and working classes so clearly marked economically—nor socially—as they are in the United States.

STRONG GOVERNMENT.

From this middle-class society comes the Government, representing, of course, only the interests of the capitalist or master class, such as it is. This Government is strong, and its mandates are obeyed not only by the workers, but also by the capitalists themselves—excepting, of course, in the case of those laws whose application would benefit the workers, these being “saboted” by the masters in the orthodox way. This is because no small clique of capitalists has yet acquired sufficient power to set aside the laws of the rest of the capitalist class, such as we see the trusts doing in the United States. These latter have reduced the United States Government to simply a toy in their hands, and, in consequence, it and its laws have suffered a great loss of prestige amongst all classes. An American court or legislature is becoming to mean to even the working class a grafting institution entitled to no respect whatever.

But this fuller development of capitalism has not yet taken place to any appreciable extent in France, and the Government and its functionings still reflect the wishes of the mass of the comparatively embryonic capitalist class. Of course, the vast majority of the workers are deluded with the belief that this Government represents their interests also, and seeing the capitalist respecting the laws—at least to a much greater extent than in the United States—they proceed to follow suit. As a class, they consider law as a sort of sacred command to be implicitly obeyed. If the law seems hard, they can change it, etc.

INTENSE PATRIOTISM.

Again, patriotism in France is of the most virile type, of a sort of “do or die” order. The Franco-German war is not yet finished. According to all the capitalist papers the Germans are ever knocking at the gates of France. A moment's lack of vigilance will put France beneath the hated yoke of Germany. To prevent this terrible calamity an intense patriotic campaign is continually carried on. Certain journals and magazines devote themselves to it entirely. Floods of literary tears are shed over the sad fate of the lost provinces of Alsace-Lorraine. These must be won back by the same means by which they were lost

(war) and the stain on France's glory thus removed. Paid patriots rack their brains to devise mushy poetry to decorate the sickly sentimental patriotic post-cards with which the shops are cluttered, etc.

Of course, the Government takes part in this laudable work, and not only hammers patriotism into the millions of impressionable young men during the two years they must serve in the army, but also whenever opportunity presents itself it educates the general public. Here are a couple of instances out of many: At the Place de la Concorde, at intervals about the square are placed large statues representing the principal cities of France. The one dedicated to Strassbourg (principal city of the ceded territory) is kept continually covered with flowers to show France's constant sense of loss. The effect is obvious. Again, at the vast museums of The Invalides, France officially weeps over the sad disgrace of the Franco-German war, and one can see hundreds of workers gaping at the relics of the war, and, no doubt, lubbing much of the spirit they are intended to engender.

The extent of this systematic campaign of patriotism is difficult of comprehension by an American accustomed to his garden variety of bragging patriotism. The effect of it on the workers must be profound. One can see in the streets of Paris the working-class children playing at military games, fencing, singing songs to the tunes of bugle calls, etc. To offset this patriotic campaign the syndicalists carry on a vigorous anti-patriotic propaganda.

THE WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT.

Another factor in the French social situation is the peculiar nature of the working-class movement.

The working-class movements of the world may be classified under three general heads: First, those that are being retarded by their "leaders." Second, those that are developing freely, their "leaders" keeping pace with them or even stimulating them in their course. Third, those that are being really "led" or educated by their "leaders."

The American labor movement, or American Federation of Labor, is perhaps the best example of the first class. The various unions composing it are reactionary, and the cliques controlling them are doing their best to keep them so. Time after time these cliques have frustrated the attempts of progressive members of the rank and file to make the organization more in accord with modern conditions. So strongly are the cliques entrenched that in all likelihood their organization must perish, being incapable of evolution. The movement accepts capitalism as a finality, and uses legal tactics.

Germany, the home of Marxism, exhibits, perhaps, the best example of a labor movement in the second class. There we see the organized working class following its own natural bent, forming bread-and-butter direct action organizations, but depending for final emancipation upon the enticing ballot, which the workers have not yet come to understand. A movement accepting the Government as an institution and employing only legalized tactics in its daily struggles. The movement is being encouraged in this course by its political socialist leaders—whether from selfish motives or not is a matter of question.

The C. G. T. of France furnishes the almost unique example of a labor movement of our third class—one that is being "led" or "steered," a labor movement in the hands of men who are doing all in their power to keep it from following the natural course of the German movement. They are attempting to force the French labor movement to do for itself what the capitalists did for themselves in Japan. Simply by profiting by the experience of others they avoided the long, slow evolutionary process of industrial development and took a revolutionary short cut to the desired end. They skipped a rung in the evolutionary ladder and became a modern capitalist class almost over night.

The antistatist leaders of the C. G. T. would have the French labor movement act as intelligently. Perceiving the world-wide disastrous effects of governmental interference in working-class affairs and the futility of the working class trying to in any way derive benefit from the capitalist institution, they are advocating the abstention of the working class from all political activity and the adoption of the dreaded direct-action tactics entirely. The Government's laws should be entitled to no more consideration than the rules of the factory; if they oppress the workers, it is the workers' privilege to break them in any manner in which they see fit or are able to. This contempt for the "sacred" Government has outlawed the antistatist leaders of the C. G. T. and with them the organization of which they are undoubtedly shaping the policies.

Thus we have the outlawed French labor movement, dominated by "dangerous leaders," who are attempting to force a largely reluctant and ignorant rank and file to adopt the most approved methods of class warfare.

W. Z. FOSTER.

[Solidarity, Dec. 31, 1910.]

STIRRING EVENTS IN FRANCE.

PARIS, December 3, 1910.

The French labor movement at present is fairly surging over the condemnation to death of Secretary Durand, of the "coal heavers" of Havre, for alleged moral complicity in the killing of the scab, Donge, by several strikers recently. It will be remembered that this is the case where bought witnesses testified that at Durand's investigation Donge was tried and condemned to death in a union meeting, and that the latter's death was only the execution of the sentence.

This story is simply absurd. The condemnation is only a part of the ages-old tactics of trying to kill a dangerous movement by persecuting its militant spirits. The C. G. T. is well aware of the real import of the death sentence for Durand, and is preparing to put up a vicious fight. Protest meetings are being held in all the large cities of France. The keynotes of these meetings are demands to the Government for Durand's release on pain of a general strike, and warnings to all militants to hold themselves ready for a mass movement on short notice.

The agitation has already produced an echo in the Chamber of Deputies, where one excited politician demanded of Briand if he knew that the C. G. T. was openly preparing to revolt against law and order. This gentleman promised to institute an inquiry as to the legal standing of the C. G. T., with the object in view of suppressing it if possible.

Saturday night I attended a great protest meeting at a riding school close to the Place de la Bastille. There were fully 10,000 indignant syndicalists present. Yvetot, Bouderon, and other militants were the speakers. These speakers urged the syndicalists to resist the execution of Durand by every means in their power. The crowd was worked up to an intense degree and the speakers were continually interrupted by howlings of the forbidden word "sabotage." The French slaves well know what tactics hurt their masters, and they also know that the word "sabotage" stands for the most revolutionary sentiments the working class can have, i. e., utter contempt for capitalist life and property. It is coming to mean for them a general panacea for all their social ills.

A Socialist created a division in the meeting by advocating the election of more Socialist deputies, sending committees to Briand in order to stay the hand of the murderous Government. When the drift of his talk became clear to the audience, he was greeted with a wild roar of disgust and disapproval. It was only on the appeal of a militant direct actionist that this speaker was allowed to finish his talk. I was pleased beyond measure at the incident, as it showed clearer than anything I have yet seen since coming to France that the French working class is getting "clear" on the question of "the ballot."

At the exit of the building a couple of thousand gendarmes and soldiers (infantry and cavalry) were stationed, and when the meeting was finished the large crowd, singing the "Internationale" and hooting the police, were forced to pass through a small door two at a time. They were then sent in different directions and kept moving for several blocks from the meeting place by the innumerable police, who were stationed in hundreds at all the strategic points in the neighborhood. It required more than an hour for the crowd to filter through the small door. The idea was to prevent these feared, even though unarmed, syndicalists from "bunching up." I was flattered and pleased at sharing in this general attention from the police, and I was filled with disgust when I thought of the tame and unfearful American labor movement that I was doomed to return to in all likelihood. If it were possible for me to learn French in a couple of years good enough to speak it fluently, I would surely stay here and cast my lot in with these red-blooded syndicalists.

On my way home I went down into the subway station at the Place de la Bastille and was fairly startled at meeting some of the foundations of the Bastille which were uncovered and left exposed for exhibition purposes by the Metropolitan Subway Co. The sight of this masonry conflicted violently with

the frame of mind I was in after attending this revolutionary meeting, and fairly jerked me back to the times when labor hadn't the slightest ideas of its interests.

I thought if revolutionary sentiment grows amongst the Parisian building-trades workers as much in the next 20 years as it has in the past 20 years, prison walls such as that I was looking at will be impossible; the workers will simply refuse to build them. The building of churches in France has ceased, due to lack of demand created by a growing intelligence amongst the workers. The next phenomenon in order will be to stop building prisons to stuff with militant workers. This, also, will emanate from a rapidly learning working class.

The Socialist Prime Minister Briand has got something new up his sleeve now. He has laid out to be voted on a legal scheme of compulsory arbitration for the railroaders which will deprive the latter of not only the right to strike, but even to organize. Severe penalties are attached to infraction of the law. Some people call Briand a traitor in taking such measures as he has in suppressing the railroaders in the recent strikes and in advocating these laws, but this, however, is a little harsh on the gentleman, if he did once profess to believe in the efficiency of the general strike and urge the use of direct-action tactics in conjunction with political action, it was only due to a slight incoherence of ideas on his part, or possibly a desire to secure a few votes. He is now "coming to" and takes a sincere and true Socialist attitude, i. e., that the only proper tactics for the working class to pursue is to vote, vote, and to vote again. He is simply doing openly what every Socialist is doing all over the world—discrediting direct-action tactics and suppressing them as much as possible.

The "employers' association" has issued a long fake protest against the compulsory arbitration laws. This is, of course, only to make the workers believe that the law will have some elements of justice in it. It will soon be time for the C. G. T. to take a hand in this merry little farce and straighten affairs out a little.

Almercyda and Merle, the two editors of *La Guerre Sociale*, arrested as political prisoners during the railroad strike and held as common prisoners, went on a hunger strike a week ago to secure rights accorded political prisoners, but after a few hours of it the governor weakened and sent them to the special quarters reserved for political prisoners.

Yours, for double-jointed fish balls,

W. Z. FOSTER.

[Solidarity, Jan. 7, 1911.]

"PEARLED" SABOTAGE—A MOST EFFECTIVE METHOD OF DIRECT ACTION MADE USE OF BY FRENCH RAILWAY WORKERS.

(NOTE.—Recent dispatches from France state that the death sentence of Durand, of the railway workers' union, has been commuted to seven years' imprisonment in jail. In view of this fact, the below article by our Paris correspondent will prove to be doubly interesting and suggestive.—Editor Solidarity.)

PARIS, December 10, 1910.

When, with the aid of the skillful maneuvers of the Socialist Premier Briand, the railroad strike of the middle of October was crushed, illegally, violently, and without the least regard for any principle of humanity or justice, and the railroaders forced to go back to work in humiliation, the French capitalistic press fairly howled with glee. They saw the end of syndicalism in France. A vigorous campaign of repression was launched by the combined employers against the militant workers in all the industries and thousands of them were discharged, blacklisted, or arrested on the slightest pretext. There were 3,300 railroaders alone discharged and over 100 arrested. It was a veritable reign of terror and has culminated in the recent sentencing to death of Durand at Havre for alleged moral complicity in the killing of a scab during the coal heavers' strike.

These measures of repression far from having the desired effect have had just the opposite. The C. G. T. is in almost open revolt and threatens the Government with a general strike if Durand is not released. The railroaders, supposedly beaten, are demanding the immediate reinstatement of all their discharged fellow workers on pain of a complete demoralization of the railroad

system of France in case of a continued refusal. To add a little force to this threat, they have brought business to almost a complete standstill on the two striking roads, and the other five nonstriking roads are rapidly following suit. They are using passive resistance tactics, or, as it has been lately named, the "pearled" strike. Simply by studied clumsiness, carelessness, deliberate mistakes, and general cussedness they so confuse matters that it is impossible to transact business. So serious is the resulting stagnation that it is becoming a "national calamity." It is impossible to get shipments over the roads, and whilst the docks and warehouses of Havre and other points are piled mountain high with goods destined for Paris, the cupboard and coal bin of the latter place is empty almost to the point of famine.

THE ROTHSCHILD RAILROAD.

The conditions on the Rothschild road (North R. R.) are as bad, if not worse, than those on the antiquated State road. The management of the former crack road, the boast of French railroaders, at the close of the strike stated that the normal service would be reestablished again in three days. It is now two months since the end of the strike and, although the working force has been practically doubled, the confusion and congestion is increasing daily. The management states that it will now be impossible to resume the usual service again before March 1. It has been forced to refuse all retail shipments at many points on the line. So serious is the situation becoming that a veritable howl of protest is being raised by many business men who see ruin staring them in the face if the present condition lasts much longer. The topic is a leading one in all the big dailies. *Le Matin* instituted an investigation of the situation and sums the matter up by saying "To solve the problem there are but two solutions to consider: First, to reinstate the old personnel of the road; second, to double, triple, or even quadruple the present working force." Employers were interviewed and denied entirely that there was any sabotage being practiced. But attention was called to the following proposed remedy: "Let the companies pass the sponge over the past; let them reinstate our discharged comrades; let them give us an increase in wages at once, without the proposed unnecessary delay, and we will put the service on its feet in a few days. Otherwise, even with all possible good will, it will take months and months." The extremely humorous nature of this declaration is greatly heightened by the attitude of the companies. In the one article in *Le Matin* are contained the two following somewhat contradictory statements emanating from the same source, i. e., the Rothschild railroad directors: "We can not be held responsible for the present state of things. The blame lies at the door of the sabotage, of which we are the victims; special sabotage, 'pearled' sabotage, but can't be suppressed." A little further on is a long statement praising the good will of their workers who are working frantically to clear the blockade, only, however, in some inexplicable manner to make it still more confused. By the way, these latter are getting in much "overtime." Behold the humor of the following: "I hope these workers (whose salaries have lately been raised for their good work) will persevere in the effort there is yet to be made in order to reestablish the order and regularity." Doubtless the workers will persevere, though hardly in the manner hoped for by the honorable railroad directors.

METHODS OF THE SABOTERS.

The methods of causing this confusion are many. One favorite way is for an engineer to surreptitiously hook onto important car and ditch it somewhere along the line, where it may remain for weeks, the car checkers conveniently forgetting it. Meanwhile, some merchant is wondering where his car has disappeared to. Cars are hauled back and forth over the lines indiscriminately, and it's only an accident when some business man intercepts his wandering ships. On "getting over the road" confusion reigns supreme. Time tables are valueless. As one writer says, they simply inform one of the hours on which the trains don't arrive or depart. Breakdowns (?) are numerous; dead engines also, and the hauling capacity of the engines has for some strange reason been greatly lessened lately. It is in the freight stations, however, that there is real confusion par excellence. Boxes and bales piled indiscriminately; "fragile," "glass," "this side up with care," "use no hooks" signs are meaningless. All is grist that comes to the French freight handlers mill to be made a general pile of all. To send an employee to look for a shipment is to bid good-bye to him

for the day. He looks and searches without seeing or finding. So hopeless have consignees become of securing their goods by this one time successful process that they have taken to hunting their own shipments. The following article taken from *L'Intransigeant*, a capitalist paper, gives a fair idea of the situation:

"OBLIGATORY PITY."

"Yesterday at the Chambers of Deputies if M. Briand has promised nothing definite he has at least hinted that the railroad companies may be induced to forgive and open their doors to their repentant prodigal children (discharged railroaders).

"The theoreticians, the people who only reason from the absolute, said on the day following the end of the strike: 'No quarter!'. 'Let us be merciful toward the strikers; toward all the strikers, the leaders and the others.' Very strongly said, but let us consider the facts. A proletariat that is to-day class conscious has opposed new tactics to this warlike reasoning. 'Very well,' said the railroaders to the companies, 'if you don't want to submit, we are going to have recourse to the "strike of the crossed arms."' And, in fact, if the strikers on the North and State railroads have returned to work and are all at their posts it is only in the nature of a pretense. To accomplish only the half of their tasks, to purposely multiply errors and faults, to send to Dunkirk the merchandise consigned to Paris, such is the revenge of the railroaders who have decided to resume their normal manner of working only when the victims of their strike will have been reinstated. The complaints from the commerce suffering from this state of affairs have been so strong that they had to be heard. That is why the government and the companies will be obliged to capitulate."

ATTITUDE OF THE SOCIALIST PRESS.

With capitalist papers thus frankly discussing the sabotage and its influence on the Government, one would expect that "*L'Humanite*" (edited by Jean Jaures, an official daily paper of the alleged working class Socialist Party) would at least have an encouraging word to say to the saboteurs. But no, this miserable sheet is suppressing the news of the sabotage, and in an article signed by Jaures imputes the disorganization of the roads to the fact that many of the best workmen have been discharged. This policy of distorting the truth is all the more disgusting when one considers that many deluded workers, believing to help the working class cause, subscribe for Jaures's paper in preference to the decidedly more truthful capitalist papers. Jaures's reasons for suppressing the truth is very clear. When the Government is forced to yield and reinstate the discharged railroaders, Jaures will hail it as a great victory for the "party," as the socialist deputies have been fooling away their well-paid time conferring with Briand on the matter. Then, again, it would be a fatal mistake to recognize the efficiency of direct action tactics.

"*La Guerre Sociale*," edited by Herve, the "official organ" of the saboteurs, has been boycotted at all the railroad news stands in France.

The situation is an interesting one, and if in the course of a couple of weeks we read of a great victory for the Socialists in the chamber of deputies in having the railroaders reinstated, we will know whether to ascribe it to political action or the "pearled" strike.

Yours for an indestructible pie card,

W. Z. FOSTER.

P. S.—It is estimated that the railroad strike and sabotage following it have already cost France more than \$100,000,000.

[Solidarity, Mar. 11, 1911.]

SPECIAL ARTICLE BY FOSTER.

Our special European correspondent, William Z. Foster, who has been in France for several months studying the syndicalist or revolutionary union movement of that country, has just sent in a special article of great value, showing in detail the relations between the socialist political party of France and the revolutionary labor union—the C. G. T.

Much misleading information has been circulated through the socialist press of this country, to the effect that the so-called political movement, and the C. G. T. have always cooperated one with the other, for the mutual advantage of both. Foster shows that from the very beginning, internecine warfare has been the order of the day between the two forces, and clearly shows the reasons why.

This article will clear up many misconceptions regarding the French labor movement.

It will be published in full in No. 67 of *Solidarity*—date of March 25. Local unions should send in their bundle orders for this issue right away, and give it a wide circulation.

Push the work of getting subs, also, and let us rattle the dry bones of reaction with sound industrial union propaganda.

[*Solidarity*, Mar. 18, 1911.]

GREETINGS FROM PARIS.

[*La Vie Ouvrière*, Semimonthly Syndicalist Review, 96 Quai Jemmapes.]

PARIS, FRANCE, *February 18.*

SOLIDARITY:

We have changed the place of publication of our Review, and wish, in consequence, that you would replace the old address with the new one in the adv. you have kindly placed in *Solidarity*.

Our friend Foster is now in Berlin. He will presently send his new address to you. We very much regretted his departure, at the very moment when he was commencing to speak the language, to penetrate more and more the spirit of the French movement and to get a clear grasp of its different phases.

But his visit here has been precious, as well for us as for him. We know now that syndicalism and industrialism have the same aspirations and the same goal. Let us hope that the relations established by Foster between the two movements may not be dissolved, and that we may exchange frequent reports, which will keep us mutually informed.

With most cordial greetings,

P. MONATTE.

[*Solidarity*, Mar. 25, 1911.]

C. G. T. AND S. P., OR SYNDICALISTS V. SOCIALISTS.

[Special correspondence by W. Z. Foster.]

PARIS, FRANCE.

In the January number of the *International Socialist Review*, in an article entitled "How to kick," Mr. Robert Rives La Monte sketches a program of action that the American workers must adopt if they are to achieve their economic emancipation. His theory is the well-known one of combined political and direct action. Whilst organizing and using in our daily struggles "such unions as the W. F. of M." we must also pay our dues into the Socialist Party and vote its ticket.

Mr. La Monte lays much stress on the necessity for the development of what he calls the "new unionism," but which is known in France, its birthplace, as syndicalism. He considers the condition of the workers as indeed hopeless if they don't develop strong fighting genius of this syndicalist character; unions "that use all their weapons at once" and which in aim, form, and tactics are radically different from the conservative A. F. of L. trades-unions. Political action of itself, however revolutionary or extensive it may be, can accomplish but little if not backed by real economic power, he tells us. Our economic might must be organized into this modern and potent form of labor organization. However, he hastens to assure us that these syndicalist unions by themselves can not accomplish the "miracle" of overthrowing capitalism, nor do they try it alone. They must assist and be assisted by the Socialist Party. The working class direct action and political action organizations must go shoulder to shoulder together to the assault of capitalism. On this condition alone is success assured.

To lend weight to his theory and to illustrate the beneficial effects of this political-economic cooperation, Mr. La Monte cites French labor history as follows:

"In France, where the new unionism has reached its highest development, the political movement, the Socialist Party preceded it and prepared the ground for it, and was fortunately strong enough to give it much necessary protection in its early years."

American socialists, who will form the bulk of the readers of Mr. La Monte's article, are noted chiefly for their gullibility and unsophistication when the subject of socialism is in question. With them the expression "The Socialist Party" is one to conjure by. It covers a multitude of sins oftentimes. The "revolutionary" farmer in Kansas, the "class-conscious" lawyer in Kalamazoo, the "proletarian" millionaire in New York, the disfranchised worker in the West—socialists all—how their hearts beat in glad unison when they learn of some new and beneficent exploit of the Socialist Party. What matter what country it occurs in or what the nature of the Socialist Party is that performs it, or even if it ever occurs at all. They will never investigate. Suffice it for some one to say that one of the great international family of the Socialist Parties has done such or such a noble act. Only a vandal or iconoclastic intellectual would be sacrilegious enough to doubt it and to tear the veil from the beloved Socialist Party in question and find out the facts. Therefore, when Mr. La Monte makes his statements about the French Socialist Party having "prepared the ground for" and given "much necessary protection to" the redeeming syndicalism and also broadly hints (though he would hardly dare say so) that the Socialist Party and syndicalists' organizations still continue to preserve the former fond relations, he will be implicitly believed by the faithful. Such good deeds on the part of the Socialist Party are perfectly natural. However, being long since classed amongst the heathen, I will uncover for a few moments the clay feet of this French Socialist Party idol and show the incorrectness of Mr. La Monte's statements and inferences.

THE SOCIALIST PARTIES.

The French Socialist Party was organized in 1879 at the congress of the National Federation of Syndicats (local labor unions). Two years later it split into two factions and these quickly divided themselves into still more factions or parties. Some of these "parties" were the Guesdists, Broussists, Allemanists, Blanquists, Millerandist, Jaurests. They represented every shade of thought in the socialist political rainbow from the rankest opportunism to the most impossible impossibilism. They waged an incessant warfare on each other for years. All naturally sought the support of the syndicats, and these for about 10 years reflected all the quarrels of the politicians. Many, torn by these dissensions, disappeared, others falling under the control of some "party" were either turned into voting machines or study clubs.

But the great mass of the syndicats, weakened by the incessant political dissensions, gradually developed and insisted on a policy of no politics in the union. Some seven of these independent and fighting socialist parties were tinkered together into the present nondescript Socialist Party in 1905, nine years after the formation of the General Confederation of Labor (C. G. T.).

Mr. La Monte's "The Socialist Party" during the "early years" of syndicalism, therefore resolves itself into a sort of hash of socialist parties which not only did not directly aid in the development of the budding labor movement, but distinctly retarded it. They were too busy helping themselves to waste time helping the syndicats.

SOCIALIST ASSISTANCE.

The later neutrality of the syndicats toward political action was very unpopular with the politicians. The International Socialist Congress of London, 1896, illustrates the latter's attitude toward it. The French socialist deputies (congressmen) attended the congress with no other credentials than their deputies' cards. The syndicats also sent delegates. To whip the French syndicates into the political line, Millerand, Juarez, Guesde, Gerault, Richard, Viviani, and other prominent socialists proposed that all neutralist syndicats be excluded from the next congress. Motion lost by 57 to 56. The French syndicats narrowly escaped being "protected" out of the international movement. Many similar instances of opposition to the neutrality policy could be cited. The socialists' policy

toward the bourses du travail also bears witness to the amicable relations existing between the political and economic movements during this early period of syndicalism.

SOCIALISTS V. BOURSES DU TRAVAIL.

After the passage of the much-discussed "law of 1844," which gave the workers the legal right to organize (1) a general policy of steering the labor movement was adopted. Many municipalities built fine buildings, subsidized them, and turned them over to the local syndicats to serve as a general headquarters. These ungrateful organizations formed themselves into local unions of syndicats. The unions are commonly known under the title of Bourse du Travail, although this is really the name of their headquarters (labor exchange).

The bourses are real class unions, including workers of every trade, and from their first appearance have been strongly revolutionary. They were the real beginnings of modern syndicalism. They particularly distinguished themselves in the revolt against political domination in the unions. Many municipalities, seeing the antipolitical viper they were nursing in their bosoms, attempted to kill their local bourses by withdrawing the subsidies or even closing the bourses altogether. Emile Pouget says (*La Confédération Générale du Travail*, p. 14): "It is to be noted that these persecutions are not peculiar to municipalities of reactionary or simply republican opinions, but that the socialist municipalities have persecuted their bourses du travail with the most vigor."

Probably these socialist tactics should be classed as "giving much necessary protection" to the new unionism, as Mr. La Monte puts it.

The popularity of all class bourses in socialist circles is well evidenced by Georges Sorel, one of Europe's most prominent economists, who, writing in 1898, 11 years after the first bourse, says (2): "The bourses du travail, which unite the syndicats without any consideration of politics are poorly viewed by the socialist deputies; it is rather curious to note that there are no institutions of this character at Calais, Roubaix, or Lille" (3). Doubtless the socialists were so busy "preparing the ground" for the new unionism that they had no time to found bourses.

FORMATION OF THE C. G. T.

The bourses, in spite of the socialist "protection" rapidly increased in number and importance, and in 1892 they organized themselves nationally into the Federation of Bourses. This made two national labor organizations—the older National Federation of Syndicats, which grouped indiscriminately syndicats and federations (national trades unions) still functioning. The Federation of Bourses, one wing of the movement, was revolutionary and autonomous toward political action. The National Federation of Syndicats, the other wing, was under the "protection" of the Guesdist Socialist Party. To combine these two rival organizations was absolutely necessary to the development of the labor movement. It occupied several years of the direct actionists' best efforts. They finally accomplished it by holding the national congress of the National Federation of Syndicats and fairly stealing this organization from the socialist dictator Guesde (4). The following year, 1895, the two organizations were merged and the C. G. T. was formed. This marked the definite repute of the labor and political socialist movements. Henceforth the Socialist Parties were forced to shower their blessings on the labor movement from a distance.

HAND IN HAND.

The two movements gradually drifted apart; the working-class organizations began to suspect the motives of the politicians and to fight decidedly shy of them.

In 1899 the various Socialist Parties held a general congress, preliminary to their unification in 1905. Of this affair, Fernand Pelloutier, secretary of the Federation of Bourses, and one of the founders of syndicalism, says (5): "The chief characteristic of the socialist congress is the total absence of the workers' syndicats. This absence struck everybody. And I, myself, although knowing the horror the syndicats have for a long time professed in regard to the political sects, was surprised at the small number of them there were at this first general congress of the Socialist Party." Later on, speaking of the syndicats, he says: "At present our position in the socialist world is this: Proscribed from the Socialist Party because, not less revolutionary than Vaillant

or Guesde, nor less resolutely partisans of the suppression of private property, we are, in addition, what they are not—rebels of every hour, men truly without a god, master, or country; the irreconcilable enemies of all despotism, moral or material, individual or collective."

These statements, emanating from such a high authority as Pelloutier, may be taken as fairly indicative of the friendly relations existing between the multicolored Socialist Parties and the struggling labor organizations during this period.

DEVELOPMENT OF SYNDICALISM.

In 1890, as a result of the Dreyfus affair, the French socialists secured much political power, and Millerand became minister of commerce in Waldeck-Rousseau's ministry. The frightened (?) capitalist class and expectant working class anxiously awaited the beginning of the long talked of revolution. Millerand answered these expectations by handing the workers a large lemon. By decree he established the "Superior Labor Council," an "advisory body with great moral influence on labor legislation." It is composed of 66 members—22 workers, 22 employers, and 22 other persons. It is needless to comment on the merits of this French Civic Federation. In this layout Jean Jaures was one of the "other persons." Millerand delivered himself of many other "social peace" schemes of similar character. He was soon joined in the ministry by Briand and Viviani, and between the three they have kept up the lemon diet for the workers for 10 years, varying it from Briand's soldier sick to Viviani's famous old-age pensions for the dead. The socialist deputies have also kept up the good work. They have interpreted the class struggle as "the collaboration of the classes," having fused first with one party and then another as opportunity dictated.

The disappointment and astonishment of all but a few of the militant workers at these events was intense. They found themselves, in their syndicates, forced to vigorously fight the "social-peace" schemes of "their" socialist representatives, the acceptance of which would have stripped their organizations of their power. Hitherto their difficulties with the politicians had been largely due to the efforts of the various sects to secure dominion over the syndicates—a national situation, so it seemed. But now that the socialists were in power, and they showed a distinct hostility toward the direct-action organizations, it put the matter in a different light. The theory of political action came in for a serious investigation, and largely as a result of this investigation has come the new syndicalist movement, with its own plan of working-class tactics, which is violently antagonistic to that of the socialist movement.

SOCIALISM VERSUS SYNDICALISM.

The socialist program, only thinly disguised by Mr. La Monte, divides working-class activity into two fields—economic and political. The labor unions operate in the one, the S. P. in the other. This division is arbitrary, however, as all social questions have economic bases. The political and economic fields overlap each other. They are the one "field"—the economic. The labor unions in the socialist program, therefore, have to differentiate between the socialist so-called "political" and "economic" questions. They must confine themselves to the latter, leaving the former to the care of the S. P. They must pursue a course of hands off in regard to questions that the S. P. considers "political" in nature. It would be manifestly absurd for the working-class direct-action organizations to fight against on the economic field what the political organization has fought for on the political field (6). Hence, the labor unions should be subordinate to the political party and accept the freak laws, social peace schemes, etc., that it secures from the Government. Governmental interference in strikes is also a matter for the political party to handle, not the labor unions. Victor Griffuehles, ex-secretary of the C. G. T., thus states the socialist rôles for working-class organizations: They must be "adversaries of the Government on the political field, servitors of the Government on the economic field" (7).

The syndicalist movement, to the contrary, recognizes but one field of working-class activity—the economic; only one kind of social question—the economic. To solve these economic questions it uses, in all cases, direct-action tactics alone. It forces the State to pass laws in the same manner as it forces a private employer to raise wages or to better working conditions—by strikes,

sabotage, boycotts, etc. And not only does syndicalism feel perfectly sure of its ability to force the state and private employers to grant concessions by its direct-action tactics, but, if we are to believe its best writers, it also intends to overthrow the whole capitalist system by the supreme application of direct action—that is, the general strike. It makes absolutely no provision for the conquest of the political power by "penetration," but aims to overthrow present society completely, ending some great labor crisis, and to substitute its own institutions in place of those that have been overthrown.

For syndicalism to accept the socialist "double-action" theory, entailing the subordination of the economic to the political organization, would render it incapable of fighting its own most powerful enemy—the Government—which is not only by far the greatest employer in France, but is also a highly-developed strike-breaking machine for the whole capitalist class. Not for a moment is syndicalism willing to leave this great enemy to the care of the politicians. Experience has taught it that these intermediaries serve only to obscure the outlines of the class struggle and to act as a shield, not for the workers but for the Government. Syndicalism recognizes in the State its most insidious as well as powerful enemy and rejects all participation in it. Its attitude toward the State is well stated by Victor Griffuelhes:

"Adversaries of the State and all its institutions from a 'political' point of view, adversaries of the State and all its institutions from an economic point of view." (8).

The all class Socialist movement is statist; the working class syndicalist movement is antistatist. The one advocates working class conquest of the State by parliamentary action and submission to its decrees; the other, abstention from participation in the State and revolt against its arbitrary laws. The one considers the State as a possible working class friend; the other, as an inveterate enemy. The two movements can not exist in harmony. They are trying to absorb each other. Syndicalism claims itself as self sufficient; socialism says it needs a guardian and helper—a political shield. It tries to force this guardianship on the unwilling syndicalism. A socialist success is a syndicalist defeat, and vice versa. The two movements are competitors for the undivided support of the working class. There can be no cooperation between them. They must fight to a finish.

It is true that the S. P. officially endorses the economic organizations and even advises its working class members to join them, and that the C. G. T., true to its function as an economic organization, is neutral toward all political parties, but these are only diplomatic pretenses. Their real sentiments are evidenced by the continual guerrilla warfare being waged between the militants of the two organizations. "But," the unsophisticated American socialist will say, "Why this warfare? If political action is incompatible with the interests of the working class, why not abandon it and adopt direct action tactics entirely, cut out the S. P. and build up the C. G. T.?"

THE "NIGGER" IN THE WOODPILE.

The answer is simple: The French workers are "seeking salvation." They have very hazy ideas of the nature of capitalist governments, they are also gullible and in addition have universal suffrage.

A good combination for the ambitious socialist lawyer, doctor, or shopkeeper to work on. And the prize is worth while, the French Government being particularly rich in snaps, not to mention the vast amount of patronage and graft of the innumerable judgeships, mayorships, postmasterships, etc. There are some 1,000 positions as deputies and senators at \$3,000 per year to be had simply for the asking—provided it is done skillfully enough.

On the other hand, the C. G. T., the direct action organization, offers no inducements to the horde of socialist intellectuals, who, in a majority of cases, not being workers, are not even entitled to membership in it. It has but three regularly paid officers, who each receive \$50 per month. Its component organizations are as sparingly officered. There are no soft berths in the direct action movement for the unemployed intellectuals.

These intellectuals have no economic interest in common with the workers. They are not forced to help build up powerful fighting organizations in order that their own condition may be improved. Their interest lies in building up a strong political organization in order to more successfully "penetrate" the government. The nature of their program demands the support of the working class. The syndicalist movement by demonstrating its own selfsufficiency and

showing the fallacy and uselessness of political action pulls working class support from the socialist movement and is a distinct menace to the latter. The politicians, seeing their lucrative profession thus menaced, consider the syndicalist movement a legitimate object for attack. Hence the continual warfare between the two movements. French railroad history, like that of any other industry, is a series of battles between socialists and syndicalists. A few citations from it may be instructive.

" BRIAND, ROTHSCHILD & CO."

In 1896 the Rothschilds, the French railroad kings, got into the labor movement. Through an intermediary they bought "La Lanterne," a well-known Parisian journal. Briand and Count Conduret were placed in charge of it. An unholy trinity—Jew millionaire, Bonapartist count, and revolutionary socialist—operating a radical paper. Millerand, Jaures, Viviani, and other prominent socialists were its principal contributors.

In 1898 Rothschild's railroad slaves threatened to strike. "Friday" Briand hastily resigned his editorial position in order to lead them to victory. A brilliant talker and writer, he soon found himself at the head of the agitation. He advocated the general strike and organized the famous "Knights of Labor," a secret organization, whose object was to destroy railroad signals, bridges, stations, etc., immediately after the strike was declared. He became the confidant of Guerard, the socialist dictator of the railroad unions. The strike date was set, and Briand "squealed." The Government was fully prepared for the strike. No sooner was it declared than Briand announced, through La Lanterne, the discovery of a great military plot to overthrow the Government (this was during the Dreyfus affair). The S. P. immediately protested against the threatened outrage and elected a permanent vigilance committee to protect the interests of the Government. In this great "crisis" the railroad strike was a danger to the Republic. Guerard immediately called it off. Needless to say, the "plot" was simply a manufactured one and never materialized. Briand had earned his seat in the ministry and the political movement secured a victory. The direct action movement amongst the railroaders was given a deadly blow, and for 10 years Guerard's domesticated union protested via political channels. It became a common saying that the railroaders would never strike again.

THE RECENT RAILROAD STRIKE.

In 1909 Guerard was forced to resign and shortly afterward the railroad slaves began to stir again. They threatened to strike if their long-deferred demands were not granted. This agitation was the work of the famous "syndicalist minority." The agitation rapidly grew and a general strike on all the railroads planned.

On October 8, before the strike plans were fully developed, the strike burst out spontaneously, and in two days two systems were completely tied up. A general strike on all the roads in France was then called. The key to the situation was the big East R. R. system, the unions of which were under the thumb of their general secretary, Niel, ex-secretary of the C. G. T. If this road could be induced to strike the strike would undoubtedly be a success, if not, failure was certain. The other four roads still at work waited to see what the East R. R. was going to do. Niel, the socialist dictator, became the man of the hour; he had it in his power to give Europe one of the greatest strikes it had ever known.

SOCIALIST NIEL'S TREACHERY.

The C. G. T. congress at Toulouse had just ended (Oct. 10). The socialists, led by Niel, had suffered a complete defeat at the hands of the syndicalists. The opportunity for revenge presented itself, and Niel, instead of hastening to Paris and doing all in his power to swing the East Railroad into line, remained in the south of France, and sent a long telegram to Le Matin, a widely read capitalist paper, criticising the strike as premature and stating that it would not (he meant should not) be a general one until the strike order had reached every group or local. This, although every paper in France had published the order. His lieutenant on the East Railroad took the hint and awaited the arrival of the official strike order. The strike committee at Paris, not being able to trust either the mails or telegraph, sent messengers all over France with copies. Briand had also taken Niel's tip, however, and arrested these

messengers. The result was a grand confusion, many of the unions got no orders, others waited to hear from the rest of the unions, etc. The psychological moment slipped away. Briand's mobilization order arrived and the socialist East Railroad, numbering 70 per cent of union men, by far the highest of the railroads in France, remained at work and hauled soldier scabs to break the strike on the other roads. The failure of the East Railroad to strike undoubtedly caused the loss of the strike.

Niel's telegram was a master stroke, but it was not the only socialist factor in the loss of the strike. The committees, largely socialist, using practically as headquarters the office of L'Humanite, the official organ of the S. P., were surrounded and dominated by socialist politicians openly hostile to the strike. The necessary vigorous action—even had it been wished—was absolutely impossible under these circumstances (9). Their inertia also contributed greatly to the disaster.

On the warfare between the socialists and syndicalists the loss of this great strike marked an important surface victory for the former. Direct action tactics were discredited and 3,300 militant syndicalists discharged from the strategic railroad industry, thus leaving it once more in almost complete control of the socialists.

The Socialist delegation in the Chamber of Deputies was also given much free advertising by its spectacular defense of the railroads' right to strike. Its criticisms of Briand's tyrannical measures, its pleading for reinstatement of the discharged railroaders, etc. The railroaders may be expected, for at least a time, to once more protest through political channels.

The real victory, however, in spite of appearances, is on the side of the syndicalists. They have one more proof that the socialist movement, like all other political movements, holds its own interest to be superior to that of the working class and that it is distinctly hostile to the direct action idea. The displaced syndicalist railroader will soon be replaced by others of an even more virile type.

Mr. La Monte's citation of French labor history, in order to lend weight to his theory of combined working class economic and political action, is without value. Such cooperation does not exist now in France, nor has it in the past.

Whether it was recognized or not, the two movements have always been opposed to each other as the foregoing incidents demonstrate. The most prominent features of the new unionism, that Mr. La Monte extols so much, are its growing consciousness of this position, and its rejection of all political action.

As for the I. W. W.—the American syndicalist organization—its militants, who are imbued with the real syndicalist theories, will do their best to prevent the S. P. from "protecting" or "preparing the ground for" their organization. They will insist on a policy of strict official neutrality toward all political parties, and as individuals they will vigorously combat the political action theory, be it advocated by the S. P. or any other party.

Yours for the revolution,

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER.

PARIS, January 24, 1911.

[Solidarity, Apr. 22, 1911. Special correspondence.]

OBSERVATIONS IN GERMANY.

BERLIN, GERMANY.

Saturday, March 18, the anniversary of the German revolution of 1848, was celebrated by the decoration of the graves of the fallen martyrs with several hundred costly wreaths. Socialists, syndicalists, anarchists and "patriots" took part in it. The martyrs are buried in Friedrich Hain Park—though why in a public park I have been unable to find out—and a few of us syndicalists wended our way there bright and early with our tribute. There was no demonstration. The bearers of wreaths carried them to a police censor stationed near the graves; he read the inscriptions, and with a pair of scissors literally "cut out" those sentiments that were "against the Government." It was amusing to watch this solemn censor cutting out the dope that might poison the minds of the slaves. The indorsed fragments of wreaths were placed on the graves, and everyone hit the trail home. Just a little different from "Parée," thought I.

In the evening I attended a fine concert given by the "Vereinigung der Musikinstrument Arbeiter Berlins und Umgegend." This name after being

"civilized" into English runs "Musical Instrument Workers' Union of Berlin and vicinity." It is a branch of the German syndicalist organization, "Freie Vereinigung deutscher Gewerkschaften" or "Free Union of German Unions." The concert was a swell affair, not one of your stiff hold-me-up-straight-English-American layouts, but a let-her-go-easy German proposition. The vast hall was filled with tables as well as chairs, and we kept the excellent music and singing company by drinking beer and chewing the rag; however, owing to linguistic difficulties, I was more competent to "get in on" the first part of this "accompaniment" than on the last.

The following day the memorial celebration was continued by a grand syndicalist mass meeting. It was some different from our American affairs also. Again the eternal tables with the beer on them and the general take-it-easy fashion. Two policemen were seated on the platform to prevent the speakers from "handing us" anything that might give us an enlargement of the cranium. This cheerful feature reminded me forcefully of some of our intellectual police censors in sunny old Spokane.

The subject was "The results of 40 years of working-class political activity." Unfortunately I was unable to decipher the hot shots that were fired into the Social Democratic Party. These same "shots" provoked a workman, with a delightfully sloping forehead, to take the platform in defense of this alleged working-class organization. I am afraid that his dope was a little "off color" however, because the audience didn't seem to be led around to his way of thinking.

After all hands had another beer, the meeting was called off amid enthusiasm, and most of us retired to a near-by saloon where we had more beer.

Beer plays a large part in the German revolutionary movement, even as wine does in that of France, where the "bunch" say it is a physical impossibility for a man to be a revolutionist and an abstainer at the same time.

Yours, for the I. W. W.,

W. Z. FOSTER.

[Solidarity, June 3, 1911. Special correspondence.]

MAY DAY IN GERMANY.

BERLIN, May 2, 1911.

May day in a large European city, what a prospect for an American revolutionist who for years has been fed on stories of working-class deeds of prowess performed on this day of all days in the year. Although somewhat blasé and sophisticated, I'll confess that I awaited the approach of this day with more than ordinary interest. When it finally arrived I got up early in the morning and hurried out into the streets in order to take a look at the limping capitalism, lamed by the desertion of thousands of its most necessary slaves on this festive day of labor. But what a disappointment. Everything seemed as usual; the trolley cars were running with matter of fact regularity; the young boy street sweepers were dodging about among the ordinary volume of traffic, etc. Everything wore its ordinary aspect, whereas I had expected to find the city's life metamorphosed from its usual humdrum aspect into a day of celebration, the streets full of soldiers, etc. Another idol destroyed.

The May day celebration in Berlin is a thing hated by those who should do the most to uphold and develop it, namely, the socialist labor leaders. At best they only suffer it to exist because they can not suddenly abolish it without running the risk of incurring disastrous consequences to themselves inflicted by aroused and incensed workers, to whom May day is yet full of meaning. They hate it because it is a constant menace to the success of their social peace schemes; to their tying the working class hands and feet with contracts; to the perpetuation of the political lie that the working class on the economic field is powerless before the modern capitalistic organization; that it must win its emancipation on the political field. These political leaders know that the May day celebration may any year provoke an industrial war which would scatter their beloved contracts and political organization to the four winds, which would give the working class an inkling of the vast power it possesses on the economic field and introduce the dread idea of the general strike and direct-action tactics into Germany.

They freely admit that the idea of the general strike and that of the conquest of the political powers are incompatible. The workers can have but one or the

other as their ultimate goal. The furthering of the political-action idea demands as far as possible economic peace between employers and workers. If there must be war between them, it must be limited to as small compass as possible. All tendencies of vast masses of workers to strike together, especially along lines of general strikes, must be repressed, else the workers will get an inkling of their economic power and neglect the political action. The May day semigeneral strike celebration thus forms a constant danger to the political-action movement and receives but scant courtesy from its leaders, who are likewise the leaders of the unions.

For years these men have single-handedly "knifed" the May day celebration, until now it is only a skeleton of its former self. This they have done by "throwing cold water" on the celebration, making it difficult for the locked-out workers to get strike benefits (the employers usually lock out employees who take May day off), excusing certain categories of "indispensable" workers, etc. They are now nursing a proposition to have May day celebrated on the first Sunday in May. It wouldn't be surprising if this plan were shortly inflicted on the international movement. Thus two birds with one stone—the sacred contracts would remain clear of danger and all fear of a general strike or lockout with the dangerous consequences to the political movement would be averted.

The form of the celebration here is very characteristic of the efforts of these leaders to keep the workers from acting in concert or developing any enthusiasm. Each union holds its own celebration. No general demonstration, as at Paris, for instance, is attempted. The socialists are too law and orderly to break the anti-demonstration laws. At least that is what they say, though the real reason is that they fear to bring about trouble that might lead to a general strike. I attended the largest of these meetings, that of the Woodworkers' Union. It was well attended; possibly 15,000 workers were present.

The affair was of the ordinary German type—lots of beer, good singing by the male choir, police on platform, a "vote 'em out" talk, etc.

While we were thus celebrating with all due decorum the French workers were having a real celebration. In Paris the police emperor, Lepine, forbade the proposed demonstration, but the lawless syndicalists held it in spite of him. In the resulting collisions between the police and soldiers and workers there were over a hundred wounded. Vorwärts, the central organ of the S. D. Party, gave the Paris demonstration about 20 lines of its valuable space. Some bourgeois papers gave it a full column. Such suppression of working-class news is only one of the hundreds of means of keeping the German workers from getting the solidarity idea into their minds. Besides, anything that smacks of syndicalism is strictly tabooed by the S. D. leaders.

Yours for real working-class solidarity,

W. Z. FOSTER.

[Solidarity, Sept. 2, 1911. Special correspondence.]

GERMAN SOCIALIST UNIONS HOLD TAME CONVENTION WITHOUT A BREATH OF REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT.

DRESDEN, GERMANY, *July 2, 1911.*

The German Socialist Unions have held their congress in this historic old town during the past week. It was the tameest affair I ever attended and almost a perfect model of what a union congress should not be. Not alone was it destitute of even the suggestion of revolutionary spirit but was also run on a machine plan that Sammy & Co. could learn much from.

Legien opened the congress by citing a lot of statistics showing the growth of the organization, which now has 2,276,000 members, their financial resources, etc. After this the congress speedily settled down to its "work," which consisted in doing whatever the Gen. Com. (G. E. B.) told it to do. During the whole congress not a single motion against which the Gen. Com. expressed its enmity was passed, and not a single one of its recommendations was refused or even contested. The few motions on the order of business which were unwelcome to the Gen. Com. were cold-bloodedly slaughtered by either a word from the dictator Legien, parliamentary juggling, or by being "settled" behind the curtains. The "business" that the congress was allowed to discuss from a revolutionary standpoint was trivial in the extreme. It consisted chiefly in windy kicks against the cruel government and regulations of the insurance institutions of the unions. Only a couple are worth spilling ink over.

One proposition was for all the unions to form a central strike fund, and another was that in great strikes or lockout all the affiliated unions should be assessed per capita tax. These motions were aimed to checkmate the employers who at present keep a close track of the funds of the organization by grace of the latter's elaborate statistics, and who thus knock the fighting strength of the unions.

The Gen. Com. didn't commit itself on these propositions, but advised that they be referred to a conference between the Gen. Com. and the National Committees of the various unions. Why this conference should be considered more capable than the congress is only to be explained on the grounds that one of the cardinal principles of the German Socialist Union is that the rank and file (or even the congress) is incapable of deciding important questions.

Our American Socialists who are demanding the referendum for the whole American people might do good work to propagate the idea in the German Socialist Unions, where it is practically unknown. Of course Legien's recommendation was unquestionably acceded to. Then came a proposition from the Gen. Com. for the Soc. Cooperatives and unions to form a partnership and get into the insurance business on a business basis. It was pointed out that the private insurance companies are fleecing the workers out of hundreds of millions of marks yearly, and that this could be stopped by the formation of a general working-class insurance company. The proposition, coming from the Gen. Com., was, of course, unanimously adopted.

This forming of a central insurance company is a logical development of union insurance in Germany. The present 53 unions, each with their separate insurance institutions, are distinctly unbusinesslike and can't seriously compete with the better organized private companies. Their merging their insurance features into one organization is inevitable and may react favorably on them by forcing them to develop into fighting organizations if they want to make any appeal to the workers. Hitherto it has been their functions as "sick and death benefit societies," which have been their strongest drawing cards.

However, it is not intended that the new company supplant the unions entirely as insurance societies, as it will limit its activities to death, old age, and a few other benefits. The dear Socialist guardians of the unions will never intentionally let them out of the insurance fog. However, such a central insurance company might easily have the effect I have suggested.

The balance of the business of the congress was a series of long, dry discussions and protests over the attitude of the Government toward the employment offices, sweat shops, workers, insurance, right of workers to organize, etc.

Needless to say the congress has left the prosecution of these kicks and threats to the "powerful" Soc. Dem. Party. The idea that the unions should undertake by their own efforts to force the Government to recognize their protests, as the C. G. T. is now doing with the French Government in the old-age pension matter, was not even heard of in the congress.

On the other hand a vigorous propaganda to support the Soc. Dem. Party was openly prosecuted, and not a single objection to it was raised. Not a word was said in regard to the necessity for the development of better direct-action tactics. The German Socialist unionist considers the old-fashioned strikes as the Alpha and Omega of such tactics. Sabotage and passive resistance were unmentioned, the general-strike idea (the discussion of which the unions have officially forbidden) remained undiscussed, antimilitarism—a burning question with all revolutionary organizations—was not even mentioned at the congress, this being also a matter for the powerful Soc. Dem. Party to handle. Not a single speaker said anything which by any means could be interpreted as even a suggestion of the revolutionary conception of unionism. And this is perfectly natural, as the unions entirely delegate the task of freeing the working class to the Soc. Dem. Party via the ballot. They consider their own functions to simply be to mitigate the devastating effects of capitalism until the party has won the great battle.

The German capitalist class has but contempt for this immense organization of 2,276,000 members, which is so timid that it decorates its congress hall with bunting of red and white. (I asked what the red and white stood for and was assured it had no great significance, that the bunting was the color of some local prince or other "and that it had been used just so the decorations wouldn't be all red, you know." I was also hastily informed that they were not the German national color—this assurance because some of the German unrevolutionary unions decorated their congress halls with the national color.) Of this contempt Legien, in his opening address, gave a striking proof. He said: "We must not

forget that the employers have also changed their tactics. While until within a few years ago they directed their attention chiefly to defending themselves against the demands of the unions; to the pursuing of defensive tactics, they have now adopted aggressive tactics and seek to have the contracts in the greatest possible number of trades (gewerbe) expire at the same time. They do this in order to make "unconditional" terms to the workers in regard to the rearrangement of wage and working conditions, and if these are not unconditionally accepted they lock out great masses of workers in the hope that by these mass lockouts the financial strength of the workers must be crippled."

In other words, the German employers have so much contempt for the tactics of the socialist unions that they have adopted the same attitude as American revolutionary unionists, though with a different end in view, and they want to fight labor wars on as large a scale as possible.

The industrial unionists with their modern tactics want the labor wars on a large scale, because then they can apply their tactics to good advantage. The German capitalists, opposed by organizations whose only fighting resources are their funds, and knowing their financial superiority, want to involve as many as possible of these organizations in battle at one time so they can't financially aid each other as heretofore. They are encouraged to this aggressive stand by the timid holding of the socialists, who fear (and justly) all mass movements of workers as most dangerous to the Social Democratic Party and who go to the extreme length to prevent them.

What the capitalist class thinks of the power of the S. D. P. straw that this great labor organization is clutching at has been recently well illustrated. "Vorwaerts" of June 29, speaking of the recent vote in the Prussian Landtag when the socialist motion for an equal franchise law was defeated by the combined Clericals, Liberals, and Conservatives, says to the working class: "To the robbery of your rights, which has been committed upon you, the rulers of the three-class parliament have added ridicule and contempt." The two socialist representatives at the close of the session wanted to quit the legislative hall before the customary cheers for the Kaiser were called for, but were so heartily jeered and laughed at that they got sore and went back to their seats and remained seated during the cheering—the daring criminals. The only protest the Social Democratic Party—which is by far the largest in Germany—can make to the "outrage" is to draw up a few hot-air resolutions. It is absolutely without power to retaliate.

The president of the union congress, in his closing address, after congratulating the movement on its great development, unity, and power, also raised a "protest" against the shameful treatment of the working class by the Landtag and the congress then adjourned, its "work" being all accomplished.

W. Z. FOSTER.

P. S.—No, Clara; we didn't sing the "International" at the finish. It's a little too raw, don't you know.

[Solidarity, Sept. 16, 1911.]

CIVIC FEDERATION AT THE BUDAPEST CONFERENCE.

The International Secretariat¹ Conference at Budapest has officially placed its stamp of approval on the Civic Federation and stuck a knife into the agitation of American revolutionists against this nefarious combination. James Duncan, Civic Federation delegate, incidentally armed with A. F. of L. credentials, was accepted as a delegate, over a special protest of the I. W. W. And this allegedly revolutionary International Secretariat has thus betrayed the American revolutionary movement in order to win the friendship of the reactionary A. F. of L., a friendship that will be exploited later by playing the A. F. of L. against the C. G. T. to balk the latter's attempt to break the existing international quarantine against the spread of revolutionary ideas in the labor unions by turning the International Secretariat into a genuine international organization.

¹ The International Secretariat is a degenerate successor to the old International Workmen's Association. It consists of not more than one labor organization from each country. It holds its conferences every two years at which the affiliated organizations each can send only two delegates. It is in full control of the Socialists who refuse, from political considerations, to let it develop into a serious international organization.

Duncan's official recognition is indeed betrayal to the American movement. At the miners convention, at which Mitchell got fired, one of the great arguments used was that Kautsky, Rosa Luxembourg, and other German radicals raised a protest at the reception of Gompers in Europe. In the fight that in the near future will be waged in the labor movement over the participation of Duncan and other labor fakirs in the Civic Federation, the argument will be taken away from the rebels and used by the Civic Federation fakirs. They can now point to the Budapest conference as an official socialist indorsement of the Civic Federation and can quote Carl Legien, Hueber, Bergmans, Appleton, and others of the most prominent socialist labor leaders of Europe who went out of their way to defend the Civic Federation.

The story of the conference is illustrative of the slugging tactics by which the socialists broke up the old International and by which they rule the modern European labor movement.

The I. W. W. had duly filed a protest against the seating of Duncan on grounds that he was a member of the Civic Federation, a protest against the admission of A. F. of L. into the International Secretariat and an application of the I. W. W. for affiliation with the International Secretariat. The attempt was made to dispose of all these unpleasant matters by absolutely ignoring them. The first order of business should have been to act on the I. W. W.'s filed protest of Duncan's credentials, but the conference took no cognizance of it, but, immediately after the opening, passed on to the regular order of business, not even examining the credentials of the delegates present.

As I, W. W. delegate I took the floor and demanded that the I. W. W. protest against Duncan be heard. The conference refused to allow me to talk, claiming that the I. W. W. was not affiliated with the International Secretariat, and consequently its delegate was only a guest and had no voice or vote. The A. F. of L. was thus by common consent, and without official action, accepted as member of International Secretariat, although the I. W. W. had contested its admission. I persisted, however, in demanding the I. W. W. contest of Duncan's credentials be heard and for about an hour pandemonium reigned; the business of the conference was brought to a standstill in spite of vigorous efforts to carry it on regardless of my protests. I was cajoled and browbeaten. Sassenbach, secretary of the general committee, and other Socialists threatened to throw me out if I didn't subside. I am reliably informed that a sergeant at arms was ordered to eject me but refused.

Finally I took my seat, believing that I had, however irregularly, brought the Civic Federation matter before the conference. Jouhaux, secretary of the C. G. T. of France, immediately took the floor, flayed Duncan and the Civic Federation fakirs and made a motion that Duncan be forced to explain his connection with the Civic Federation. Thus, in spite of the gagging of the I. W. W. delegate, the matter was officially brought before the conference. Yvetot, the other C. G. T. delegate, ably seconded Jouhaux's motion. Then it was that the above-mentioned prominent Socialist labor leaders opposed the French motion and put themselves on record in favor of the Civic Federation—around which the discussion turned.

Duncan took no part in the debate, leaving the defense of the Civic Federation entirely to his Socialist allies. Jouhaux's motion was lost, every delegate present (all Socialists except Duncan) voted against it except the two French delegates.

The admission of the I. W. W. into the International Secretariat was the next order of business—proposed by the C. G. T. at Paris Conference in 1909—the official application of the I. W. W. for affiliation being ignored. I was as a "courtesy" given the floor under pain of being instantly silenced if I talked out of order, i. e., on the Civic Federation I was as brief as possible. Duncan responded to me, calling the I. W. W. an organization of strike breakers, bums, etc., and then defended the Civic Federation for half an hour, a defense entirely out of order as the Civic Federation matter had been disposed of. In accordance with European parliamentary rules, I was entitled to the last word in the discussion and I was going to refute Duncan's explanation of the Civic Federation. The floor was refused me, first on the grounds that the discussion had already consumed several hours' time and finally, as I still demanded my right, as Sassenbach told me, because "Comrade Legien says you can't have the floor." In spite of Legien's (dictator of European labor movement) imperial ukase, I insisted on my right to reply to Duncan, and Legien himself moved the closure of the debate, which was carried. Thus the conference, after allowing Duncan to explain the Civic Federation, refused me the right to "ex-

plain" it also, which I was prepared to do with writings of nearly every prominent revolutionist in the United States. Duncan's Socialist partners saved him and themselves from some extremely awkward explanations.

At the close of the session in a little knot of delegates, Jouhaux took Legien to task for defending the Civic Federation when the whole American revolutionary movement was up in arms against it. Without any explanations or trimmings, Legien flatly denied that there was any quarrel between the Civic Federation and the socialist movement.

At first glance, Legien's statement seems to be a deliberate falsehood, but in reality, it is true. The present "unpleasantness" between the Civic Federation and the socialist political movement is not due to vitally opposing interests of the two organizations, but to R. Easley's misunderstanding of the true aim of the Socialist Party. The Civic Federation wants "industrial peace" because economic wars are expensive. The S. P. wants "industrial peace" so the workers will never learn their true economic power but will continue to squander their energies in building up the political movement. The Civic Federation secures its end by paralyzing the action of the labor unions, and the S. P. all over the world adopts practically the same tactics for exactly the same end. In France, we have the socialist minister of labor, Millerand, who established the "superior Labor Council," a governmental organization to "adjust" industrial disputes. Its form and tactics were almost identical with those of the Civic Federation. The scheme was indorsed by the leading Socialist politicians of France and was only killed by the C. G. T. after a long struggle. The German unions, forbidden to fight by their Socialist dictators and driven into a corner by their employers, who are making Germany the land of the mass look out, would welcome a German civic federation with open arms, that would give them the longed-for "industrial peace." If Ralph Easley cuts out his "rough stuff" antisocialist agitation and scratches the backs of the Socialist politicians, they will return the compliment even more than they have to date. Legien's statement is true.

If it is not, and the American Socialists are trying to destroy the Civic Federation, why didn't they raise a vigorous protest against Duncan's recognition either directly to the International Secretariat or by waging a campaign in the Socialist papers of Europe? The International Secretariat which is completely dominated by Socialists, wouldn't have dared to accept Duncan in the face of such a protest. His rejection would have gone a long way toward killing the Civic Federation. Why have the American Socialists allowed this great opportunity to pass by unexploited and by their silence, permitted their European comrades to defend the Civic Federation and to say there is no quarrel between it and the Socialist movement? It is a pertinent question.

W. Z. FOSTER.

[American Federation of Labor, Aug. 10, 1911.]

The organized workers of Porto Rico share in the general concern of Porto Ricans over the constant failure of Congress to frame a law fixing the political status of the people of the island. The practical question with the people is whether they are to acquire citizenship under the United States or whether Congress is to keep the island in the position of a great factory, exploiting cheap labor for the benefit of large corporations of the United States.

The promises made in 1898, when our Nation took possession of Porto Rico, that its inhabitants would be recognized and treated as full-fledged American citizens, have not been fulfilled. This bad faith has reacted to the detriment of the American Federation of Labor. The dissatisfied Porto Ricans make their protest felt by refusing to give voluntary assistance to any national organization or institution of the United States. This course, feeble and inconsistent as it is, can be understood by all who have witnessed the usual actions of men actuated by blind resentfulness. The American Federation of Labor has never ceased in its efforts to obtain from Congress all the rights of a free people for the inhabitants of Porto Rico. Its support of the Olmsted bill and the special efforts of Representative Wilson of Pennsylvania are well known. The Olmsted bill, after having been approved in the House, was pigeonholed in the Senate, an act of the most flagrant injustice. At present in Porto Rico, those inhabitants who by education are Spanish, a part of the press, and some of the discontented native politicians are openly proclaimed the idea of inde-

pendence for the island. The organizers for the American Federation of Labor find an obstacle in their endeavor to educate and organize the masses in this frame of mind of a considerable part of the population. The general belief of the inhabitants of the island is that their economic welfare would be greatly improved through home rule. Whereas the sum of the exports and imports in 1897 was \$14,500,000, they were in 1911 nearly \$79,000,000. But this increased wealth has not brought with it corresponding evidence of benefits to the laboring masses.

Labor Day was celebrated in most of the cities of the island, the local and consular authorities taking part in the demonstrations.

The American Federation of Labor organizer for Porto Rico, Santiago Iglesias, asks the various national and international unions to send to the island, in the Spanish language, all printed matter which they issue for the assistance of organization.

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT.

The biennial conference of the International Secretariat was held at Budapest, Hungary, August 10-12. The decision most interesting to American trade unionists was that relating to the repudiation of the so-called Industrial Workers of the World. One of the articles of the constitution of the Secretariat prescribes that but one national body from each country shall be represented in its conference. The effrontery of any one presenting himself as a representative from America in opposition to the delegate from the American Federation of Labor, it might be thought, would be appreciated at once at its proper value by the delegates from the other countries, but inasmuch as the would-be delegate from the corporal's guard that composes the Industrial Workers of the World professed to support the policies and program of the *Confédération Générale du Travail* of France, his pretensions were supported by the latter organization. Between them he and its delegates managed to bring up sufficient discussion to consume the entire first day of the conference. At the close of the debate, the Industrial Workers of the World aspirant to a seat was rejected, all the votes being against him excepting that of the *Confédération Générale du Travail*. The case against the Industrial Workers of the World delegate was conducted in a masterful manner by the delegate from the American Federation of Labor, First Vice President James Duncan. The decision on this and other questions during the sessions of the conference tends to show that the true position of the American Federation of Labor in the great labor movement of the world is becoming better known and appreciated by the representatives of labor in Europe. Not only is the sentiment for a unity among the wageworkers of the different countries advancing, but recognition is being made of the points on which solidarity may become practical.

Among the resolutions passed was one introduced by Delegate Duncan proposing that labor organizations of all countries prevent by all means possible the migration of workmen from one country to another in time of labor disputes.

The two propositions, the one for an international federation of labor brought forward by America two years ago, and the other, for an international congress of labor introduced by France, were sent back to all the national bodies for discussion.

It was voted that the international secretariat could in exceptional cases initiate a wage movement where the number of workers engaged were so great that the necessary funds could not be furnished by either a national organization or an international union interested. The secretary's report showed that the American Federation of Labor paid on 1,700,000 members, Germany being the only country with a higher number. The total membership was 6,033,500. Carl Legien was unanimously reelected secretary. The country in which to hold the session of 1913 is to be determined in the early part of that year by consulting the wishes of the affiliated national organizations.

That the Budapest conference served to promote a sentiment of international unity among the wage earners, and to clear away misunderstandings that existed between those of one nation and another, has become evident in the comments of the labor press of the various countries since the gathering. The labor movement of America stands better with the secretariat representatives of the European countries than it did two years ago, before our case was plainly put by an American delegate, speaking upon an equality face to face with the other members of the conference. It may, however, take years to disabuse the minds

of many who are active in the movement abroad of their prejudices against our movement, so long was it exposed to misrepresentation by men in this country who were trying to divert its aims and change its policies. With experience, it has become clear to the representative men of labor in all countries that each country has its peculiar problems, which must be worked out by its own working classes by the methods they deem most applicable and advantageous.

The advice, "Workmen of all countries, unite!" can not be carried into actual practice to the extent of similarity of organization and procedure. In trade-unionism the possibilities are promising for internationality in respect to recognition of union membership, in refraining from blacklegging, and in financial and other support in case of great strikes and lockouts. But politically, no two countries are on the same plane. There may be a general sentiment favoring the emancipation of labor everywhere from its disqualifications, an agreement upon many points in an analysis of the injustices of society as now organized, and even common assent as to certain principles or maxims for guidance in forming the better society that is coming, but to fix hard and fast rules by which the wage earners in all countries are to work in building for the future is an impossibility.

The important things for American trade-unionists to consider, in connection with the international secretariat, as well as other of our international associations, are such as relate to trade-union work, as brought up through the mobility of labor made possible by to-day's means of transportation, or as suggested by the experience of the unions of the different countries. Comparison of methods in organizing, in scale making, in negotiating with employers is valuable, and in this respect the exchange of fraternal delegates between Great Britain and the United States has helped both countries. This year, as has been the custom for nearly two decades, two fraternal delegates have been sent to our convention from the British Trades-Union Congress and one from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. In extending them a hearty greeting we feel assured that they, as well as ourselves, will profit by their coming.

The peoples of all civilized countries are coming to the realization that in many respects they have a cause in common—that of justice, freedom, and humanity. There is no force in society so potent to crystallize that sentiment and the establishment of human brotherhood as the historically developed and developing labor movement of the world.

EIGHT-HOUR LAW EXTENSION.

My report this year on the extension of the eight-hour law as applied to work done for the United States Government by contractors and subcontractors should be read in connection with the report I had the honor to submit to the St. Louis convention. In this report I have necessarily to cover action on this subject by the Sixty-first Congress, as well as to make reference to the status of the bill before the present Congress.

BUDAPEST, HUNGARY.

(First day.)

The seventh international conference of the representatives of national trade-union centers (International secretariat), was called to order August 10, 1911, 9 a. m., in the Building Workers' Home (Bauerbeiterheim), Budapest VII, Arenaut 68, by Jaszai, representing Hungary. His colleague from that country, Karoly Teszarsz, was vice chairman, and J. Sassenbach, representing Germany, was made recording secretary.

Twenty-seven delegates, representing 18 countries, and two official interpreters (both union men, each of whom spoke three languages) composed the convention. Norway, owing to a great strike, and Finland were not represented.

Representatives of the press attended each session. The meetings were publicly conducted.

Herr S. Jaszai, in declaring the meeting open for business, stated that a few years ago such conventions could not have been held in Hungary owing to Government interference.

A resolution, to follow the usual course in reference to translation of addresses was adapted. This meant that delegates should be grouped for convenience of interpretation, and, where circumstances permitted, that sotto

voce transmission of information would be followed, but on lengthy addresses and official statements interpreters would publicly address the delegates in the different languages.

A resolution, without much discussion or formality, was passed not to accept municipal or state hospitality from official sources, owing to opposition of the Government to organization of labor and to tyranny generally toward the working class, but that the proffered hospitality of Hungarian workmen's organizations would be accepted and their functions attended.

The French delegation interposed an inquiry which, after some informal discussion, was formally and definitely offered in substance as follows: "Can a delegate to this meeting be required to answer a question as to whether he belonged to any political or civic organization outside of the trade center he represents?"

As the discussion progressed, I discovered that the inquiry, in a veiled manner, was directed against my credential, as representing organized labor of North America. A misguided man, named Foster, from Chicago, Ill., claiming to represent an alleged organization of labor in America, called the International Workers of the World, had been for some time in Paris, and had succeeded in convincing the French delegates that he represented a labor organization in America, and was entitled to be recognized by the Secretariat, instead of the A. F. of L. representative. He is said to have had in Paris a program of strong French flavor, namely, low dues, no defense fund, the general strike, revolution, and to settle all our social and political ills at the ballot box. Evidently his program was mapped out on French lines and captured the French delegation. He had thereafter taken his program from Paris to Berlin to encourage the German delegation to support his position and plea. They, however, had nothing in common with his tinfoil proposition and his windbag methods. Their labor movement is built on a solid foundation and makes for real progress, so he was not in his element in their company. He had made his way to Budapest, and the French inquiry, above referred to, was part of his tactics. The tentative question was discussed and strongly combatted, during which the Frenchman had much to say about civic institutions in America and the kind of men composing them. They had made no investigation, but had taken the lurid and unwarranted statements of the Chicago man as gospel. Their statements were so ridiculous that the chairman peremptorily ruled the question out of order.

A motion was then made that the International Workers of the World be not admitted to affiliation in the International secretariat as a national trade-union center.

During the discussion on the motion, misguided Foster lost control of his temper and gave the convention ocular demonstration of what an I. W. W. really is. His language was foul, vulgar, and vehement. He even threatened assault, and subsided only to prevent expulsion from the room. He spoke in English, and I had his language interpreted to the delegates, but his actions were as equally detrimental to the purpose he had in mind as was the interpretation. The Frenchmen were not dismayed at their tricolor being snudged with I. W. W. mire. They suggested that, if the Foster aggregation were not admitted, the A. F. of L. should be kept out of the International secretariat until both organizations became reconciled to a uniform policy.

After general discussion, Foster was given an opportunity to tell his own story in his own way. My natural impulse was to protest against him being in the meeting, except as a visitor, but he was invoking martyrdom, and I figured that if he were given plenty of rope he would figuratively hang himself. I grinned, and bore the ordeal, however, of witnessing one kind of an American, in a foreign land, making a veritable mess of an unsavory situation. He claimed that in America the I. W. W. was the only body that organized unskilled workers; that 85 per cent of their skilled members were also in the A. F. of L. unions; that those unions would not admit socialists and revolutionary foreigners into membership; that the people he represented were 100 per cent socialists and revolutionists, who were preparing for the international strike, which would strike terror into the hearts of capitalism, including the A. F. of L. The climax in his harangue was that he understood that other trade-union officials and I had been known to sit and eat at the same table with a President of the United States, with Bishop Potter, and with Archbishop Corrigan of New York, and that, therefore, we were not qualified to represent the working class.

The Austrian, German, and British delegates forcefully combatted Foster's statements, the British and German delegations putting in evidence that they

and their colleagues had often participated in the same kind of meetings in their countries, as had been referred to in America, and if there were anything to it, the alleged charges would also apply to them. My reply to Foster's illogical, contradictory, and vicious melange can be better imagined than described or repeated. Delegate Appleton, of Great Britain, said I metaphorically prepared a bed of needles and without ceremony let Foster fall upon it. In substance, I explained their efforts at efficiency in strike breaking, that they were seldom in evidence unless during strikes, that they purposed to make strikes failures and to that end they tried to array workers of one nationality against other nationalities, who were all in one union and on one strike; that the American Socialist Organization repudiated them; that in economics and in politics they were nomadic, and that misguided Foster's alleged paradox about American unions not admitting Socialists to membership, while putting in evidence that 85 per cent (?) of I. W. W. skilled members were in A. F. of L. unions, was as near to the truth as any of them might hope to reach. It will suffice to say that after the whole of the first official day, plus an hour after scheduled adjournment, had been taken up with this unwarranted and ridiculous discussion, all delegates in the conference, excepting the Frenchman, voted in favor of the motion.

I almost need to apologize for taking so much of your time on this subject, but as I heard more of it in Budapest in one day than I had ever heard in America, and as it occupied one-third of the whole time the convention was in session, you are entitled to know something of the fracas and the result.

During the first part of this discussion a decision from the Amsterdam conference, in 1905, was quoted against the French inquiry, namely, "All theoretical questions and those which affect the tendency or tactics of the trade union movement in the separate countries will not be discussed." The French delegates evaded a reply to the point of order; but later in the proceedings, when their own tactics of low dues, no defense fund to support strikes, but instead relying on communistic soup and tightening their belts as their stomachs shrunk during a strike, were criticised by a Belgian delegate, they promptly raised the Amsterdam decision and claimed a protection under it which they had tried to deny to the tendency and tactics practiced in America.

(Second day.)

The international secretary's report for one year, July 1. 1910, to June 30, 1911, was read, showing:

	Marks.
Subscriptions for the year from the different countries.....	9, 054. 19
(This item includes 2,550 marks paid by the A. F. of L.)	
Interest.....	38. 70
Sales of reports of 1909 conference.....	609. 60
Balance on hand commencement of fiscal year.....	3, 627. 67
Total.....	13, 330. 16
Total expenses for year, including printing.....	9, 604. 90
Balance on hand June 30, 1911.....	3, 725. 26

The report was adopted and the salary of the International Secretary was increased from 300 to 500 marks a year, a mere pittance compared to the duties performed.

The International Secretary called attention to the need for closer relationship between the National Trade Centers and his office, especially previous to and during disputes. He gave as an instance that Norway, where there was a general strike, and which had prevented their delegation from being at Budapest, had directly appealed to other countries for financial assistance, without first communicating with International Secretary Legien's office, as per the constitutional regulations to that effect, and that in consequence, very little money had been collected to help them.

A discussion followed on extending the scope of the secretary's report, which was agreed to. Secretary Legien suggested that National Trade Centers, in addition to receiving free copies of the report usually furnished to them, should purchase as many more as would be feasible, both for information and for reference.

In furtherance of the idea expressed, I recommend that the A. F. of L. for itself, and affiliated organizations for themselves, purchase a sufficient number of the reports for use and reference, and that trade journals reprint therefrom

so the the fullest publicity, the greatest solidarity, and the greatest comity among the workers of the several countries can be obtained.

The appeal for financial assistance to metal workers in Spain (a communistic soup and low dues organization) was not supported, as they are not affiliated to the Spanish Trade Center.

A. Thornberg, Sweden, thanked the Trade Centers for the moral and financial assistance granted them during their great strike. They had fully survived the shock, had a membership again equal to before the strike, and had many concessions granted them which were denied prior to the conflict.

Two sets of delegates contested to represent Bulgaria.

Standing under the shadow of The Hague Temple of International Conciliation and Arbitration and cogitating much on the thoughts I have expressed in this report, my meanderings in Europe riveted in my mind the encouraging sign of the times that such international meetings as those I had attended were cementing fraternal thought along international lines and was more than ever bringing the workers of all countries to understand that in other pursuits as well as in the industrial field an injury to one is the concern of all. The feeling is growing apace, especially among organized workers, that war internecine, or between nations, must cease. Men will refuse to be involved in controversies whose trend and purpose lead to working people of one country killing and maiming working people of another country through alleged patriotism, but which invariably leads to further governmental power with extension of oppression over the governed.

Bear in mind no mental rumination had not in it that this excellent spirit of true international patriotism among the workers of all countries emanated from the classic structure under the shadow of which I stood. Instead, I realized and was proud of the fact that The Hague Tribunal had been a result of the growth and inculcation of the great efforts I have tried to explain.

I appreciate the honor of having your credential to Budapest. I gave the best that was in me to faithfully and well represent you, and I close my remarks about Europe and America with an earnest hope, in which I trust you will all join, that long may the beneficent teachings, truths, principles, and purposes of international trades-unionism continue to evolve for the betterment of the human race.

Respectfully submitted.

JAMES DUNCAN, *Representative.*

After reading the portion of the report in reference to Mr. Foster, of the Industrial Workers, Vice President Duncan said:

During the proceedings a letter received by this man from Chicago was passed around among the delegates. As only a few of the delegates could read the letter, which was in English, I had it interpreted for the others. The letter is as follows:

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD,
Chicago, Ill., July 21, 1911.

VINCENT ST. JOHN,
General Secretary-Treasurer.

W. E. TRAUTMAN,
Assistant Secretary and General Organizer.

Mr. W. Z. FOSTER,
Care Mr. Fritz Kater.
C-54 Alte Schonhausen Strasse, 20, Berlin, Germany.

FELLOW WORKER: Am mailing you by registered mail this date, general delivery, Budapest, Hungary, dope that we have on hand to date. If we are successful in getting additional dope, will send it on as fast as we get hold of it.

If suggestions are in order and this letter reaches you in time, I would suggest that you get into Budapest as early as possible, look up Basch and hold down the town. Basch may also have some dope that will be of assistance to you.

Have had documents marked so as to help you out in getting at the matter without having to search through the papers. The bound volume of Socialist Review has index marked. Try and take good care of all these documents as they will come in handy in the future no doubt.

With best wishes, I am,
Yours, for industrial freedom,

VINCENT ST. JOHN,
General Secretary.

Vice President DUNCAN. All I have to say in addition to the letter is that I am somewhat fearful the "dope" had effect, because soon after the fracas to which I have referred in my official report took place Mr. Foster came to grief in Budapest. The following day a Hungarian, who had been in this country and could speak some English, came to me and said a subscription paper was being passed around to get Foster out of jail and enable him to return to Berlin. He had been arrested the night before because of some trouble he had with a street-car conductor for not paying his fare. I told our friend that since the Roman occupation of that part of the country the roads had been in excellent condition, that pedestrianism was good for the health, and I would therefore refrain from interfering with Mr. Foster's opportunity to benefit his health by walking back to Berlin.

Delegate TVERMOE. I move you that this convention tender a rising vote of thanks to Delegate Duncan for the able manner in which he has represented the trades-union movement of America in Budapest, and for the highly interesting and masterly report he brought to us.

The motion was seconded and carried by a unanimous rising vote.

President GOMPERS. It is a unanimous vote, and the thanks of the convention are extended to you, Delegate Duncan. The report will be made part of the official proceedings of this convention.

The local entertainment committee announced the following program of entertainment:

Wednesday, at 2 o'clock, an oyster roast at a brewery.

Thursday, 2 o'clock, barbecue at White City, cars to be in waiting at the door of the convention hall at 2 o'clock.

Friday night, theater party at Forsyth: tickets to be distributed to delegates; all of the lady delegates and visitors to be included in the party.

President GOMPERS. The local committee in corresponding with the president on the subject of entertainment was admonished not to take up much of the working time of this convention. The committee was quite lavish in its proffers of entertainment. However, they pared it down to these two entertainments for to-morrow and Thursday afternoon, the other entertainment to be in the evening. It is suggested that possibly on Wednesday and Thursday the convention might convene at 9.30 and remain in session until 1.30 or 2 o'clock, then adjourn for the entertainments.

On motion, the suggestion in regard to the time for convening and adjourning on Wednesday and Thursday as suggested by President Gompers was adopted.

During the session resolutions Nos. 23 to 62, inclusive, were introduced and referred to the proper committees.

At 5.30 p. m. the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 9 o'clock a. m., Wednesday, November 15.

[Solidarity, Sept. 9, 1911. Special to Solidarity.]

LABOR DAY IN NEW YORK.

NEW YORK, September 4.

Labor Day in New York is once more a thing of history. Approximately 60,000 workers participated in the parade. In the immense parade there was one division reserved for those organizations wishing to put themselves on record as especially protesting against the McNamara outrage. Invitations were sent to all organizations to form part of this division, which invitations were accepted by many among which was the I. W. W. Though all these organizations naturally carried their union banners, an attempt was made by a combination of Socialist party and A. F. of L. fakers (among whom were Julius Gerber and Isadore Phillips, of the S. P. and A. Abrams of the A. F. of L.) to prevent the I. W. W. to carry its banner and to force them to withdraw from the parade. They threatened to pull it down but got their bluff called and as the I. W. W. regulars seconded their motion with enthusiasm, seeing that their attempt to slug the I. W. W. was a failure they contented themselves with putting us at the tail end of the McNamara division which was the last division of the parade. Here we were joined by several hundred rebels of every stamp, many who were disgusted members of the S. P., who swore all kinds of vengeance even going so far as to threaten a split in the party. The result of battle around the

I. W. W. banner was that the I. W. W. made the best showing in the McNamara division. Besides showing a few of the faithfuls the tactics of their fake leaders we also gave them a sample of the fighting spirit of the I. W. W.

Yours, for solidarity,

W. Z. FOSTER,
AUGUST WALQUIST,
Press Committee.

[Solidarity, Sept. 30, 1911. Special to Solidarity.]

SIXTH I. W. W. CONVENTION.

CHICAGO, ILL., *September 21.*

On September 18 the sixth annual convention of the I. W. W. was called to order by General Secretary St. John.

Fellow Worker Simeon of L. U. 500, Pullman, Ill., was elected permanent chairman. Twenty-four delegates, representing 38 local union and 1 national industrial union, presented credentials. The proxies of six of these local unions (No. 45, Vancouver, British Columbia; 68, Duluth, Minn.; 71, Sacramento, Calif.; 92, Portland, Oreg.; 173, San Francisco, Calif.; 431, Eureka, and Calif.) being borne by delegates from other localities, were not honored and these unions denied votes in the convention in accordance with article 4, section 12 of the constitution, the customary interpretation of which is that several locals may confer their proxies upon one delegate only when they are situated in the same locality.

The credentials of Local 245, San Pedro, Calif., carried by Oscar Sautter, delegate of the Los Angeles locals, were also contested, but on it being learned that San Pedro is an official part of Los Angeles they were honored.

Fraternal delegates from the following organizations were seated: Brotherhood of Timber Workers (3); Metal Workers' Union No. 3, Chicago (1); Polish Executive Committee, I. W. W. (1).

The credentials of J. W. Johnstone, of Local 525, Nelson, British Columbia, were contested by the G. E. B. on the grounds that at the Pacific coast conference held in Portland, January 30, 1911, Johnstone had used a clipping from a capitalist paper in such a manner as to jeopardize the chances of the I. W. W. for success in the Fresno free-speech fight and had thus rendered himself unfit to be recognized as a delegate by the convention. The hour of evening adjournment interrupted the consideration of the Johnstone case.

TUESDAY.

After routine preliminaries were disposed of the Johnstone protest case was again taken up and thoroughly threshed out for five hours. The testimony of the G. E. B. members against Johnstone alleged in sum that his conduct in the West, in addition to his use of the newspaper clippings at the Portland conference, had been generally disruptive and that he was an unfit member to act as delegate in an I. W. W. convention.

Johnstone argued that his actions at the Portland conference were strictly in accord with his instructions as a delegate from the Spokane locals, but stated that he now believed he made a mistake, and that if he had to do it again he would resign from being Spokane local's delegate rather than obey their instructions to bring the clippings before the conference. He stated further that the slump in membership of the Spokane locals, charged to his presence, did not take place while he was there, and was for the most part due to the hostility of public opinion toward the I. W. W. after the killing of Chief of Police Sullivan, a hostility that forced large numbers of the members to leave town and that had a disastrous effect on the locals.

By a roll call vote of 44 to 18 Johnstone was seated.

After the somewhat warmly debated Johnstone case was disposed of the convention got busy on the election of committees to dispose of the various details of the convention's work.

A motion to have a stenographic report of the convention's proceedings was voted down.

By a motion the credential committee was ordered to draw up an explanation of why the proxies of the debarred locals had not been honored.

Telegrams conveying assurances of I. W. W. moral, financial, and physical support were sent to the Mexican revolutionists, the McNamaras, Buccaforti,

Preston, and Smith, and several other fellow workers jailed in various places because of their loyalty to the working class.

The afternoon's session closed with the reading of the G. E. B.'s and General Secretary-Treasurer St. John's report; documents which showed a gradual increase in the moral, financial, and numerical strength of the I. W. W., as well as recording its numerous victories since the last convention.

WEDNESDAY.

With roars of laughter the convention greeted a message from the local chamber of commerce wishing the convention "success in every respect," and offering the honored delegates the freedom of "our fair city," etc. It was duly filed—with the janitor.

Delegate Koettgen of the National Industrial Union of Textile Workers read a telegram announcing the news of the affiliation of 500 textile workers in New England.

The balance of the convention's work for this day was the hearing of the reports of "Solidarity," the Budapest delegate, and General Organizer Trautmann. Trautmann's report, which will be published later by Solidarity, was a scathing indictment of the criminal allowance between the A. F. of L. fakirs and the self-styled revolutionary socialist politicians, who, as the report shows, time and again have acted in full concert in defeating strikers rather than to allow the workers to win with I. W. W. methods—methods whose success spells ruination for the political and craft union movements which are sucking the life blood of the working class.

In order to give the numerous committees an opportunity to work, the convention adjourned at 3 o'clock instead of 6.

THURSDAY AND FRIDAY.

The Thursday session opened with a request on the part of Fellow Worker Johnstone to have an insertion made in the minutes giving a short statement of facts in regard to his protest case. This was voted down by the convention.

After this followed a veritable two days avalanche of constitutional amendments of sweeping natures, such as to abolish the G. E. B., to change the G. E. B.'s name to "General Business Committee," to take away vote of G. E. B. members, to abolish conventions, to make G. E. B. members join locals in vicinities in which they work, to cut out power of G. E. B. to control in matters concerning the general organization, to strip G. E. B. of power to assign unions to various departments, etc. All these motions, chiefly aimed at the G. B. were lost. A stray antipolitical clause for the preamble was also killed.

The positive work accomplished during these two days by the convention consisted in providing that in future cases of contested delegates each voting delegate shall have but one vote, instead of the full voting strength of his union as heretofore.

The three fraternal delegates from the Brotherhood of Timber Workers were given the floor and for a couple of hours entertained the convention with the story of struggles to form their union, and of their successful direct action tactics used in their fights. They expressed the heartiest feelings of sympathy for the I. W. W. and held out the hope that there would be a speedy affiliation between the two organizations if they could bring it about.

Under a motion to amend the constitution to admit of district organizations, the Pacific coast district organization came in for a thorough discussion in which much of the ill feeling heretofore generated by this much-discussed organization was plainly dissipated. Although the amendment was voted down it was generally agreed upon that the need exists for better cooperation between the Western locals, and that this cooperation can be brought about under the constitution as it now exists.

SATURDAY FORENOON.

General Organizer Trautmann explained his proposition to reduce the number of I. W. W. departments from 13 to 6, as expressed in his chart in the pamphlet, "One Big Union." In the lively discussion that followed, several fellow workers believed to have located faults in the new chart, but it was finally unanimously adopted, being recognized as an improvement over the present one.

AFTERNOON.

The afternoon session brought some more resolutions to clip the G. E. B.'s power, but as usual they were voted down.

After a long discussion of the old debt of the Industrial Worker to the Spokane locals, an exchange of receipts between the general office for old debt and the Spokane locals amounting to \$98 was decided on.

Convention decides in order to facilitate committee work no Sunday session will be held, and adjourns to Monday morning at 9 o'clock.

W. Z. FOSTER.

[Solidarity, Sept. 30, 1911.]

GET INTO THE LABOR MOVEMENT.

In our "International" notes this week will be found a very interesting survey of the question of "revolutionary minorities" in the labor movement of different countries. The discussion of the question by Fellow Worker Cornelissen, editor of the *Bulletin International du Mouvement Syndicaliste*, is conducted with that breadth of view and sound judgment which characterizes his treatment of international questions. It is especially timely, in view of the recent conference of trade-union secretaries at Budapest, where the I. W. W. applied for admission to the International Secretariat, but was turned down by the conservatives almost without a hearing.

In this connection Fellow Worker W. Z. Foster reports a conversation with the secretary of the C. G. T. of France, Leon Jouhoux, at Budapest, somewhat as follows:

JOUHOUX. What are you going to tell the I. W. W. when you return to America?

FOSTER. I don't know.

JOUHOUX. Well, tell them for me to get into the labor movement.

The inference from this suggestion of Jouhoux is that the I. W. W. should cease its attempt at building up a revolutionary union on the outside, and that our members should join the American Federation of Labor and attempt to revolutionize the craft union from within. We are informed that one of the tactical principles of the leading men in the C. G. T. is to "discourage the idea of dual unions." Of course, the implication here is that the I. W. W. is a "dual" union in opposition to the A. F. L. A few facts will help to dispel that illusion.

[Solidarity, Sept. 30, 1911.]

THE SOCIALIST LABOR MOVEMENT IN GERMANY.

[By W. Z. Foster.]

The German labor movement presents widely varying types of unions. There are Socialist and syndicalist unions, Catholic and Protestant unions, Hirsch-Dankerschen and independent unions, etc., not to mention the "yellow" or bosses unions, of which latter type the railroaders' union, 400,000 strong, is a prominent example.

The workers forming these organizations, although having economic interests apparently in common, have allowed themselves to be hypnotized by their religious and political priests and divided into so many quarreling sects, with the usual mutual scabbing and lamentable sacrifice of their common interests. The Catholic unionist is opposed to receiving instruction from the Socialist popes, or to worship at the shrines of bygone saints of the same caliber; he takes his orders direct from Rome and nominates St. Joseph or some other Catholic saint as patron of his union. The protestant unionist objects to the religious and political views of his Catholic and Socialist fellow workers and fights the class struggle on lines laid down by his particular spiritual political leaders. The Hirsch-Dankerschen unionist is patriotic and wishes to defend "Der Vaterland" against the attacks of the Socialists. The Socialist unionist don't like the color of the ballots of the non-Socialist unionists, etc., to the production of the present comic-tragic situation.

Only one organization—the syndicalist with but 20,000 members—refuses the aid of spiritual and political popes alike and stands on the solid ground of the all

sufficiency of the organized economic power of the working class to solve all the workers' problems. The rest look for various sorts of intervention and help from either spiritual or political "abouter," or both.

Of the about 2,500,000 workers organized, excluding those in "yellow" unions, some 1,800,000 are organized into the Socialist unions, or "Die Gewerkschaften Deutschlands." The organization is practically the German labor movement. It vastly outweighs in importance the other unions with their combined membership of about 700,000. It is the organization that is so fondly dubbed "the progressive German labor movement" by our American Socialist writers.

The following rapid sketch of this organization will enable American readers to judge whether or not it is worthy of such a title.

FORMS OF ORGANIZATION.

"Die Gewerkschaften Deutschlands" is the national alliance of 57 national trades and "industrial" unions. The central or executive committee is the "Generalkommission" composed of 13 members, who are elected at the national convention every three years. Karl Legien is the president. Though the national unions officially retain their autonomy, the "Generalkommission" is possessed of large dictatorial powers, which are constantly on the increase. What the "Generalkommission" says unusually "goes," whether it concerns national or international labor questions.

The national unions are composed of local and district unions, much the same as American Federation of Labor unions.

In Germany, as in all European countries, the natural tendency of the workers is to organize themselves into larger industrial, or semi-industrial unions, in which craft lines are more or less obscured. This tendency is not hindered by the existence of such a vast difference between the rate of wages of skilled and unskilled workers which is so largely responsible for the sharply drawn craft lines of American labor unions. Where the mechanic is paid but little more than his helper, it is a very easy matter for both to see the advantage of combining their forces. Nevertheless, the socialist unions are largely of a craft form, and almost wholly imbued with craft-union ideas. This is partly due to their guildish traditions, but mostly due to the baneful influence of their political leaders, who see in unionism at the best only a palliative until capitalism has been overthrown by political action, and who never permit their unions to take a step forward until there is no other alternative.

The syndicalist conception of organization strictly on industrial lines, for the double purpose of controlling and striking an industry under capitalism, and operating the same after capitalism has been overthrown, is practically unknown in Germany. At the last convention of the socialist unions—Hamburg, 1908—the brewery workers proposed that all comparatively large numbers of workers of special profession engaged in distinct industries should be obliged to join the union of said industries. This was aimed particularly at the teamsters and coopers working in the breweries. Its adoption would have committed the movement to the industrial union principle. After a long debate the brewery workers, seeing themselves overwhelmed, withdrew their motion and the convention adopted a craft-union resolution worthy of the American Federation of Labor. The gist of it runs: When members of various crafts are employed in an industry, they shall only be accepted in the unions of their respective crafts.

Since this convention, however, several of the craft unions have fused with either their industrial or closely related craft unions. Notable fusions were bricklayers with building laborers, and marine workers and longshoremen with transportation workers. These fusions were caused by stern necessity, and took place only when they could be no longer delayed by the "absorbed" union officials.

The transportation workers presents the highest type of organization form. It is composed of railroaders (a handful), street car workers, teamsters, chauffeurs, cab drivers, sailors, longshoremen, warehouse employees, etc. In spite of its scope, it is organized on craft-union principles and insists that it be given jurisdiction over teamsters, shipping department workers, etc., no matter which industry they may be employed in. Other unions stretch in on its territory and steal workers who should belong to it. The metal workers, a giant union of 455,000 members of practically every category of metal workers, in common with its smaller brothers, proceeds on the same principle. It

stretches its tentacles into all industries in which metal workers are employed. There are several of these large so-called "industrial" unions. The building trades offer a fair example of the predominating form of union. There are 14 national unions covering the same categories of building trades workers, which in France are organized entirely into the National Federation of Building Trades Workers.

From this it will be seen that socialism and industrial unionism do not necessarily complement each other, as the "revolutionary" wing of the American socialist movement is maintaining.

[Solidarity, Oct. 7, 1911.]

CONVENTION REPORT.

MONDAY, SEVENTH DAY.

The proposition of reducing the per capita tax, which has been so much discussed for the past two years in the West, was one of the most important matters disposed of during this busy day. After a long discussion, several propositions to reduce the per capita, to increase it, and to refer the various proposals to the general membership, were all voted down, and the per capita tax left as it is.

Other important matters settled were the proposition of starting a sort of "rogues' gallery" card index system to keep tab on all the fakirs and disrupters inside and outside of the I. W. W., so that the games of these slicksters can be nipped in the bud when they try them on the organization; and the decision to move the national headquarters to some smaller town. The principal argument used in favor of this latter proposition was that the general office could better protect itself in a small town than in a large city, where in case of a big labor revolt the first thing likely to be attacked by the enemy would be the general office and its records. In a small place, on the contrary, other forces besides the local I. W. W. itself, could be gathered together in time of need for purposes of protection, while at the same time it would be easier to foresee an impending raid or attack on the effects of the organization. No particular city has yet been specified as a place for the new headquarters.

A considerable stir was caused by a motion to cut out of future editions of the Song Book several of the I. W. W. songs, including "Hallelujah, I'm a Bum." After a battle royal, in which Secretary St. John delivered a fine eulogy of the famous "bum song," an amendment to the motion carried to leave the Song Book as it is.

TUESDAY, EIGHTH DAY.

Of the many propositions handled this day, there were four of particular interest:

1. Motion to have propositions placed on referendum ballot which have a one-third minority vote in convention. This was amended to a three-sevenths minority, but was voted down.

2. A motion to strike out date of May 1, 1912, in eight-hour agitation, was carried. On invitation, Fellow Worker J. P. Thompson spoke on this matter and pointed out the impossibility of making a success of the agitation in its present form on such short notice. He recommended that a systematic course of educational propaganda on the eight-hour day proposition be carried on by stickers; and, when the advantages of the shorter workday are generally known and the want felt for it, to set a date for its conquest. This course of tactics was indorsed by the convention in striking out the date.

3. A motion to limit to five the number of votes any one delegate may carry was lost. This motion arose over the fact that the delegate of the National Industrial Union of Textile Workers was permitted to carry 19 votes, thus virtually giving him the balance of power on any important question.

4. The practice of writing personal letters attacking, without proof, other members, which has had an unpleasant development of late in the I. W. W., was severely condemned by the convention and members requested to refrain from it.

WEDNESDAY, NINTH DAY.

After a morning of routine work the convention adjourned a half day in honor of the Haymarket martyrs who were murdered by the capitalist class for their devotion to the working class. A visit was paid to their grave, over

which has been erected a beautiful monument inscribed with August Spies's prophetic utterance, which has already been fulfilled: "The day will come when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you strangle to-day." No speech making or demonstration was held.

THURSDAY, TENTH DAY.

The per capita tax proposition was again resurrected by Delegate Johnstone who mover the matter be settled by referendum. After a very lengthy discussion the motion was again voted down.

The convention then proceeded to the nomination and election of officers. The following nominees go on the referendum ballot for general officers and editors of the official organs:

General secretary: Vincent St. John, Thomas Whitehead.

General organizer: Wm. E. Trautman, James P. Thompson.

Editor Solidarity: B. H. Williams.

Editor Industrial Worker: Walker C. Smith, W. Z. Foster, F. W. Heslewood.

The following were elected members of the general executive board: George Speed, J. J. Ettor, Thomas Halcro, F. H. Little; the fifth member of the general executive board, representing the National Union of Textile Workers, to be named by them.

A motion was made and carried, that the Industrial Workers of the World go on record as inviting all members and supporters to go on a general strike on the day the McNamara trial is held.

The following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Whereas the Brotherhood of Timber Workers has been having continual struggles with the capitalist class, and has succeeded to some extent in teaching the spirit of revolt to some of the workers of the South, and Whereas the aforesaid brotherhood, through its delegates to this convention, has expressed an interest in the principles of industrial unionism and an interest in the welfare of our organization: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the delegates of the sixth annual convention of the I. W. W. here assembled express fraternal greetings to the brotherhood, and wish that they will meet with nothing but success in helping to free the workers from wage slavery; and be it further

Resolved, That we will give them all the moral aid possible to help them in this work.

George Speed in a few words urged the delegates from the West and the Pacific coast to emphasize everywhere the necessity of organizing the loggers and lumbermen in that district.

After these matters were disposed of, the convention adjourned by making the historic hall—in which the old American Railway Union was formed and later disbanded—ring with the strains of "The Red Flag" and "The International."

One of the most noteworthy features of this convention has been the general getting acquainted which took place—not only of men with men but also of men with measures. Many came with war in their eyes, unquestionably determined to fight at the drop of the hat, who have had their ideas greatly modified in the long and educational discussions the convention occasioned, and are returning to their various spheres of action with much more liberal views. This general and healthy exchange of ideas, if no other reason for it existed, is a full justification for the convention.

Old timers who have attended all the I. W. W. conventions pronounce this the most successful one the organization has yet held.

W. Z. FOSTER.

[Solidarity, Oct. 7, 1911.]

THE SOCIALIST LABOR MOVEMENT IN GERMANY.

[By W. Z. Foster.]

CONSERVATION OF THE UNIONS.

The socialist unions are not revolutionary except as all labor unions are revolutionary by bearing in themselves the embryo of the future society and their leaders make no claims that they are such. Their avowed objects, accord-

ing to their preambles, are essentially the same as those of conservative unions the world over; they look after the "moral and material welfare" of their members, strive for as "high a standard of living as possible" for them, etc. As Carl Legien, president generalkommission, says: "It is not the task of the unions to realize the goal of socialism." This task is unofficially recognized to be that of the Social Democratic Party.

In Germany the labor unions were early recognized as excellent voting machines. The "Progressive Party" had such good success in organizing and so utilizing them that the S. D. party in self defense was forced to do likewise. The "scientific" leaders of the latter party, however, openly despised the labor unions. They considered the workers organized in them to be the most reactionary part of the working class, because their organizations were but rudiments of the old antedated guilds. In 1893 Carl Legien at a S. D. party convention proposed that all members of the party be recommended to join the unions. He was laughed at, insulted, and convicted of being "young." Bebel told him that the end of unionism was near, as the unions were powerless before such combinations as the Krupp Co. Leibknecht said an overvaluation of labor unions was to be strictly avoided, because the capitalists couldn't be whipped on their own ground. The young president of the new "Generalkommission" quit the convention disgraced for his presumption in asking that the unions as training schools for the S. D. Party be given a little assistance.

The original contempt of the politicians for the unions has gradually developed into a fear of them. The thought that they may awaken to a sense of their economic power and slip from the grasp of their present political masters is an ever-present danger to the latter.

So healthy is their fear of the general strike idea that at the union convention in Cologne, 1905, they railroaded a motion through which prohibits even the discussion of this "anarchistic" idea in all the affiliated unions.

In order that the unions may preserve their necessary quiet while they are being milked for the advantage of the political movement, they are constantly told that the sphere of their activity is naturally very limited; that against modern capitalist combinations they are powerless; that the bourgeoisie is a sleeping tiger that needs only to be awakened for it to devour all the labor unions, etc. It is one of the regular functions of the German Socialist politicians to tell the workers what they can't do by direct action.¹ The union movement thus cowed is robbed of the necessary revolutionary aggressive-ness and thrown on a conservative defensive basis. It has no self-confidence, and falls an easy victim to the mutual benefit schemes, strong bureaucracies, and contracts which its interested leaders foist upon it. These institutions, which have no place in revolutionary fighting unions, are very prominent features of the German labor movement.

"AS STRONG AS GIBALTAR."

The "benefit" schemes run the gamut from the "near necessary" to the ridiculous. Some of them are strike, sick, death, invalid, accident, unemployed, blacklist, traveling, and shipwreck, funds for prospective marriage candidates, etc. Their variety of the benefit funds, the height of the benefits and the lowness of the dues are the boast of these so-called fighting organizations. In seeking new members, they issue long circular statements, comparing their favorable insurance rates with those of private insurance companies. One in reading them has difficulty to realize that they emanate from organizations whose chief task should be to fight. And not only do these insurance unions enter into sharp competition with private insurance companies, but also with each other. With the lure of more favorable rates they steal each other's members, regardless of what industries they may properly belong to. This is the chief cause of the jurisdictional quarrels which are continually raging. It has also led to many fusions of unions, the smaller ones being literally competed out of existence. A novel reason for forming "industrial" unions. At the last congress—1908—this practice was sharply condemned in the above-mentioned

¹This campaign sometimes goes too far. In his recent pamphlet, "Der Weg zur Macht," Kautsky stated in effect that the unions had outlived their usefulness. In response, Legien, who deludes the workers into believing that their "sick and death benefit electoral machines" are successful labor unions, unmercifully scored and insulted Kautsky in his pamphlet "Strophusarbeit oder Positive Erfolg." Kautsky crawled into his hole and drew it in after him.

craft-union resolution. A curious and instructive product of this prostituting of labor unions to other ends than those to which they are properly adapted is the "factory worker." As well as losing its character as a fighting organization, this union is also losing the necessary fighting structure. It is composed of unskilled workers of many industries. It is growing like a bay tree, and there is no reason why it shouldn't swallow up unions of the most diverse industries which are unable to withstand its insurance competition. As the industrial union principles are practically unknown among these unions, such an event is by no means impossible. The "factory workers" are renowned member stealers and are ambitious. At the last congress they proposed that all organizations of unskilled workers be obliged to fuse into one union—and again they wish to form an "industrial union" out of the "textile workers," "leather workers," and "factory workers." These would certainly make a "classy" industrial union. In 1905 they wanted the proposition dismissed to organize all workers into one union, i. e., without any industrial lines. This conclusion is a natural result of turning labor unions into insurance societies.

CENTRALIZATION AND BUREAUCRACY.

Like all other Socialist organizations, "Die Gewerkschaften Deutschlands" are law-abiding. When they must fight, they do so on lines laid down by their bosses. Sabotage, passive resistance, "race suicide," and other "disrespectable" methods are unworthy of these powerful (?) organizations. The old-fashioned starve-me-to-death strike is their only weapon. In such a strike, after leaving the "undispensable" workers at work to protect their masters' property from "unnecessary" laws, the balance try to starve the boss into submission by pitting their "dimes against his dollars." This antique method simply burns up money in strike benefits. The unions measure their fighting capacities by the size of their strike funds.

The gathering and "guarding" of these funds, aided by the German workers' insane conception of "discipline," which, to them, means blind obedience to the order of their leaders, has built up a centralized bureaucratic system that has effectually paralyzed the movement as far as vigorous fighting is concerned and which is unparalleled in the world's labor movement. Each national union collects its own funds of all kinds. These are placed in the national treasuries, over which the central committee—9 to 12 men—elected at congress are dictators. Their principal duties are to prevent strikes. The local unions are handed over to them bound hand and foot. To draw strike benefits their strikes must be indorsed by these committees. As the local unions can charge only certain fixed dues and are allowed to retain only running expenses out of these and are forbidden to issue calls for funds, their ability to effectively strike depends on the good will of the central committees. Often these committees have the power to appoint officers of the local unions. If a local union, in spite of these checks, rebels and strikes, various disciplinary measures up to sending other workers to take these strikers' places are used, if the central committee sees fit.

With this iron-clad system in vogue the fusion of the unions into larger groups possesses a distinct disadvantage to the labor movement. It makes the bureaucracy even stronger and makes strikes more difficult to precipitate, it being manifest that the central committee of, say, the "transportation workers" would not be so sympathetic to the grievances of the seamen as would the central committee of the latter's former independent organization. The bringing of such vast masses of workers under the control of a few men makes decidedly for "peace." The socialist leaders are beginning to realize this, and their opposition to the formation of "industrial" unions is disappearing.

This enslaving of the local unions precludes the formation of effective district councils or Bourses du Travail, which as they are organized in France are the most revolutionary organizations the working class has yet developed. The German district councils composed of unions incapable of common action are only a joke compared to the French bourses, which are genuine fighting combinations of unions of all industries. Such bourses are impossible in the German centralized unions. The first requirement for them is the federative or syndicalistic form of organization in which each local union retains its own autonomy and funds, furnishing the central organization only running expenses.

In his recent book, *Parliamentarismus und Demokratic*, Kautsky, "the theoretician of the Social Democratic," sounds a note of warning against the outrageous tyranny of the central committees. He fears the milking machine is becoming too highly developed. Scared by the recent praiseworthy revolt of the English workers against their traitorous leaders, he advocates radical changes in the management of the socialist unions. He don't favor giving the ignorant and impetuous workers the referendum; their problems are too complicated for them to solve. He would institute a sort of representative government in the unions, which would at once act as a check on the foolish enthusiasm of the workers and also be capable of solving their problems. What a commentary on the "progressiveness" of the German socialist unions when their intellectuals have to sit up nights devising schemes to forestall improvements which have already taken place in the much-ridiculed English unions.

[Solidarity, Oct. 14, 1911.]

THE SOCIALIST LABOR MOVEMENT IN GERMANY.

[By W. Z. Foster.]

CONTRACTS.

The contract is another favorite socialist scheme of choking the fighting spirit of the unions. The domineering central committees tie the workers up with contracts that force them to scab on each other. They call this procedure "fighting the boss." At first the stiff-necked employers couldn't see the beauty of this plan. But they are learning that there are more ways of killing an elephant than feeding it to death on peacock tongues. The contract system is becoming popular with them—so much so that the highest court in Germany has held it to be legally binding. Unions have been severely "stung" financially for breach of contract. In Hamburg, 1906, a few woodworkers, locked out as a result of taking May Day off, got sore and struck. Their employers claimed this was a breach of contract and sued the "Woodworkers' Union." This organization crawled out of the affair by placing the responsibility on the local union. The latter was mulcted 6,500 marks and costs of five years' legal proceeding. Needless to say, the legal rights of the unions as complainants in such cases can only be discerned with a powerful microscope. They are invisible to the naked eye. But as the Socialist motto is "Peace at any price," this little hindrance don't stop them from making contracts. They say for the labor movement to grow it must have "rest." Contract chloroform is a very efficient soporific.

The principal demand of the employers during the great building trade lock-out in 1910 was that all contracts should be made through the central committees—thus excluding even the perfunctory meddling of the local unions. They succeeded in tying the whole building trades of Germany up in a three-year contract, and in exchange granted the workers a few paltry concessions. This was hailed by socialists all over the world as a great victory, but it was only by the most skillful juggling that the rebellious local unions were made to accept their conquest.

A Berlin brewing workers' "Kartell contract" gives a fair idea of the usual method of carrying on this contract warfare. Thirteen national unions with members employed in the brewery in question insisted on helping the "brewery workers" to formulate their demands. They all agreed that in case of a strike of one category of workers that the rest would remain at work until their respective central committees indorsed the strike. Fine chance for modern union tactics where the consent of 14 national committees has to be secured in order to tie up a brewery.

"POSITIVE SUCCESS."

To disprove Kautsky's contention that the socialist unions are at the end of their period of usefulness, Legien in his "Sisyphusarbeit oder Positive Erfolg" attempts to prove that they are a great success. As a working basis he takes Calwer's statistics of a 27.5 per cent increase in the cost of living in Germany from 1895 to 1908, and then shows how some of the stronger unions have in-

creased their wages still more in the same period. Naturally, Calwer's figures are warped to make the increase in the cost of living seem lower than it really has been. Exact knowledge on the increase is practically impossible to secure, but 35 to 40 per cent would probably be nearer than 27.5 per cent. The building trades organizations and a few others particularly favored by the unexampled prosperity of the last dozen years and the weaker organizations of their employers beat Calwer's figures by a few per cent. The printers' results during this period are, however, a fair gauge of the general success of the unions. Since 1896 until 1906 their wages have increased 22½ per cent, or 5 per cent below Calwer's figure.

In 1906 they were tied up with a national contract for 10 years. Whilst the price of living goes soaring these workers, bound by this contract, which they dare not break under servitude of the severest legal penalties, can console themselves with the thought that they belong to the "progressive" socialist unions. The miners, textile and metal workers are also in bad shape. They are opposed by modern combinations of capital and are almost defenseless. Legien don't venture on any figures of their "success." They can't even get contracts to hold their wages at their present levels. "Vorwärts" gives a long table of figures on the rapid decline of the wages of the miners. A few are: Prussian miners, per shift, in marks, 1907, 4.31; 1908, 4.27; 1909, 4.07. Yearly wages in marks, 1907, 1,329; 1908, 1,298; 1909, 1,204—a decrease of 124 marks in three years. It will doubtless take the miners some time to achieve their emancipation at this rate of "progress."

All told, the material success of the German socialist unions is but little if any better than that of the A. F. of L. unions—and naturally, as the tactics of the two groups of unions are essentially the same. They are both defensive organizations. The A. F. of L. recognizes capitalism as a finality, and in reality is aiming to make wages keep pace with the increase in the cost of living; and the German unions, as far as their own action is concerned, do likewise, they leaving the task of overthrowing capitalism to the "ballot box stuffers."

If they can exhibit more "success" as a result of their efforts than the A. F. of L. unions, which is doubtful, it is chiefly because they are more favored by national conditions than the A. F. of L. The immense unemployed army that characterizes the United States is largely absent in Germany. The latter's industries, particularly farming, are not so well developed as in the United States. They soak up thousands of workers who in the United States would be unemployed, and thus a dead-weight on the labor movement. The army occupies another 700,000 men, as soldiers alone, not to speak of the thousands of workers employed in producing war material, the numberless functionaries, etc. And then the German employers are not so well organized as those in the United States, though their organizations are rapidly taking on the more modern trust form. Where this form is strongly developed, as in the textile, mining, and metal industries, the German unions are naturally almost as helpless as the A. F. of L. unions in similar circumstances. To successfully oppose these modern capitalistic organizations they must escape from the tutelage of their political guardians, who won't permit them to fight for fear they will discover their true strength. They must adopt modern methods of industrial warfare, sabotage, general strike, etc. They must become aggressive and "carry the war into Africa," or, as Kautsky says, their period of success is at an end.

It is very difficult to see wherein the boasted progressiveness of the German unions lies. Their one feature that might justly be labeled "progress"—i. e., their gradually fusing into larger groups, I have shown to be a distinct disadvantage to the movement by making the power of the bureaucracies ever stronger and rendering aggressive tactics more impossible. In all other respects they are at a standstill as far as development of their fighting abilities is concerned. How long they will consent to thus rest tranquil and be bled by the political movement and oppressed by their masters, is problematical. But as the employers, emboldened by the helplessness of the unions, are forcing the issue by making Germany the classic land of the lockout, perhaps they may foolishly go so far as to drive the workers to revolt against the peaceful counsels of their leaders—a revolt that seems hardly to be expected from any other source, as the workers are so absorbed in the political situation that only a real jar can call their attention to their true interests.

W. Z. FOSTER.

[Solidarity, Oct. 21, 1911.]

A GERMAN REPLIES TO FOSTER.

CHICAGO, October 11.

As to the German labor movement, Foster is certainly going to the extreme when he states that the German unions are craft unions pure and simple. It seems to me Fellow Worker Foster lays too much stress on, and has studied only, the form of organization. His two articles show clearly that he is fighting centralized form of organization and advocating decentralization.

The conservatism of the German unions is not due to the centralized form of organization; neither is the "dictatorial" power of the few leaders; but to the belief in political action and other causes. Capitalism is centralizing its forces. And the German executive committee of the capitalist class is in Wall Street, New York City. It was the G. E. C. of capitalism who smashed the Paris Commune, 1871, with the aid of German soldiers; the Swedish general strike; and the French railway strike. The German workers know this. Only recently the Steel Trust of America has reached out and organized a world trust. The German worker says we must do the same. We must educate the working class of the world above everything else. Fellow Worker Thompson said the same thing in the last convention.

That's why the German unions are "conservative." The German Reichstag is the best, the cheapest, and the safest school for the whole German working class. Here in the Reichstag they can say things which can not be said outside. Keep in mind, we have not got free speech yet in Germany. Arnold Roller's book, General Strike, is forbidden.

The German unions were forced by sheer economic necessity, and not by socialist leaders or competition of local unions, to organize industrially into central organizations. They have organized the unskilled as well as the skilled laborers. They have partly taken care of the unemployed in order to prevent wholesale scabbery. The German worker believes in self-protection; this created the sick benefit, which kept the member in the union, instead of driving him out. He believes in discipline, because he has experienced that united action is the only thing that will win the workers' cause. And united action is discipline. Unless we have discipline in the I. W. W. we will never amount to anything.

The so-called "syndicalist" unions in Germany did not start on syndicalist principles. They split some 15 years ago from the big unions and propagated the decentralized form of organization. The leaders were mostly job hunters and would-be intellectuals and patriots. In 1898-99 the various local unions of the transportation industry combined into the Centralverband der Handelshilfs und Transportarbeiter Deutschlands, which included janitors, porters, office clerks, store, saloon, and hotel porters, express-wagon drivers, cab drivers, street-car conductors and motormen, brewery-wagon drivers. I was a charter member of this new organization and belonged formerly to the local union of office clerks and office boys. This union was one of the most conservative—yellow to the bone. Immediately some of the members rebelled, because they lost their jobs which they held in the union. They broke away after many weary quarrels and joined the Freie Vereinigung D. Gewerkschaften. Later on the anarchists wormed their way into the Freie Vereinigung, realizing that they must do something else besides dreaming and theorizing.

The "syndicalist" unions in Germany are a failure, not so much on account of syndicalism, as to the decentralized form of organization. Besides, anarchism stinks in the nostrils of German workers, because in the early days a good many "anarchists" proved traitors and Pinkerton detectives, disrupting and trying to break up the labor organizations. That is the principal reason why the German workers will not accept anything that bears the anarchist label.

Otherwise the German workers are ripe for the general strike and syndicalism. As proof, note the big mass meeting in Berlin, where Teaux addressed the German workers and was cheered to the rafters. Talk straight syndicalism or industrial unionism to the German worker and he will come to the front. Slurs at him or the character of his leaders will only drive him away

from you and your cause. The German worker is a firm believer in the one big union idea, or the labor trust. As long as capitalism keeps on centralizing its powers the German workers will stick to the centralized form of organization.

With all its faults the German socialist movement has done much for the workers. The 10-hour day is universal. The greedy employment shark does not exist (very few exceptions). Unemployed are taken care of by unions, Government, and churches. The louse cages, called hotels in America, are unknown in Germany; the single man rooms with a private family or his folks. The German worker is leading a cleaner and healthier life; he enjoys life more, and better than his American fellow worker. Beer is by no means the principal thing. Foster, being a stranger, landed generally in a saloon, and, of course, saw nothing but beer. It would be just as ridiculous for a European, landing on West Madison Street, in Chicago, and then writing to Europe that the American workers are nothing but barrel-house stiffs and booze fighters. Quit your kicking, Comrade Foster.

The unions have established schools for men, women, and young men (age 16 to 19), and Turner halls all over the country. The German worker is a great friend of sport (not baseball or prize fighting) and reading. In the parks and Turner halls, on rivers and lakes, in theaters and libraries, is where you find the German worker in spare time. The saloon has lost its magnetism.

Direct action has been used in a good many strikes. The big longshoremen's strike in 1896 or 1897 in Hamburg saw many brave deeds of direct action. The "power" of the executive committee is only in the imagination of a few kickers. The same holds true as to the power of the G. E. B. of the I. W. W. As a matter of fact, it has no power.

If race suicide will solve the labor problem, let us disband; there is no need for a union at all then. The German worker does not believe in race suicide for various reasons. Race suicide, or Neo-Malthusianism, is against the laws of nature. Every act against the laws of nature will react on mind and body, mentally and physically.

I am an I. W. W. man. Why? Because I want the good things of life. What are they—porterhouse steaks and automobiles? No; a good home with a garden spot; sufficient means to support wife and family; land and liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That's what the Mexican is fighting for to-day—for himself, his wife and children.

America is the classic land of race suicide, because capitalism has here the highest development. Race suicide is the course of capitalist society. And we see the terrible effects of race suicide right here—in self abuse and prostitution. You can see it in the acts and cranky notions of men and women. The dog in many instances has taken the place of child or husband. The red-light district is where the worker gets "married" on the installment plan. Race suicide has created the sexless man and sexless women. It has created the dope fiend; eater of opium and drugs of all descriptions; poison every one of them. Countless people are living more on drugs than food. Race suicide is creating a degenerated working class.

"Oh," you say, "that is not what we mean." "Free love." What is free love under capitalism? Nothing but charity prostitution. The effects are the same. Childbirth can not be prevented by a single natural act. Therefore, race suicide is unnatural and damnable. When the labor market should get scarce on white slaves, the capitalist will get the brown, the yellow, and the black men. Race suicide will never benefit the working class in any way, shape, or form. Show me, Fellow Worker Foster.

The cause of our slow progress (the I. W. W.), Fellow Worker Foster, is not the centralized form of the I. W. W. organization. More active work and united action is what we need. We also must have literature in foreign languages. We need right now 10,000 pamphlets in German. But the G. E. B. has no power (money) to act. The I. W. W. and its constitution stands on solid ground. Let us build up the I. W. W. Let us organize industrial unions. Let's quit theorizing.

Decentralization will never do in America. We need not go to Europe for advice; they will work out their own salvation in their own way across the pond. America is the highest developed land of capitalism, America has the best form of labor organization—the Industrial Workers of the World.

Come, organize in your industries,
 In mines and mills and factories;
 Wherever you do work for wages,
 On field, on ships, on land or sea;
 For liberty, for peace and rest,
 For wives and children, happiness,
 The earth, the earth belongs to toilers,
 Down with the masters and exploiters;
 We want the full value of our toll.
 Ours is the world;
 Let's fight to the last.

Yours for the one big union and a "powerful" G. E. B.,

FRANK JAKEL.

[Solidarity, Nov. 18, 1911.]

BORING FROM WITHIN.

We are quite willing to accept Fellow Worker Foster's statement that he accepted without question the theory that "in order to create a revolutionary labor movement it was necessary to build a new organization separate and apart from the existing craft unions."

It is possible that Foster never did hear a convincing argument to sustain this theory; and it is also possible that he has unthinkingly repeated the theory as an infallible dogma. Even more, it is quite possible that the majority of our members are in the same fix; that they have neither heard nor read any satisfactory argument in favor of the theory.

But what about it! Does a man need to hear or read arguments to prove that he has been hit with a brickbat? Or that boring from within is a failure, after being kicked out for boring?

The majority of our active members have been "boring from within" in the A. F. of L., in the Socialist Party, in the S. L. P., and in every other organization that makes any claim of standing for the interest of the working class, and as a rule they were kicked out of these organizations on account of their attempts to "bore." What need of argument is there in such a case?

But Foster says the C. G. T. succeeded in capturing the conservative unions in France, and from this he argues that what was possible in France would also be possible in the United States. His logic is bad. If a thing is possible in France which has been proven impossible in the United States it must be because the conditions in the two countries were different. We may safely assume that the C. G. T., or the revolutionary unionists, would have been kicked out, as we were, if the conservatives had been strong enough to administer the kicks.

That the secretary of the C. G. T. should hand out such ridiculous advice is not at all strange. It merely shows that he is human and judges all men and all things from his own experience and environment, just as we all do.

Suppose we did take this advice which Joubaux and Foster give us? Suppose we did abandon our attempt to create a new labor movement, and turn ourselves into a mere propaganda league? What then? Would we get into the A. F. of L.? Not much. The A. F. of L. does not want us; if they did, they would not have kicked us out in the first place. And those of us who have not been kicked out of the A. F. of L. were never able to get in.

Again; if we beg to be admitted into the A. F. of L. we must turn our backs on the unorganized and unskilled, just as the A. F. of L. is doing and has done in the past. Craft unionism has no room for the great majority of unskilled. And we would have no room for them if we join the A. F. of L.

If a man is kicked out of the A. F. of L. now, he may get in the I. W. W., and the A. F. of L. knows this and refrains from kicking too fast. But if we join the A. F. of L. there will be nothing to restrain the kicking process, because those who are kicked will be separate and unorganized, and could in no way be a danger to the A. F. of L. until they could again come together in another "dual" (?) organization.

While I am not as familiar with conditions in Germany and in the Scandinavian countries as I would wish to be, I do know that the revolutionists in those countries are better informed on this subject than either Joubaux or

Foster, or I, and I hope it will be a long time before I get swellheaded enough to sit in judgment over their actions, or advise them concerning things I know little or nothing about.

B. E. NILSSON

[Solidarity, Dec. 2, 1911.]

WYOMING REBEL ON FUSION.

In a recent article by Fellow Worker Foster, he candidly announced that in his trip to Europe he had suddenly acquired views somewhat conflicting with the present policy of the I. W. W., and in consequence advocates the fusion of the I. W. W. with the A. F. of L. That sudden change shows that Foster does not understand the position of the I. W. W. nor of the C. G. T., from which he seems to have gotten his sudden change of opinions.

Foster asks "Why don't the I. W. W. grow?" If he had taken the pains to study the annual reports of the general secretaries he would have detected an increase in membership. Had he studied the effect of the I. W. W. propaganda he would find that it is exerting a powerful influence upon the working class in the past few years, especially among the unorganized, who lately have to become imbued with the revolutionary doctrines of the I. W. W. and have in many instances rebelled and used direct action when least expected and are getting to be the nightmare of the capitalists. The McKees Rocks strike was an instance. Even some craft unions are getting rebellious under the influence of the I. W. W. and in some cases have only been prevented from using revolutionary tactics by the most contemptible acts of treachery by the combined efforts of their leaders and the bosses.

That the I. W. W. is growing and is getting dangerous is shown by the desperate attempts of the capitalists to break it up. The Goldfield trouble, the Boise affair, and the Spokane fight are a few instances, and they will not be the last. The growth of the I. W. W. can not be reckoned in numbers, especially in the West, where thousands of workers who adhere to the principles and tactics of the I. W. W. are generally unable to be dues-paying members on account of the peculiar conditions that compel them to travel often hundreds of miles in search of a job, sometimes found in the most remote part of the country.

Foster evidently is not well acquainted with the I. W. W. and its members. One must not forget that from its inception the I. W. W. has outlawed itself from all existing capitalist institutions. That paragraph in the preamble, "that between the working class and the capitalist class there is nothing in common" was the knife that severed all false relations existing between these two classes and created a gulf that never will be bridged until the working class becomes the master.

The entire capitalist system is of necessity compelled to array itself against the I. W. W.; from the Wall Street gang down to the corner peanut merchant; from the Supreme Court judge to the most ignorant policeman; from the highest politicians to the meanest ward heeler, not excepting the numerous brands of the socialist politician; from the Roman proxy to the Salvation Army and other long-hair "Jesus stallers."

It is hard for one to see results if he is not working for them. Nor can the casual looker-on grasp the magnitude of the work undertaken by the I. W. W. The task of the I. W. W. is not only to get a strong membership but to educate its members to fight the everyday class struggle and to conquer all means of production and distribution for themselves. To do this it is necessary to revolutionize the minds of the new members, instill new ideas, new ways of thinking and reasoning; cast away all superstitions and traditions handed down from the dark ages; cast away all false teachings pounded into them by the numberless civic and religious lackeys of the ruling class.

To one who understands the psychology of our class, it is very easily seen that such an organization as ours can not grow as rapidly as a sick and death benefit society of the Loyal Order of Buzzards brand. The teaching of the I. W. W. has already reached countless numbers of proletarians. Go to every nook and corner of the United States—to the cold land of Alaska or the wilds of old Mexico, you will hear the I. W. W. cry for freedom.

The I. W. W. has made progress that would astonish us could we view it all in perspective, and that would stagger the capitalists should they become aware of it. The need of a revolutionary union was felt long before the I. W. W.

was organized, and it is not a scheme hatched in the brains of a few, as Foster seems to think. Neither have its present theories and tactics been pronounced infallible, as they must necessarily change with the everchanging economic conditions, and are not repeated parrot-like by the majority, as Foster seems to think.

It is safe to say that the majority of the membership have fully analyzed and understand the position of the I. W. W. in the class movement and realize the impotency of the A. F. of L., not from theories emanating from some professor of economics, but from the cold, hard facts of bitter experience. It requires some courage for a worker to join the I. W. W., when he knows it often means the loss of jobs, privation, and misery. Many hesitate to do it. Although they believe in its principles, yet they lack the moral stamina to endure the persecutions its members often go through.

As to the constitution, it may be unsatisfactory to a few members, whose main stock in trade seems to be kicking against everything, either for dishonest purposes or lack of understanding, but are unable to bring forth anything better. I believe the majority regard the constitution as a rule to go by and not a cast-iron law to keep us in subjection; a direct actionist as a rule is a poor parliamentarian, but knows what he wants and will find ways to get it. He will not let hard and fast theories stand in his way when fighting for freedom. There is ample room for the different and conflicting elements (not so many and so conflicting as Foster would have us believe) to fight under the banner of the I. W. W.

While it may seem on the surface that the I. W. W. in the past was trying to harmonize the different elements, such is not the case. The three years of internal strife was a fight for supremacy between the revolutionists, the different brands of political saviors, and the stool pigeons of the Mine Owners' Association. That some of the founders of the I. W. W. left it, is true. Some were unable to drive out the revolutionists and gain control, and so these left for better fields; others left because unable to further their utopian schemes or exploit the I. W. W. for political purposes or a meal ticket, while others either did not understand the aim of the I. W. W. or understand it too well.

Whether it would be logical for the German and English syndicalists to fuse with the respective trade unions of those countries I can't say, not being well enough acquainted with the labor movements of those two countries; but it is a well-known fact that it is the supposed barren agitation of the English I. W. W. that has more influenced the English trade unions in their revolutionary character, which at best is of a very mild form, than the boring of Tom Mann or Bowman, who are at best revolutionary meal-ticket artists.

The French syndicalist movement presents the best example of boring from within tactics, but it is poor logic to think that because they were successful in France they must necessarily be elsewhere, and I believe that if George Yvetot and Jouhaux had understood the situation in America they would not have given such advice, and I have reason to believe that neither one would do so now, according to a recent article published in *La Voix du Peuple*, the C. G. T. official organ.

The several trade unions from which the revolutionary syndicalists formed the C. G. T. 17 years ago were then of a more revolutionary character than the American craft unions of to-day, and the natural revolutionary tendency of the French working class made it possible for the French revolutionists to get such good results.

The French labor movement presents a peculiar condition: It is generally the skilled workers who are revolutionary, while in America the reverse is the rule. When the French revolutionists began boring from within most of them were members of the union of their trade or eligible for membership, while in the I. W. W. the majority are not skilled in any particular trade, but are constantly shifting from one industry to another and are not eligible for membership in craft unions, and if they were would be prevented by high initiation fees, or would find the doors barred against them, as craft unions often do. I have personally known men who were members of craft unions and the I. W. W. compelled by their craft union to give up the I. W. W. or lose their means of livelihood at their own trade. We even see craft organizations whose by-laws bar their membership from holding membership in any other union—the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators, for example.

Even if I. W. W. men could join the craft unions, it would simply mean that they would surrender their principles and have their wings promptly clipped.

Perhaps we could wait until Uncle Gompers organizes more migratory workers' unions and takes in the I. W. W.—maybe. No, Fellow Worker Foster, the I. W. W. man who has been a member of some craft union will not be forced into it again. He is not going to fatten the fakirs, grafters, and stool pigeons that infest those unions. It is a well-known fact that lots of craft unionists are only waiting for the disintegration of those unions to break away from them, and that disintegration is taking place rapidly with the advent of new labor-saving machines reducing the skilled mechanic to a mere hand.

When the I. W. W. gets ready to fuse with the A. F. of L. it will be time to organize a new revolutionary organization to take the place of the dead one. In the meantime let us hammer away at the damned system; to put it in hell, where it belongs. Let no babbling fools or old doters stand in our way. Though cowards flinch and traitors sneer, keep the red flag flying here.

LOUIS MOREAU.

CHEYENNE, WYO.

[Solidarity, Dec. 2, 1911.]

THIS ONE WANTS FUSION.

The question raised by Foster, as to the tactics used by the I. W. W., is to my mind a pertinent one. Go where you will the one big union is being discussed in general, and the I. W. W. in particular and the only reason it is being discussed is that conditions are ripe for such an organization. Yet with conditions rotten ripe for industrial organization the I. W. W. at best can muster only a few thousand members. Why? Some seem to think that a slow growth is necessary for the welfare of the organization and keep it in a healthy state; while others say that our growth is not slow but, taking everything into consideration, rapid. Personally, the growth of the I. W. W. is altogether too slow for me; and this continual fighting, being driven from place to place, being blacklisted wherever you go, is only offset by the knowledge that we are fighting for the uplifting of society. That consolation don't fill empty stomachs and is rather a weak incentive to fight with, at least for the writer who although he feels the shame and degradation of his class, must admit that the dominant factor (outside of economic pressure) that forced him to join the I. W. W. was the selfish desire to better his condition. It is needless to state that this desire has not as yet been accomplished.

Is the I. W. W. using the right tactics by creating a dual organization. That word dual will no doubt jar on some of the readers' ears; it did for a long time on the writer's who had been guilty along with many other speakers, of shoving it aside. Dual, I admit that the A. F. of L. is composed of workmen. But so is the Army and if we are dual to the A. F. of L. we must be dual to the Army, etc. But as Kipling would say, that is another story. Here is the A. F. of L. (with the other craft unions not affiliated), with between two and three million members on the one side; on the other, the I. W. W. with we will say, eight thousand; between them the unorganized majority.

The trade-unions have been disciplined; that is one of the reasons they meet defeat so often. They are so willing to obey the orders of their leaders, that is why the English strike ended in a fizzle. Can we utilize this disciplined, disjointed labor organization and dress it into fighting attire? Methinks we can.

Speak to the average A. F. of L. man about joining the I. W. W., his answer generally is that the I. W. W. is all right, they've got the goods, "but you fellows can't do anything for me yet. I have got to belong to the A. F. of L. before I can work, and if I join the I. W. W. they will expel me and put me on the blacklist; but when you get strong enough you can depend upon me." If he happens to join the I. W. W. and become an active member they expel him. Why? Because we are a dual organization.

The strongest weapon the labor leaders use against the I. W. W. is to instill into the minds of their members that the I. W. W. is trying to destroy their organization, and as we can't deny it, it naturally reacts against us; and until we have a stronger organization it will be used successfully against us.

It is a natural line of reasoning that the trade-unionist follows. Here they have an organization that, weak as it is, affords some protection, and until the I. W. W. can offer more than a principle and a chart the trade-unionists are going to stick to what they have. So, if they won't come to us, while

admitting as a whole that our reasoning sounds good, would we accomplish more if we mingled with them? Could anything be accomplished if the eight thousand revolutionists were to drop into the different trade-unions?

I am optimistic as to what the result would be. Go to any strike meeting (that is the only place outside of their union hall that you can get them to listen with any degree of attention) and what do you hear?

The A. F. of L. speaker is usually listened to with a certain degree of coldness and suspicion. When the I. W. W. speaker is given a chance he is applauded before he starts to speak. Why? Because the principle of the I. W. W. is so well known even if they have so small a membership.

Before he gets through he generally has the strikers worked up to a point that spells danger to their masters. Yet the very next day or the day after they will obey, not very gracefully but nevertheless, obey the dictates of leaders whom they positively distrust. Why? Because they are members of the same organization. They applaud the I. W. W. speakers because they say just what the craft unionists can't say for themselves; and obey the A. F. of L. leaders because they have been taught to.

If the I. W. W. members were in the trade unions their influence would be a hundred fold, providing, of course, that the carrying a card in a dual organization were removed.

That phrase that is generally used on our letterheads "Education, organization, and emancipation" sounds nice, but in actual practice it is a failure. If we are going to wait until the workers are educated before they organize, God knows we have got some wait coming. We talk about the intelligent minority, but what use is it if we separate it from the majority. Of course, we have the great unorganized to consider, but even with regard to that our membership does not denote much progress.

As to whether the A. F. of L. can be made revolutionary, that is a question that can never be settled until it either becomes revolutionary or goes out of business. The late English strike, although practically nothing was gained, showed what can be done with the members of the pure and simple trade unions. With a strong minority of direct actionists on the inside to lead the way instead of on the outside it is not very hard to tell just how the English strike would have ended.

Anyone who has been a member of a trade union or has studied the trade union movement, knows that it is always a few who decide the actions taken by their union. Why can't the I. W. W. furnish that minority? They could if they wanted to. Just now we are engaged in trying to capture or rather destroy the A. F. of L. by stealing its members. When we get some of them and they decide to still keep their A. F. of L. card, they will have to keep their mouths shut and hide their I. W. W. card. Their influence as far as the I. W. W. is concerned is zero. If they should decide to take the floor in their union halls and expound the I. W. W. principle, the influence that they might have had is lost due to the fact that they carry a card in a dual organization. And as the constitutions of every trade union with which the writer has come in contact clearly state that no member can belong to any other union, it is only a matter of time until they are expelled and become a part of the isolated, intelligent minority.

Remove the dual cloak we are wearing and it will give us more room to work, a better chance to reap what we have sown. Let us be what we really are, a propaganda organization. Let our members have an equal chance with the minority in control of the trade union at present, where we shall be able to express our views without fear of expulsion. Let the intelligent minority get among the unthinking majority (organized labor) and there is no question in my mind but that good results will be accomplished.

J. W. JOHNSTONE.

NELSON, B. C.

[Solidarity, Dec. 9, 1911.]

BORE INTO THE MASSES.

It is evident from Fellow Worker Foster's proposition to bore into the conservative trades unions that some one is greatly surprised and disappointed at the growth of the I. W. W.

Considering the conditions and environment among which the I. W. W. is existing I am surprised that we grow so well as we do. Has not the working class of this country been doped, and is it not being doped with superstitions and

philosophies that long ago have outlived themselves? Has not the ruling class used every means possible from government conspiracies to "socialistic" school system to imbue the young and old alike with respect for the exploiters? Has not this same class either formed or bought through leaders the so-called working class organizations, as, for instance, the A. F. of L.? Do not other organizations, the S. P., for example, preach in the holy name of emancipation that voting is the essence of socialism? What about the thousands of strikes that have sapped the hope and energy of the workers, that have been lost ere they were begun? It is needless to point out the many more instances that have undermined the workers' faith in better things for them. All these must be taken into full consideration, and in view of them we should be rather pleased than disappointed with the growth we are making.

Considering also the obstacles in our way, the violent attacks on the life of some industrialists, the attempts of the fakirs in conjunction with the master class, the opportunists' betraying cry of paid disrupters, together with the politicalities' active chicanery and machinations to do away with us, even our most bitter enemy will have to admit that our vitality is of A1 quality. What other movement has had to deal with so much beastly opposition and grown in spite of all the powers that be?

Our growth is small, but normal and steady, and for this reason it is safe and healthy; for it gives better opportunities for the newcomers to acclimatize themselves with the old timers. The risk of being fakerized is reduced to a minimum, practically to nothing. This in itself is worth more than million memberships and treasuries. However small our growth may be to some, it proves most conclusively that we are a true working-class organization.

After years of insistent exposure of trade unionist impossibilism, should the I. W. W. now get into the conservatives just to get members? There has been some boring in the past years with the result of a few more members. We bored in, but could not keep on boring, for we were bored out.

There will be a deuce of a fight in the trades unions between the common interest deposters and the political adventurers, otherwise known as socialists, self-appointed, little saviors of the great proletariat.

Whoever wins the result can not be other but that these wranglings over the remunerative offices will draw many well meaning but not fully educated class conscious workers from both these organizations. Where will they go? Naturally to the I. W. W., for that is the only true bread and butter organization in this land. The workers naturally are for more bread and butter. I care little what name they give it. To prove this I point to a question I often put to followers of politicalities: "Would you have a socialist president rather than shorter hours, longer pay, and human conditions in the workshop?" With but one exception they all stood for the hours, wages, and conditions. The excepting one had no answer. He was just beginning to think.

The fight against Gompersism that will be inaugurated by the ballot boxers will do much more effective work than boring in would. We must be ready, however, to point out the real cause of that fight, which is: Down with trade-union offices and in for political offices.

The masses, I believe, are averse to the A. F. of L. They have good reasons to be, and this aversion would be applied to whoever would ally himself with them, no matter how holy his purpose may be.

Boring in, however, is a most vital question and quite a deciding factor in building up an organization. But instead of boring into the 10 per cent of the organized (?) in the A. F. of L. let us bore into the 90 per cent unorganized and we will be better off, besides fulfilling our duties.

It makes little difference whether a man is to be a 6-footer or a 4-footer, the aim is that he be a man in the fullest sense of the word, a fighter, able to hold his own. It is not so much the question as to whether the I. W. W. is to be small or big as it is that it be a fighter and a real champion of working class ideals and needs. The I. W. W., at present, is the only organization, excepting none, that has established full rights to the last named for itself. What else can it wish?

A numerous organization? Surely. But let us remember that we are a comparatively young organization, an infant industry, so to speak, and let us not be overanxious about our growth lest we lose sight of the essentials. Let us bide our time and the day is not far off when we will grow into a fat labor trust. The I. W. W. is what the working class must have; therefore it will, for it must, grow.

W. A. ZIELINSKI.

BUFFALO, N. Y.

[Solidarity, Dec. 9, 1911.]

FOSTER ANSWERED FROM FRANCE.

Solidarity is glad to receive the following contribution to the discussion on Foster's proposition. It is from the editor of the Bulletin International of the syndicalist movement, who is probably as well posted and as close a student of the labor movement of the different countries as can be found anywhere to-day.

BOURG-LA-REINE (SEINE), FRANCE, November 24.

DEAR COMRADE AND FELLOW WORKER: I am sending you with this same mail a copy of the last issue of *La Vie Ouvrière* with a remarkable article about the dogma of revolutionizing the conservative labor movement from within. The author is our well-known Swedish comrade, Albert Jensen, the editor of *Brand* and a leader of the young revolutionary minority in the Swedish labor movement. In the Bulletin International of November 19 I mention this article, which expresses the opinion of the most prominent revolutionary propagandists in all European countries, and perhaps it may serve you in the discussion in Solidarity on these matters.

I fear that our American fellow workers forget that the words spoken by Jouhaux to Foster, when this comrade left Europe, and also at the Budapest convention, are merely a personal opinion of the secretary of the French C. G. T. and that it is far from being the general opinion of the comrades of the C. G. T. Personally I believe that in Jouhaux's case the ignorance of foreign labor and organizing conditions made him judge circumstances unknown to him and the decision of which belongs to each country in particular, according to the national character of the working classes, the history of the syndicalist movement, etc.

In Holland, for instance, it is, as in Sweden—see Jensen's article—absolutely impossible at present for the revolutionary comrades to unite with conservative unions, the two movements being of equal strength, if not numerically then in fact (in strikes, etc.).

In Italy, as Alceste De Ambris explained to us recently in Paris, the revolutionary unions (about 140,000) are willing to join the Italian C. G. T., but will nevertheless maintain their own revolutionary organization, in the same way as the I. W. W. in America or as the minority in the French railway organization, etc.

It is true, as Foster also said, that in Germany the Freie Vereinigung is very weak yet; but as I know the German labor movement since 20 years, I am sure that this weak organization will be within a few years the final resource of all independent proletarian labor organization. In the German socialist trade-unions there are already so many discontented elements that in a few years the mere fact of finding outside their unions a revolutionary organization will be of the most importance for history.

What Foster said about England was quite right, but what is true of England with its altogether peculiar historical development, its preference for conserving old institutions and customs, is not applicable at all to American life and action.

In one of the former issues of the Bulletin I referred to the special position of France, and it is this special position which is so extremely apt to mislead French comrades concerning the movement in other countries and, not less, visitors who do not stay long enough in France, concerning the French movement.

CHRISTIAN CORNELISSEN.

[Solidarity, Dec. 9, 1911.]

WHY NOT BOTH BORE AND BUILD.

Fellow worker Foster's recent article, together with that of Frank Bohn, has brought forth a comparison of ideas that is sure to be beneficial to the revolutionary labor movement. It also has demonstrated that the I. W. W. organs are at all times open for a full and free discussion of matters pertaining to the form, principles, aims, and tactics of the organization.

Both articles, in my estimation, were answered by the sixth annual convention, where the position was taken that all purely negative propaganda be discouraged and a policy of constructive agitation be pursued.

The I. W. W. is growing in numbers and in influence, and the present growth is a stable one and is entirely unlike the unhealthy fungus growth of the past, composed as it was of craft union cast-offs and political misfits. Our ranks are now being filled directly by our own efforts, from that dispossessed and disinherited class who have no skill advantage and who "come clean" into the I. W. W., not because they are against politics, religion, craftism or the like, but solely because they are for industrial unionism.

If we are to turn the I. W. W. into a propaganda league and start boring from within the craft unions, what is to become of the organized textile workers, the organized lumber workers, the organized construction workers, and those other elements who already have built up a membership on a practical and not a theoretical basis?

And what is to be the position of those who are confronted with an exorbitant initiation fee and with closed books on the part of the crafts?

Where also can that large body, the jack-of-all-trades, find a resting place amid the jurisdictional squabbles of the barriered crafts, who scorn a universal transfer-card system?

And, lastly, where does the real proletariat, the man with his home on his back, fast becoming the largest class of wageworkers, have a part in this proposed scheme?

Boring from within is all right when circumstances force a man to belong to a craft union, but to deliberately set about paying initiation fees and dues to something we know to be antagonistic to the best interests of our class seems to be the height of folly.

Who among us does not welcome a chance to address the craft union bodies? Personally, I have spoken before the crafters more than 100 times within the past three years, and almost invariably have been well received. Other agitators can relate the same experience, and the various forward steps of these bodies have borne testimony to the effectiveness of our agitation, coupled with the work of the borers from within. But these closer federations, while containing the germ of the correct idea, have untouched the great mass of toilers.

The highest membership claimed for craft unionists, which is greatly exaggerated, is but 2,500,000 out of a possible eligible wage-working class of 20,000,000. Our supreme mission is to reach these unorganized millions with our message of hope.

The I. W. W. alone has the basis upon which to rest an appeal to this unorganized and hitherto despised mass. Our policy of low initiation fees, low dues, universal transfer-card system, no age, sex or color limitations, no apprenticeship laws, and no closed books, together with our constructive propaganda looking toward the building of a new society within the shell of the old, will soon penetrate and permeate this mass and the consequent action of the aroused workers will bring about the change in society for which we are striving.

We realize that the test of our strength lies in the hatred of our enemies, and we know that the I. W. W. is more bitterly hated and more thoroughly feared than any other labor movement on this or any other continent, despite its relative smallness in numbers.

Let us have less philosophy and more activity, and if we double the amount of "boring from within" let us at the same time redouble our efforts to "build from without."

As wageworkers, skilled and unskilled, young and old, male and female, native born and foreign born, white, black, yellow, and red, home guards and blanket stiffs, let us use every means within our grasp to fight our every-day battle to abolish wage slavery and to manage industry in the interest of those who toil.

With this as our firm determination let us build up the Industrial Workers of the World, and, in so doing, act as a beacon light to the downtrodden workers of other lands.

WALKER C. SMITH.

[Solidarity, Dec. 9, 1911.]

TOUCHES QUESTION IN SPOTS.

In view of Foster's letter and the still more recent letter of Bruce Rogers, I would like to put in a few words. I can not promise to adhere to the pro-

gram as laid down by the editor of *Solidarity* as to taking up any special phase of the subject under consideration. One may be pardoned for thinking that such an extensive plan is rather unnecessary. I feel, however, impelled to point out the peculiar and anomalous condition in which a candidate for an important office, i. e., the editorship of an official paper of an organization, proposes to use that paper for the express purpose of preaching what amounts to the dissolution of the organization, and finding the press of the organization opening its pages to such a discussion.

I do not wish to make any adverse comment on this, but I can not help thinking it is a surprising manifestation.

As to "boring from within," that much discussed question, there does not seem to be any insurmountable objection to anyone trying it under present conditions. It would seem that if anyone wants to get aboard that great ocean liner, "A. F. of L.," it could be accomplished without endeavoring to sink the little torpedo boat "I. W. W.," but then the mind of the decentralizer has remarkably peculiar qualities and acts in a wonderful manner. So we must arrive at the comforting conclusion that we can not bore from within while there is an I. W. W. in existence. The latter must dissolve into a propaganda organization, or, better still, into small groups of such kind of organizations, and then, and not till then, will our wise advocates of this new policy begin to bore.

The mind of the ordinary member might conceive some objection to this. Of course such objections are merely academic, and are only to be advanced in order that they may be met, refuted, and set aside so as to clear the question up. In this spirit I would advance a few of them.

The first serious objection would seem to be that the officers of the good ship A. F. of L. might pipe all hands to quarters, or whatever else the nautical phrase is, to repel boarders. I have heard some of the decentralizers insist vociferously that "might is right," and that "self-preservation is the highest law of nature." Now, without indorsing the first or even upholding the second as the highest law, it seems quite apparent that self-preservation holds a position of prime importance in the A. F. of L., and that the workings of this law will prompt the latter body to make some effort, more or less effectual, to preserve its own existence by keeping the I. W. W.ites out, or by firing them if by any inadvertence they should happen to get in and become troublesome. The experience of some of our decentralizers with the W. F. of M. convention at Denver in 1909 would seem to indicate that this is not merely a theoretical objection, and that the self-preservative measures of the W. F. of M. might be adopted by the A. F. of L. if the emergency required drastic action.

Of course they do things different in France. Foster says the French anarchists made a raid on the labor movement. I can not conceive any such thing happening in America. That is judging from my knowledge of the avowed anarchists of New York. That the anarchists of this city would ever make a raid on anything more formidable than a free-lunch counter is beyond the scope of belief. I happen to know some of these self-styled anarchists. Like the bogus "bad men" of the somewhat mythical West, they try to hide their innate uselessness behind the terror of the name "anarchist." They are perfectly harmless and inoffensive. Their principle propaganda seems to be "Sex freedom," whatever that means. If they ever should try to make a raid on the labor movement here, some "labor skate" will take a lath and chase them all out.

Emma Goldman endeavored to give a lecture on Ibsen (terrible subject) on One hundred and sixteenth Street in a hall one Sunday some two or three years ago, and a squad of police chased a hall full of them out like so many sheep. No, Mr. Foster; the anarchists will make no raid on anything.

Then if the I. W. W. does fail, and the industrial unionists do get into the old craft unions, they will be in such an advantageous tactical position. One can imagine an opponent pointing out an industrialist: "Brothers, this is an industrial unionist. He tried to start an I. W. W. with others of his ilk, but he failed. Now he is here to ask us to take up the work where he fell down. What he was unable to do he wants us to take up. He wants to unload his failure on us."

Of course the fact that there are many in the I. W. W. who could not get into an A. F. of L. union does not appeal to our decentralizers. For instance, there is civil engineering, the most overcrowded and underpaid "profession" in the world. I do not know of any union of civil engineers in the A. F. of L.

Also, the A. F. of L. comprises less than two million members, while there are 20,000,000 workers in the country. Of course the opportunity to organize

this great mass of unorganized workers does not appeal to our practical decentralizers at all.

It would seem that the answer to the question "Why does not the I. W. W. grow?" might be found in the answer to the same question applied to some potatoes which I planted when I was a small boy. They did not thrive, notwithstanding the fact that I pulled them every day to see if they were growing. I was properly impressed when my uncle, a wise man in his generation, told me to leave them alone for awhile; then when they began to sprout to water them and to hoe them and not to pull them up any more. I found the advice good for the cause of potatoes.

To me it would seem that if we would stop making everlasting constitutional changes from political to nonpolitical, to antipolitical, etc., that we might settle to work for the organization, and that those who want to bore from within might go and bore, and that the true field for the organization at the present time is to organize the unorganized, and to seek affiliation with the various independent bodies throughout the country who are walking the road that leads to industrial unionism.

I recently sat at a meeting which was held by the Socialist Party, addressed by Haywood, and when he in a masterly manner outlined the policy that led up to industrial unionism the cheers from the assembled thousands seemed to fairly lift the roof.

Why can we not get these people who cheered into the I. W. W.?

Maybe we could do something if so many of our members were not always so eager to give an antipolitical argument.

Faternally,

THOMAS FLYNN.

[Solidarity, Dec. 16, 1911.]

DISCUSSION CLOSED.

The discussion on Foster's proposition to "turn the I. W. W. into a propaganda league and bore from within the A. F. of L. without attempting to build up an organization from the outside," is closed for the present at least, in Solidarity. In announcing the discussion, we insisted that the subject matter should be divided as much as possible, so "as to avoid too much repetition and too many long articles." A number of manuscripts now on hand show that their authors have not observed this necessary limitation. With slight variations, they consist in little more than a going over the ground already covered. Our space is too valuable for that; hence we close the discussion.

It may be well to state that so far as the evidence shows at this end of the line, there is comparatively little support of Foster's proposition in the I. W. W. Those who oppose it, as a rule, base their opposition upon experience gained in the "boring process" or upon a critical study of the American labor movement. They bitterly resent the idea that they must necessarily follow the example of French syndicalists. And in fact, France seems to stand alone on the proposition, as the same resentment is shown toward Jouhaux' admonition to "join the conservative unions" on the part of revolutionary syndicalists in Germany, Sweden, and other European countries. Exclusive "boring from within" does not appear to be popular among the experienced syndicalists of any country except France. And, if we may be permitted to again pose as a prophet, we fancy the C. G. T. (or those of it who support Jouhaux' position), will have their faith in "the dogma of unity" somewhat shattered through the near at hand machinations of the A. F. of L. in the international movement.

But that is beside the point. The point is, that the I. W. W. from its inception to the present moment, has set its task, not only to bore the A. F. of L. and all other reactionary forces of capitalism to pieces; but, simultaneously to build the new industrial society within the framework of capitalism. The men who founded the I. W. W., whatever their shortcomings otherwise, were not blind to the fact that ample materials were at hand with which to do the building. The trust had destroyed the basis for the old-time craft union. Unskilled slaves (10 to 1) had supplanted skilled workers in industry. This great and increasingly dominant mass of unskilled must be organized and drilled for the historic working class mission of supplanting capitalist society with industrial democracy. To depend upon the skilled alone, was to lean upon a broken reed. They would be whipped into line only when the great mass below should be set in motion.

As for the A. F. of L., it had shown that it was either a conscious or unconscious force on the side of the employers to prevent that mass from moving, and that it was strongly entrenched for that purpose. Revolutionary syndicalists, in view of their experience and observation, could therefore have no affinity with that reactionary force. They must set to work to destroy it, to clear it off the field of the American labor movement. And to most of us from the outset, the surest way to destroy the craft union appeared to be to build industrial unions out of the abundant material at hand, the unskilled in industry.

That still remains the position of the I. W. W. However, that position is a flexible one, to this extent, that it does not prevent any member from "boring in the craft unions" if he wishes to do so. But it commits our organization to a ceaseless warfare against all agencies and institutions of capitalism, on the one hand; and to the constructive task of supplanting capitalism on the other, by organizing the union of the working class.

Such a program necessarily means a slow growth, in numbers, at least. The individual or small group of revolutionists must wait some time before they can hope to see in motion the mass of thousands of slaves in a trustified industry. And that is the situation in all great industries throughout the United States. Especially is this evident to us here in the eastern part of the United States, where capitalism appears at its most advanced world development. Here there must be one big union of the slaves, or an even worse industrial despotism than now prevails. The A. F. of L. has utterly failed to cope with the situation in the East. The reason for its failure is evident to those who understand the present status of industry in relation to the fundamental structure and methods of craft union. That the A. F. of L. will ever again obtain a foothold in trustified industry appears out of the question. Why, then, waste time trying to capture a corpse is a logical question among thousands. Certainly the I. W. W. will make no such attempt in the manner suggested by Foster and those who agree with his position.

This does not preclude the necessity of more tact and common sense on the part of some of our propagandists, in dealing with craft unionists and other elements whom we hope to convince of the soundness of the I. W. W. program. Let us remember that while grubbing out stumps and blasting out rocks are sometimes necessary preliminaries to the structural work that is to follow, at the same time we must not lose sight of the building; and that the bricks of the new structure are the unskilled workers, who have no craft illusions, and are not likely to acquire any. Here the I. W. W. has a clear field, if we only develop the necessary intelligence and organizing ability.

Let us then all put our shoulders to the wheel and push forward the educational propaganda of the I. W. W. to keep pace with capitalist conditions, as a preliminary to organizing the army of production for the everyday struggle with the masters and for the final supplanting of class rulership with a free society.

EXHIBIT No. 10.

THE COAL STRIKE OF 1919.

THE STATE—STRIKE BREAKER!

PROCLAMATION BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA.

Workers, you have been told that the Government of the United States is a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people."

The Communists have told you that it is a government "of the capitalists, by the capitalists, and for the capitalists."

The proof is before you.

The representatives of more than half a million coal miners met in convention in September. They discussed the wages and working conditions in the coal-mining industry. They found that the capitalists who owned the coal mines were making greater profits than ever, but that the increased cost of living had so reduced the buying power of the wages of the workers that they were barely getting enough for an existence.

The work of the miners is of a most dangerous character. How often have you not read of the mine disasters which snuff out the lives of hundreds of miners, disasters which are due to the fact that the capitalists in their greed for

profits refused to spend the money necessary to safeguard the lives of the workers! The work of the miners is health destroying. They work down in the dark places under the earth, among dangerous gases, where there is no life-giving air and sunshine.

The miners said that there were enough miners to produce enough coal to supply all the needs of the country if they were employed regularly, working 30 hours per week, in place of being kept idle part of the time. They said a 30-hour week in the dangerous, health-destroying places under the earth was enough. They demanded a 30-hour week.

The miners are strongly organized. All the workers in and about the mines are in the miners' union. The workers are not divided into crafts, but united in one industrial organization. They have power to enforce their demands upon the capitalists.

They made their demands upon the coal-mine owners. These capitalists, standing alone, had no power to resist the demands of the workers. The workers could close the mines and prevent the capitalists from making profits. If they were sufficiently conscious of the way to free themselves from exploitation, they could even take over the mines and operate them, without paying profits to the capitalists.

But the capitalists have a weapon which they have forged to keep the workers in submission.

The capitalists called in the Government—the state.

All the power of the Government was mobilized to prevent the miners from securing wages that will enable them to live and the working hours which should prevail in the mining industry.

The President of the United States denounced the strike as "illegal." He threatened the miners with the power of the Government of the United States if they insisted upon compelling the capitalists to grant their demands by going on strike. The Government has already secured an injunction to prevent the miners from using their own funds and the power of their organization to support the strike.

The Government of the United States through its injunction is seeking to starve the wives and children of the miners by preventing their organization from paying strike benefits. All the legal machinery of the Government is being used against the miners, and the Army—the soldiers, with their death-dealing instruments—are ready to prevent the miners from securing a living wage and the hours that should prevail in the mining industry.

The State has stepped in.

This it did in the steel strike. This it threatens to do if there is a railroad strike.

The State does not coerce the capitalists; it does not tell the capitalists they must yield to the demands of the miners in order to prevent the stoppage of the mining of coal. The State never coerces the capitalists; its legal machinery is never directed against the capitalist (except occasionally against minor groups or individuals in the interest of the whole capitalist class). Its Army is never used to destroy the lives of the capitalists. The State coerces the workers. Its legal machinery is used to enforce the demands upon the workers. Its army is used to destroy the lives of the workers who dare demand a living wage and a little more sunshine and fresh air.

Workers rally to the support of the miners.

The capitalists are playing to establish an industrial slavery, in which their rule will be even greater than in the past. To make strikes "illegal" and crush them with the power of the State is the first move.

The Government of the United States, which some workers have been fooled into believing is a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people," is in reality the government "of the capitalists, by the capitalists, and for the capitalists." It is the instrument through which industrial slavery is maintained.

The workers can not win their freedom, they can not win even a living wage and a little more sunshine and fresh air, while the capitalists control the power of the State.

The workers must conquer that power. They must make themselves the ruling class. They must establish in the place of the dictatorship of the capitalists the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Workers, rally to the support of the miners. Make their strike general. Unite for the struggle against industrial slavery. Take from the capitalists the power through which they seek to increase your slavery!

YOU MUST UNITE, WORKINGMEN!

PROCLAMATION BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA.

Workingmen! Are all your strikes to be defeated and you forced back to work on the terms of your employers?

That is what is happening.

The steel workers had been bullied, oppressed, and robbed for decades. They had to deal with the greatest industrial organization in this country—an organization that stood in the front rank of capitalism and consistently held to a policy of treating the workers as slaves.

When the steel workers went on strike to force recognition of their claims to decent working conditions and a voice in determining these, they struck a blow at the very heart of capitalism in this country.

The steel workers are fighting the battles of all the workers. Their victory would mean a tremendous gain of strength for all the workers. But they are left to make the fight alone and the capitalists are already gleefully shouting that they have been beaten.

Now, the coal miners are on strike. After using the injunction to try to break their strike the Government offered them a pitiable increase in wages, which even their conservative and courageless officials were compelled to refuse.

Miners are being forced to call off their strike and go to work at the point of the bayonet. The Government, acting as the representative of the mine owners, is using all its power against the mine workers.

The miners have shown a splendid courage and solidarity in staying out in of the coercion of the Government and the betrayal by their officials, who called off the strike because of the Government injunction. But, again they are fighting alone. They are not united with the steel workers. The railroad workers, who threaten to strike later if their demands are not granted, do not come to the aid of the steel workers and mine workers now.

What is true of the strike of the steel workers and the miners is true of many other strikes. Hundred of thousands of workers in all parts of the country are on strike. The workers are being driven into industrial struggles in greater and greater numbers. The hardships which the capitalists and their profit system inflict upon them are stirring them to action. But the strikes are not united. Each group of workers strikes separately and is separately defeated by the united capitalist class, of whose rule and power the Government—the State—is the visible expression.

Workingmen, you must unite! You must strike together.

The capitalist system is breaking down. Its contradictions are of such a character that it becomes increasingly difficult to make it work. In place of supplying food, clothing, and homes to live in to the workers, it is producing misery and hardships. It is the capitalist system which is responsible for the high cost of living. It is the greed of the capitalists that threatens us with the suffering from cold because no coal is being mined. It is capitalism that is responsible for the threatened railroad strike, which may bring hunger and even starvation to the whole country.

The capitalist control of industry will result in more and more strikes, more and more struggles of the workers to force from the capitalists the means and opportunity to live happy, healthy lives.

These strikes can only succeed if the power of the workers is united. The workers must strike together. The capitalists can beat the strikes of sections of the working class. They are powerless against the united working class.

The conservative and reactionary union officials who stand in the way and betray the workers, as the railroad men's union officials are now doing by endeavoring to prevent the strike, must be swept aside. Strike councils with delegates from every industry, whether the workers are organized or unorganized, must be created in each city. The councils in each industrial district must be united in a district council, and the district councils in a national council.

Create your own organs for the struggle against capitalism, workingmen!

Send men who work with you and strike with you to the strike councils. They will represent you. They will not betray you. They will unite all the workers locally, in the district and nationally. Then you can act together. Then you are invincible.

Organize the strike council!

Strike together!

Your power will be greater than that which the capitalists have through their control of the Government. You will have your own organs of working class government.

Then you will beat the capitalists, and victory, and good food, good clothes, good homes, a voice in the management of the shop, and the opportunity for happy, healthy lives will be yours.

Unite the strikes!

THE RUSSIAN SOVIET REPUBLIC OF WORKERS AND PEASANTS.

WHO AND WHAT ARE THE BOLSHEVIKI?

[Published by the National Executive Committee, Socialist Labor Party.]

On March 15, 1917, the blood-soaked régime of the Czar of All the Russians was swept into the dust bin of history. The workers and peasants of Russia, long tired to death of the corrupt and oppressive gang that had ridden on their backs and had kept them in poverty and in misery, cleaned up the whole crew in short order. The war had put arms into their hands and common sense into their heads, and they used both to rid themselves of their oppressors.

Thereupon, a number of things began to happen. First, an attempt was made again to establish the monarchy with a constitutional cloak. It failed. Next, it was tried to foist upon the country a capitalist government such as the western nations "enjoy." That, too, failed. Finally, the schemers, finding the rapidly forming workers' and peasants' and soldiers' councils too strong to be set aside, a compromise was entered into and a coalition government was formed under the premiership of Kerensky. Like all compromise arrangements, the Kerensky government had in it the germ of destruction when it was born. The Russian people wanted, above all things, to get out of the war; the Kerensky government, torn by conflicting interests, kept them in the war though they had nothing to wage war with. The peasants of Russia wanted and needed land very badly; the Kerensky government strung them along with promises, but gave them nothing. It did give Russia, under Allied pressure, new offensive military operations, the so-called June offensive under Korniloff, which ended in a terrible rout and definitely settled the fate of the Kerensky régime.

During all this time the attitude of the American capitalist press had been of the I-pat-you-on-the-back-if-you-do-as-I-tell-you kind. This press had hailed the fall of the Czar who had mismanaged the war and who was suspected of wishing to make peace, a wish generated in a desire to save his own skin. Toward the Kerensky government this press was tolerant, well-wishing, and all that sort of thing; they felt that with this kind of Russia business might be done, and one could even hope to get the best of these innocents when it came to the matter of driving slick bargains in the not too distant future. But then something happened that changed all this, something that dumped the Kerensky government and transformed the American capitalist press from a patronizing well wisher into an infuriated liar and slanderer, ever busy inventing and spreading new tales of horror. What had come to pass? It was this:

On November 7, 1917, the Russian workers, soldiers, and peasants, having had enough of dillydallying and shillyshallying, made up their minds to take their fate into their own hands and set up a government of, by, and for themselves. Several factors existed that made this possible. First, they had the numbers, since they formed more than 90 per cent of the population; second, they had a purpose based upon a clear understanding as to what they wanted; and third, and most important—let the working class reader make a special mental note right here—they had the organization that enabled them to act together for their own good. The Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Councils (Soviets) were the only real organized power in the land. They had arms, they had understanding of their needs and of their power, they had organization, and thus, they had their fate in their own hands. They acted along the line of their class interests.

And that is where they "spilled the beans"—with every parasite exploiter the whole world over. From now on, veritable floods of abuse, lies, slander, calumny were poured out upon Russia in the press, the pulpit, the movies, through every agency the capitalist class has of poisoning the minds of the people. It looked as though the word "Bolsheviki," when translated into

English, meant murder, arson, rape, mayhem—any one of these or all of them put together; it looked like the most expressive word any language ever had. We are here speaking to working class readers. It is important that workingmen should know just what happened and what does happen in Russia. They are vitally interested and they should understand. Let us get down to fundamentals. The Russian workers had, years ago, organized for themselves a political party and they gave it the name of "Social Democratic Labor Party." That party, like every other party, had two wings: A radical wing and a conservative wing. The radical wing was the larger in numbers and its members were called "Bolsheviki," which means "adherents of the majority," the Russian word "bolshie" (which means "more") serving as the root of the word. Sometimes they were also called "Maximalists" because their program contained more radical (maximum) demands. The other and smaller wing of the party were called "Mensheviki," which means "adherents of the minority," the word "menshe" (which means "less") serving as the root. And these were sometimes called "Minimalists" for the reason that their program was less radical. This goes to show that the matter is simple enough and easily understood once it is explained and there really is no need of having a creepy feeling running down your spine as soon as you hear the word Bolsheviki. It is so with the word "Soviet." This simply means council and nothing else, and the Soviet Republic of Russia is based upon constituencies organized in councils largely along vocational lines.

We in this country are organized politically along geographical lines in election districts and districts of larger dimensions where we act politically together with other citizens whom we don't know at all and who in turn don't know us. Since we, in our capacity of citizens, have nothing at all to do with and nothing to say in industry, our system would not do for Russia because the Russian voter, in order to control industry, must above all things have an organization that makes it possible to do so. That organization is the Soviet, perhaps not yet fully worked out in the short time they have been at it, but shaping itself along those lines as naturally as water will assume the form of the vessel it is poured into. Of course you must bear in mind that a dry explanation of the technique of the Soviet form of government can not convey what this government really means to the Russian workers and peasants. To them it is far more than just a government. It is bread and meat and drink, father and mother and wife and child and faith and everything else that men have ever cherished and have been ready to fight and die for. It is theirs. It is all they have and all they live for. To lose the Soviet government means to lose everything worth living for. For the worker it means going back into wage slavery with no longer a voice and a vote in his own fate. For the peasant it means again to have the land taken from him, again to bend his back under the yoke of the great landowner. It is as though we should try to reestablish Negro slavery in the South.

You will now understand that it is not so easy to uproot the Soviet government. To do so, it is not enough to replace one set of officials with another set. No, you must tear it out of the hearts and the heads of 150,000,000 people, and it is an open question whether this can be done even if the entire rest of the world could be marshaled for the task. And it is also an open question (and perhaps it is not) whether the rest of the world can be so marshaled. We, as members of the working class, interested deeply in the success of the Russian workers, "have our doubts;" and we have a shrewd suspicion that other members of the working class, the world over, as soon as they understand what is up, are going to be heard from in no uncertain tone on the subject of suppressing the Russian workers by means of foreign bayonets.

Whenever foreign bayonets do appear and take possession of a small corner of vast Russia something like this happens: After the Soviet officials have been disposed of by shooting, hanging, or imprisonment, the Soviets are declared dissolved and a new government, patterned after capitalist models, is set up. Does that do away with the Soviets? By no means. Deeply enshrined in the hearts of the people, they simply go "underground" to come forth again the moment the foreign pressure is removed. The local Soviets can not be destroyed unless you destroy the Russian people—all of them. It happened so in the west when German troops were withdrawn from any portion of the country; it will so happen in the east, north, and south, whenever British, French, Japanese, and American troops are withdrawn. A capitalist government in Russia, set up by foreign bayonets, can not stand alone; it must be permanently sustained by foreign bayonets—there is no other way to make it last.

The occurrences at Vladivostok, after the allied troops had taken possession, illustrate the point strikingly, convincingly, and instructively. The troops in possession, the Soviet officials removed and the Soviet government abolished, the "liberators" proceeded to order a new election, evidently with the idea in their minds that they had just done away with a government that had been "without the consent of the governed." Seventeen parties were in the field with seventeen tickets, the last, the seventeenth, being the Soviet party. But—lo and behold!—what happened? That seventeenth party polled more votes than the other sixteen put together. Did the "redeemers" thereupon permit the reestablishment of the Soviet government as expressed by the will of the people? They did not. They set aside the election and, in the absence of further information on the subject, it must be supposed that they decided to conduct government thereafter without any "democratic" frills.

As things are to-day, the Russian people own the land as a nation. Private ownership in land is abolished forever; the land can not be sold, nor leased, nor mortgaged, nor alienated in any other way. The right to use the land belongs to all citizens (without distinction of sex) of the Russian State, who wish to work the land themselves, with the help of their families, or in partnerships, and only so long as they are capable of working it themselves. No hired labor is allowed. In case of temporary incapacity (sickness) of a member of a village community during the course of two years, the said village community must assist him in the cultivation of his land. If a certain district becomes overcrowded, the surplus of the population must emigrate. The organization of such emigration, the cost thereof, and providing the emigrants with necessary stock is borne by the State. The emigration is carried on in the following order: First, the peasants without land who express their wish to emigrate; then the depraved members of communities, deserters, etc.; and, lastly, by drawing lots on agreement. (These are citations from an official decree of the Soviet government on the subject of the land.)

Similar decrees were issued insuring the workers' control of industry, the main features of which were later adopted by the All-Russian Congress of Soviets as was also done in regard to the decree on land. In the face of such happenings is it any wonder that the international plunderbund, the capitalist class, foamed at the mouth and let loose the flood-gates of slander? Of course not. It is bad enough for the Russians to so organize their own affairs that you can't swindle any more out of them, no mining concessions, no railroads to "re-organize," no oil wells to "capitalize"—nothing, nothing, nothing! Yet, bad enough as that is, there is worse to come. Doing what the Russians did is setting a bad example, a very shocking example. Just think of it! These fellows work and produce and then they keep what they produce and only take care of the young, the old and the infirm, of education, of art and literature, and of science, etc. But they have arranged things so that there are no champagne dinners for the chosen few, no yachts, no fast horses and faster women, no hot birds and cold bottles, none of the many things that always made life worth living, and which were earned by the many—for the few. Why, this is an outrage! They can't stand for that and they won't—unless they have to. And just think of this! If those chosen few, under Russian conditions, want corned beef and cabbage, or ham and—they have to work for it. Yessah; they have to work for it if they would enjoy these choice viands. And if they don't want to work, they must emigrate and elsewhere find such as will work for them.

Imagine the mental state of the plunderbund! In every country they have a numerous working class to "consider," none too satisfied with the conditions they have to put up with. That working class, seeing what the Russians are doing, might get it into their silly heads to imitate them on the principle of "what they can do, we can do and do it better." And what then? It is horrible!

Workingmen and workingwomen of America! Keep your eyes on Russia. Watch what is going on there and what the capitalist plunderbund will try to do. Do not be misled by the lies and slanders that are daily dished up to you. Bear in mind that those who tell you these yarns have an interest to mislead you. They want to use you as a makeweight in their game of wresting from the Russian workers their dearly-won liberty. It is of no use to enumerate the lies that have already been punctured because they will invent new ones faster than one can write and print. Let your reason guide you. Think yourselves into the shoes of your Russian fellow workers. Think how you would act if placed in the same position and then draw the conclusion that they act about

the same way that you would, because they are like you moved by the same emotions, the same desires, the same aspirations. You, too, would like to keep for yourselves the fruits of your toll if you only knew how to go about it, if you had the organization that would make it possible. But as yet you do not know and you have not that organization. In politics you still vote against one another in the Republican or Democratic camp. Some of you waste your votes on a so-called Socialist party, which has ever since it was formed stood in the way and helped to prevent the real organization of the working class—the industrial union. In your trade-unions you still scab against each other, fritter away your energy in jurisdiction fights growing out of your false form of craft union organization. And then at best you have only a small part of the working class organized even in this faulty way. So you see you don't know yet how to act together, and therefore you don't know how and you have not the means to free yourselves. You will have to wait until you do know and until you do have the means—the industrial unions of the entire working class that will be able to take and hold and administer industry for the reason that it will have the might, the power, to do so. And when you have expressed through the ballot your will for that new society which will guarantee to you the full fruits of your labor remember the slogan of revolutionary Russia: "All power to the Soviets," and let your slogan then be: "All power to the industrial unions."

The only organized working-class movement that has steadily and for many years upheld the principles that would make possible American working-class organization along lines that would put power into the hands of the American working class, the only organization that has fearlessly proclaimed these principles is the Socialist Labor Party of America. In the past you have chosen not to listen. You have not supported us as you should have done. You have not held up our hands so that you yourselves might grow stronger. The result is that you are not organized as you should be; that you are not united as you ought to be; that you are still paying tribute to the master class for the privilege of holding down a job; that you have no security of existence because "your" job is not yours at all, for it belongs to the capitalist master.

Oh, ye workers of America, when will you awaken?

EXHIBIT No. 11.

PETITION FOR AMNESTY IN STEIMER CASE.

TWENTY YEARS FOR ISSUING A LEAFLET PROTESTING AGAINST MILITARY INTERVENTION IN RUSSIA.

Jacob Abrams, Hyman Lachowsky, and Samuel Lipman were given 20 years in United States penitentiary, Atlanta, Ga., and Mollie Steimer was given 15 years in Jefferson City Prison, Jefferson City, Mo., for issuing leaflets protesting against American military intervention in Russia.

Read the statement of their position and, if you agree with Roscoe Pound, Edward B. Adams, Felix Frankfurter, Francis B. Sayre, and Z. Chaffee, jr., all of Harvard University, that the four Russians should be given immediate amnesty, sign this recommendation and return to me at 261 Broadway, New York City, to be forwarded to the President of the United States.

HARRY WEINBERGER,

Attorney for Abrams, Lachowsky, Steimer, and Lipman.

STATEMENT BY JACOB ABRAMS RE APPLICATION FOR AMNESTY.

That as a citizen of Russia, feeling that the aspirations of my people were being put down by outside military intervention, I felt it my duty to raise my voice in protest and to appeal to the American people, and thus help form public opinion to have American troops recalled. My sentiments are the same now as they were at the trial and at the issuance of the leaflets.

I felt I had the right, under the free-press clause of the Constitution, to issue my views in leaflet form on a public question.

I felt that the action of the United States in intervening in Russia was contrary to its former promises and contrary to American traditions.

I felt that intervention in Russia was not necessary to put down the military despotism of Germany, and the sending of troops was contrary to the desire of the Russian people.

I raised my voice in America in protest, as Americans would have expected Americans in Russia to raise their voice in protest if Russia was invading America without a declaration of war.

My intent never was to help Germany in the war, nor to hinder the United States in the prosecution of the war. My sole purpose was to help Russia by creating American public sentiment. I believe that my conviction was due to hysteria and public passion.

I believe that, in view of the dissenting opinion of Justice Holmes, concurred in by Justice Brandeis, in which he says: "In this case sentences of 20 years' imprisonment have been imposed for publishing two leaflets that I believe the defendants had as much right to publish as the Government had to publish the Constitution of the United States, now vainly invoked by them," and in which he further says: "* * * I regret that I can not put into more impressive words my belief that in their conviction upon this indictment the defendants were deprived of their rights under the Constitution of the United States," that sufficient doubt should arise even in the most legalistic mind as to the correctness of our conviction, and calls for immediate amnesty for myself and that of my codefendants.

I am a Russian citizen and have no desire to continue to remain in America, and as stated at the hearings for deportation at Ellis Island, I am perfectly willing if freed, to be immediately deported to Soviet Russia.

If the language we used was strong, we felt strongly on the subject; if the language was bitter, we felt bitter in what we believed was the crushing of Russia's attempt for a new industrial democracy, but it was our honest opinion and our honest belief and was in no way tainted with pro-Germanism, and the ideas that we expressed have since been expressed by many statesmen, writers, and editors. Whether right or wrong, time alone will show, but at least I feel that as political prisoners we are entitled to an amnesty at this time and deportation to Russia.

JACOB ABRAMS.

A similar petition for amnesty was signed by Hyman Lachowsky and Samuel Lipman.

Mollie Stelmer refused to sign a petition for amnesty or to agree to deportation. See her letter herewith quoted.

LACHOWSKY'S STATEMENT ON SURRENDERING HIMSELF.

The United States Supreme Court has sent its mandate to this court affirming my conviction, and although out on bail, I herewith surrender myself to commence the service of 20 years in the United States Penitentiary at Atlanta, Ga., for expressing an opinion in a leaflet against American military intervention in Russia.

If Dreyfus, at Devil's Island, was a shining disgrace before all the world, to France; if Robert Emmett's death on behalf of Irish freedom has been one of the blots on English history; so my imprisonment for the next 20 years will be a shining disgrace to America. When my country, Soviet Russia, takes her equal place among the nations of the world, recognized by all the nations of the world, Russia will demand my freedom.

As an alien and as an anarchist I am willing to be deported to Soviet Russia, and have so stated at immigration hearings, but if America wants to support me in jail for 20 years; if America wants that blot on her history, I am willing to be that sacrifice in the hope that by it, the true liberty-loving heart of America will awaken from its deadly sleep caused by the espionage law, under which I was convicted.

HYMAN LACHOWSKY.

LIPMAN'S WIRELESS TO HIS SWEETHEART, DEPORTED ON TRANSPORT "BUFORD."

ETHEL BEENSTEIN,

Care of Captain United States Transport "Buford."

Atlantic Ocean.

I am going to the United States Penitentiary at Atlanta for 20 years for my opinions on Russian intervention, and you are being deported to Russia for yours. Though time and distance separate us, my love goes out to you over the waves. The humanity and heart of the world may yet demand that we

EXHIBIT No. 12.

SOCIAL WAR BOND.

SOCIAL WAR BOND, \$1, TO HELP CRUSH THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM.

Interest on this bond will be paid the day after the social revolution. Issued by the revolutionary propaganda group.

EXHIBIT No. 13.

MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

[Severnaya Kommuna, Mar. 8, 1919.]

Seventy-two years ago the Communist Party proclaimed its program to the world in the form of the manifesto written by the greatest teachers of the proletarian revolution, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Even at that early time, when communism had scarcely come into the arena of conflict, it was hounded by the lies, hatred, and calumny of the possessing classes, who rightly suspected in it their mortal enemy. During these seven decades communism has traveled a hard road—of ascent followed by periods of sharp decline; successes, but also severe defeats. In spite of all, the development at bottom went the way forecast by the manifesto of the Communist Party. The epoch of the last decisive struggle came later than the apostles of the social revolution expected and wished. But it has come.

We, communists, representatives of the revolutionary proletariat of the different countries of Europe, America, and Asia, assembled in Soviet Moscow, feel and consider ourselves followers and fulfillers of the cause, the program of which was proclaimed 72 years ago. It is our task now to sum up the practical revolutionary experience of the working class, to cleanse the movement of its treacherous admixtures of opportunism and socialist patriotism and to unite the efforts of all revolutionary parties of the world proletariat, and thus facilitate and hasten the victory of the communist revolution in the whole world. Now, when Europe is covered with ruins and piles of smoking wreckage, the greatest instigators are occupied with searchers for those guilty for the war. In their trail follow their servants—professors, members of parliaments, journalists, socialist-patriots, and the other political souteneurs of the bourgeoisie.

For a long span of years socialism predicted the inevitableness of the imperialistic war; it perceived the essential cause of this war in the insatiable greed of the possessing classes in both camps of capitalist nations. Two years before the outbreak of the war the responsible Socialist leaders of all countries, at the Basle Congress, exposed imperialism as the instigator of the coming war, and menaced the bourgeoisie with the threat to bring down on its head a Socialist revolution as the retaliation of the proletariat for the crimes of militarism. Now, after the experience of five years, after history has exposed the predatory appetites of Germany and the no less criminal acts of the Allies, the State Socialists of the countries of the Entente, together with their Governments, continue to try to unmask as the instigator of the war the overthrown German Kaiser, the German Socialist-patriots, who in August, 1914, proclaimed the diplomatic white book of the Hohenzollern as the holiest gospel of the people, now, following the lead of the Socialists of the Entente, with vulgar servility accuse the overthrown German Monarchy, which they served so slavishly, as the main instigator of the war. In that way they hope to force people to forget their own rôle and at the same time gain the good will of the victors. But alongside the rôle of the overthrown dynasties of the Romanoffs, Hohenzollerns, and Hapsburgs, the capitalistic cliques of these countries, and the rôle of the governing classes of France, England, Italy, and the United States stand revealed in all their immeasurable criminalities in the light of the unfolding events and of diplomatic disclosures.

English diplomacy to the very outbreak of the war did not remove its secret visor. The Government of the "city" was afraid that if it categorically declared its participation in the war on the side of the Entente, the Government of Berlin would recede and there would not be war. In London they wanted the war. Therefore, they behaved in such a manner that in Berlin and Vienna they counted on the neutrality of England, while in Paris and St. Petersburg they evidently counted on her coming in.

The war which was prepared by the course of development during decades was unleashed with the direct and conscious provocation of Great Britain. The Government of the latter counted on giving support to Russia and France only to such a point as to exhaust Germany also—its moral enemy—while exhausting them (Russia and France). But the strength of the German military machine was too threatening and required the actual and not an apparent intervention of England in the war. The rôle of the cynical broker which Great Britain had always assumed by an old tradition, fell to the lot of the United States. The Government of Wilson was able more easily to reconcile itself to the English blockade, which cut off speculation by the American Stock Exchange in European blood, since the countries of the Entente rewarded the American bourgeoisie by generous profits for the violation of "international law."

But the enormous military superiority of Germany impelled even the Government of Washington to depart from its position of fictitious neutrality. The United States assumed with respect to Europe as a whole that very rôle which England had played in past wars, and tried to play in this last war, with respect to the Continent—that of weakening one camp with the assistance of the other, and of intervening in military operations only in order to secure for self all the advantages of the situation. Wilson's stake was not large, as is the method of American lotteries, but it was the last stake and thus secured to him the prize.

The contradictions of the capitalist system became clear to mankind in the result of the war, in the form of actual suffering, of hunger, cold, epidemic diseases and moral collapse. Thus the academic discussion within the ranks of socialism on the question of the theory of impoverishment and the gradual passing from capitalism to socialism is now being finally decided. For decades statisticians and scholars of the theory of the reconciliation of these contradictions have tried to collect from all the corners of the world actual and fictitious facts to prove the increased well-being of separate groups and categories of the working class. The theory of the impoverishment of the masses was considered to have been buried, under the contemptuous voice of the cunuchs of the bourgeois pulpit and the mandarins of the socialistic opportunism. At the present moment this impoverishment, which is now not only social but psychological and biological, lies before our eyes in all its terrible actuality. The catastrophe of the imperialism war has swept aside completely all the conquests of the trade-unions and of parliamentary struggle, while this struggle has outgrown in a similar manner the internal tendencies of capitalism, and at the same time all the economic deals and parliamentary compromises, which have been buried in blood and filth.

Financial capital which threw mankind into the whirlpool of war has itself suffered catastrophic changes during the course of this war. The dependence of money tokens on the material foundations of production has been completely destroyed. More and more losing their significance, the means and regulators of capitalistic exchange of goods, and paper money, have become merely the weapon of requisitions, seizure, and in general of military-economic oppression. The deterioration of paper now reflects the general mortal crisis of the capitalistic system of exchange of commodities. For free competition as the regulator of production and distribution was pushed to one side in the main fields of industry by the system of trusts and monopolies already during the decades preceding the war, so that by the course of the war the regulating and directing rôle has been wrested from the hands of economic combinations and has been turned over directly to the military-State authorities.

The distribution of raw materials, the utilization of petroleum of the Baku and Roumanian fields, of the coal of Donetz, of Ukrainian grain, the fate of the German shipping and automobile, the guaranteeing to starving Europe of grain and meat—all these fundamental questions of the economic life of the world are being regulated not by free competition and not by combinations of national and international trusts, but by the direct application of military force in the interest of its further self-preservation.

If the complete subjection of State authority to financial capital brought mankind to the capitalistic shambles, so, thanks to this conflict, financial capital has completely militarized not only the State but also itself, and is now no longer able to fulfill its fundamental economic functions other than by means of iron and blood.

The opportunists who before the war appealed to the workmen to be moderate in the name of a gradual transition to socialism, who during the war demanded class peace in the name of unity for the cause of national defense, are once

more demanding of the proletariat self-abnegation, this time in order to overcome the terrible consequences of the war. If this preaching would be accepted by the working masses, then imperialistic development would be reestablished on the bones of several generations, in new and even more terrible forms, with the new perspective of an inevitable world war. Fortunately for mankind, this is impossible.

The absorption by the State of economic life, against which capitalistic liberalism protested with such force, has now become an accomplished fact. There can be no return either to free competition or to the rule of trusts, syndicates, and other economic monsters. The question now is who will be the mainstay of production, that has come under the control of the State—an imperialistic State or a State of the victorious proletariat. In other words, will all toiling mankind become the serfs of a victorious world clique which under the name of "League of Nations," with the assistance of "international army," "international navy," will suppress some, feed others, and everywhere impose chains on the proletariat for the sole purpose of maintaining its own rule; or shall the working classes of Europe and of the progressive countries of other parts of the world itself take possession of the disrupted and disorganized economic situation in order to guarantee its rehabilitation on socialist principles.

The epoch of crisis through which the world is passing can be brought to a close only by the measures adopted under the proletarian dictatorship, which does not look back to the past, and does not take into account either inherited privileges or rights of property, but does what is required to save the starving masses, mobilizes to this end all means and force, introduces universal labor service, establishes a régime of labor discipline in order thus during the course of several years not only to heal the gaping wounds inflicted by the war, but also to raise mankind to a new height until now unknown.

The national state which gave powerful impulse to imperialistic development became too crowded for the development of the productive forces. The position of the small states became all the more difficult, distributed as they were among the large powers of Europe and all other parts of the world. These small states, which came into existence at various times as fragments of larger states, as small change used to pay for certain services, as strategic buffer states, have their dynasties, their ruling cliques, and their imperialistic pretensions. Their illusory dependence until the war was supported by the same thing that supported the equilibrium of Europe; that is, the constant antagonism between two imperialistic camps. The war destroyed this equilibrium. The enormous preponderance of Germany has forced the small states to seek safety in the magnanimity of German imperialism. Later, when Germany was beaten, the bourgeois of the small states, together with the patriotic socialists, turned to welcome the triumphant victory of the Allies, and in the hypocritical fourteen points of the Wilsonian program began to seek guaranties for their future independent existence. At the same time a number of small states grew out from the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy and new states were divided up from the Tsars Empire, and these new states scarcely born are already going at each others' throats over state frontiers. The allied imperialists in the meanwhile suppress combinations of small states, old and new, in order to get possession of them by taking advantage of their mutual hatred and general helplessness. By suppressing and using violence on small and weak peoples, delivering them to famine and demoralization, the allied imperialists, just as did the imperialists of the Central Empires only a short time ago, constantly speak of the right of the nations to self-determination, though this right has definitely been trampled underfoot both in Europe and in other parts of the world.

Small people can be guaranteed the possibilities of their existence only by a proletarian revolution, which will liberate the productive forces of all countries from the restrictions of national states, will unite people, will guarantee their economic cooperation on the basis of a common economic plan, and will make it possible for the weak and small people to enjoy complete freedom in the administration of the affairs of its own national culture without any detriment to the united and centralized European world economic system.

The late war, which was to a considerable extent a war because of colonies, was at the same time a war with the aid of the colonies. An unprecedented proportion of the population was drawn into the European war. Why did the Indians, Negroes, and Arabs fight on the battle fields of Europe? For their right to remain, remain slaves of England and France. Never before was the picture of the disgrace of the imperialistic state colonies so clear and never

was the problem of colonial slavery raised in such sharp relief. The result has been a series of open uprisings and revolutionary movements in all colonies. In Europe itself Ireland, which did not take part in the bloody street battles, still remains an enslaved country. In Madagascar and in other places troops of a bourgeois republic have on several occasions aroused in the course of the war uprisings of colonial slaves. In India the revolutionary movement has not ceased for a single day and recently has led to unprecedented workmen's strikes in Asia, to which the Government of Great Britain has answered with armored motor cars.

Thus the colonial question has risen to its full stature not only on the maps of the diplomatic congress in Paris, but also in the colonies themselves. The program of Wilson has as its aim at the very best a change in the firm name for colonial slavery. The liberation of the colonies is possible only if it is accompanied by a liberation of the working class of the metropolis. The workmen and peasants not only in Annam, Algeria, and Senegal, but also of Persia and Armenia, will be able to enjoy independent existence only when the workmen of England and France overthrow Lloyd George and Clemenceau and take state authority into their own hands. In the more developed colonies the struggle not only is in progress at the present moment under the flag of liberation, but it is also taking on a more or less clearly expressed social character. If capitalistic Europe forcibly dragged the most retrograde into the whirlpool of capitalistic relations, then the Europe of socialists will come to the assistance of the freed colonists with its technique, its organization, and its cultural influences, in order to hasten their transition to an orderly organized socialistic economic system.

Colonial slaves of Africa and Asia! The hour of the proletarian dictatorship will strike also for you as the hour of your liberation.

The whole bourgeois world accuses the Communist of destroying liberties and political democracy. This is not true. On coming into power the proletariat simply shows how absolutely impossible it is to apply the methods of bourgeois democracy, and so creates the conditions and forms of a new and superior democracy of the worker. The whole course of capitalistic development, particularly in the last period of imperialism, undermined political democracy, not only by dividing the camp into two irreconcilably hostile classes, but also by condemning the numerically large petty-bourgeois and workmen-proletarian classes to economic benumbing, and also the disinherited lower ranks of the proletariat itself.

The working class of all countries in its historic development has taken advantage of the régime of political democracy in order to organize against capital. The same thing will take place in those countries where the conditions for a working-class revolution have not matured. But the broad intermediary masses, not only in the villages but also in the cities, are held back by capitalism, falling behind by whole epochs in respect to historic development. The peasants of Bavaria and Baden are still strongly attached to their village belfrey. The small French wine grower, who has been ruined by the large-scale capitalistic adulterations of wine, the small American farmer who has been robbed and deceived by the banker—all of these people who have been shoved aside by capitalism have been called into the administration of the State under the régime of political democracy. But in reality in all other questions that determine the fate of peoples the financial oligarchy puts through its own decisions behind the wall of parliamentary democracy. This was true particularly in questions of the war, and this is what is taking place now in questions of peace.

To demand of the proletariat that in this last struggle, not for life but to death with capital, it should loyally observe the demands of political democracy is the same as to demand of a man who is defending his life and existence from highway robbers that he should observe the scientific and well-guarded rules of the French system of boxing, which rules have been made by his enemy and are not observed by the latter.

When the principles of destruction govern, then the proletariat is obliged to create its own apparatus, which will serve first of all to protect the internal bonds of the working class, guarantee the possibility of its revolutionary intervention in the further development of humanity. The old parties, the old organization of trade-unions, have proven, in the persons of their directing leaders, incapable of deciding or even understanding the problems which the new epoch has raised. The proletariat has created a new type of organization which stretches out wide over the whole working mass, independent of trade or of the level of political development attained. It is a flexible apparatus

which can be constantly repewed, developed, and which can bring within its sphere constantly new forces, and open its doors for the proletariat and for the toiling classes of city and village. This organization is the self-government of the working class and represents the most powerful conquest and weapon of the proletariat in our present epoch.

In all countries where the toiling masses live a conscious life, soviets of workmen's, soldiers', and peasants' deputies are being established and will be established. The most important task at the present moment of the conscious and honorable workmen of all countries is to strengthen the soviets, to increase their authority, and to imitate the governmental apparatus of Russia. By means of soviets the working class is able to save itself from the disintegration which is developing in its midst as the result of the infernal anguish of war, hunger, violence produced by the propertied class and the treason of the high authorities. By means of soviets the workmen class can more surely and easily come into power in all those countries where soviets rally around themselves the majority of the toilers. By means of soviets the working class will direct all branches of the economic and cultural life of the country, just as this is taking place at the present moment in Russia.

The collapse of the imperialistic State, from the tsaristic to the most democratic, inclusive, goes on simultaneously with the collapse of the imperialistic military system. The armies of many millions mobilized by the imperialists could be kept under only so long as the proletariat submitted to the yoke of the bourgeoisie. The breakdown of national unity means the inevitable disintegration of the army. This took place first in Russia and then in Germany and in Austria. The same also is to be expected in other imperialist countries. The uprising of the peasant against the landlord, of the workmen against the capitalist, of both against the monarchic bureaucracy, inevitably leads to the uprising of soldiers against officers and in the next step to the sharp division between the proletarian and bourgeois elements within the army. The imperialistic war which pitted one nation against the other has passed and is passing into civil war which pits class against class.

The outcry of the bourgeois world against civil war and red terror is the most colossal hypocrisy which the history of political struggle has known. There would not be civil war if cliques of exploiters who had brought humanity to the edge of ruin, would not oppose every step forward of the toilers, would not organize conspiracies and murders and would not call any armed assistance from outside in order to maintain or reestablish their predatory privileges. Civil war is forced on the working class by the latter's mortal enemies. The working class must answer blow for blow unless it renounces itself and its own future, never artificially provoking civil war. A Communist Party strives to shorten its duration as much as possible, to reduce the number of victims, and, above all, to guarantee victory to the proletariat. This makes necessary the simultaneous disarming of the bourgeoisie, the arming of workmen and the creation of a communist army to defend the authority of the proletariat and the inviolability of its socialist structure. Such is the red army of soviet Russia, which sprang up and exists as the bulwark of the conquest of the working class against all attacks from within or without. The soviet authority is inseparable from the soviet State.

Recognizing the world character of their mission, the enlightened workmen from the very first stages of the socialist movement worked for its international union. The foundation stone for the latter was laid in 1864 in London, in the First International. The Franco-Prussian War, as a result of which sprang up the Germans of the Hohenzollerns, destroyed the First International, though at the same time it gave rise to the development of national workmen's parties. As early as 1889 these parties united at the congress in Paris, and created the Second International. However, the center of gravity of the workmen's movement lay then in the field of national parliamentary activity. The decades of organization and reform work created a whole generation of leaders, the majority of whom in words organized the program of social revolution, but in actual practice rejected it and became lost in reformism. The opportunistic character of the leading parties of the Second International was concealed to the very last moment and led to the greatest collapse in the history of the world at a very moment when revolutionary methods of struggle were required of parties of the working class.

If the war of 1870 dealt a blow to the First International, by showing that there was no consolidated force of masses behind its social revolutionary programs, in the same way the war of 1914 killed the Second International

when it showed that behind the powerful organization of workmen stood parties who were being converted into submissive organs of the bourgeois state. What is said here refers not only to the socialists—patriots who have now clearly and openly gone over to the camp of the bourgeoisie and have become the latter's favorite confidential delegates, mere wooden people and the most reliable executioners of the working class, but also to the hazy irresolute tendency of the center which tries to reestablish the Second International, i. e. the narrowest opportunism and revolutionary impotence of its directing leaders. The Independent Party in Germany, the Majority Socialist Party of France, the group of Mensheviks of Russia, the Independent Labor Party of England, and other similar groups in actual fact are trying to establish themselves in the place which was occupied before the war by the old official parties of the Second International, coming forward as before only with ideas of compromise and agreement, paralyzing in every way the energy of the proletariat, dragging out the crisis, and increasing the misery of Europe.

Brushing aside the half-heartedness, lies, and corruption of the obsolete official socialist parties we, communists, uniting in the Third International, consider ourselves to be the direct successors of the heroic efforts and martyrdom of a long series of revolutionary generations, from Bebel to Carl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. Just as the First International indicated the road of future development, and the Second International gathered together and organized millions of proletarians, so the Third International is the international of open mass action of revolutionary realization. Socialist criticism has sufficiently stigmatized the bourgeois world order. (This last sentence taken from another translation was evidently omitted by printer in text used for this translation.) The aim of the International Communist Party is to overthrow it, and raise in its place the structure of the socialist order. We call on all workmen and all workwomen of all countries to unite under the communist flag, which is the flag of the first great victories.

Proletarians of all countries, in the struggle against imperialist barbarism, against monarchies, against privileged classes, against the bourgeois state and bourgeois property (text used here has misprint, but elsewhere word is "property"), and against all kinds and form of class or national oppression—unite.

Under the flag of workmen's soviets, of the revolutionary struggle for power and of the dictatorship of the proletariat, under the flag of the Third International, proletarians of all countries unite.

PLATFORM OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

[Izvestia, Mar. 6, 1919.]

The contradictions of the capitalistic world system, which were concealed in its interior showed themselves with enormous force in one gigantic explosion—in the great imperialistic World War.

Capitalism attempted to overcome its own anarchy by organizing production. In the place of numerous competing enterprises were organized powerful unions of capitalists (syndicates, artels, and trusts). Bank capital united with industrial capital; all economic life came under the authority of this financial-capitalistic oligarchy, which on the basis of this power and through its own organization, attained an all-inclusive domination. In the place of free competition developed monopoly. The individual capitalist became a capitalist member of a capitalistic union. Senseless anarchy came to be replaced by organization.

But in the same measure as the anarchy of the capitalistic method of production came to be replaced by capitalistic organization in individual countries, contradictions became sharper and sharper, as well as the struggle of competition, the anarchy of world economics. The struggle between the greatest organized predatory States inevitably led to the monstrous imperialistic World War. The appetite for profits drove world capital to struggle for new markets, for new spheres for its capital, for new sources of raw material, for the cheap labor of colonial slaves. The imperialistic States which divide the whole world among themselves, which converted many millions of African, Asian, Australian, and American proletarians and peasants into mere working cattle, were obliged sooner or later to reveal, in this gigantic conflict, the actual anarchical character of capital. Thus came the greatest of crimes—the predatory World War.

Capitalism tried to overcome its own social structure so full of contradictions. Bourgeois society is a class society. But capital of the great "civilized" countries wished to suppress social contradictions. At the expense of colonial peoples they had been robbed, capital bribed its own hired slaves and tried to create a community of interests between the exploiters and the exploited, the interests that were directed against the oppressed colonies, the colonial peoples, yellow, black, and red. It enchained the European and American working class to the imperialistic "fatherland."

But this, same method of constant bribing, by which one tries to develop the patriotism of the working class and its spiritual enslavement, as a result of the war was converted into its very opposite. Physical exhaustion, the complete enslavement of the proletariat—monstrous oppression, impoverishment and degradation, world hunger—these were the last prices that had to be paid for civil peace. It (civil peace) was broken. The imperialistic war was changed to civil war.

The new epoch has been born. It is the epoch of the dissolution of capitalism—of its internal disintegration. It is the epoch of the communist revolution of the proletariat.

The imperialistic system is collapsing. Ferment in the colonies, ferment among the small nationalities, till now not independent, the uprising of the proletariat, victorious proletariat revolution in several countries, the disintegration of imperialistic armies, the complete inability of the ruling class to direct further the destiny of the people—this is the picture of the present situation in the whole world.

Humanity, whose culture has been subject to disintegration, is now threatened by the danger of complete destruction. There is only one force capable of saving it and this force is the proletariat. There is no longer left the old capitalist "order," and it can no longer exist. The final result of the existence of the capitalistic system of production is chaos, and this chaos can be overcome only by that large producing class—the working class. The latter must establish actual order—a communistic order. It must destroy the rule of capital, make wars impossible, wipe out frontiers between States, remake the whole world into a community which is working for itself, realize freedom and the brotherhood of peoples.

In the meanwhile world capital is preparing for the last battle. Under the cover of the "League of Nations" and of pacifistic chattering it is putting forward its last efforts to cement together the parts of the capitalistic system that are falling apart and it will use all its force against proletarian revolution that is beginning to flame up in such a way that it can not be restrained.

To this new, grandiose conspiracy of the imperialistic classes the proletariat must answer by acquiring political power, by directing this power against its own enemy and using it as a lever for the economic reorganization of society. The final victory of the world proletariat will mean the beginning of the real history of liberated mankind.

CONQUEST OF POLITICAL POWER.

The conquest of political power by the proletariat means the destruction of the political power of the bourgeoisie. The most powerful weapon of authority in the hands of the bourgeoisie is the bourgeois apparatus of state, with its capitalistic army which is under the command of bourgeois-junker officers, with its police and secret police, its prison wardens and judges, its preachers, civil officials and such. The conquest of political power can not be limited simply to a change in the personnel of the Government departments, but must mean the destruction of this parasitic state apparatus, and the concentration in one's hand of a real force, the disarming of the bourgeois, of counter-revolutionary officers and of the white guard and the arming of the proletariat, of the revolutionary soldiers and of the red guards of workmen; the removal of all bourgeois judges and the organization of a proletarian court of law; the destruction of the domination of reactionary officials and the establishment of new proletarian organs of government. The victory of the proletariat is guaranteed by the disorganizing of hostile authority, and it must mean the destruction of the bourgeois, and the building up of the proletarian, apparatus of state. Only after the proletariat shall have triumphed by definitely breaking the opposition of the bourgeoisie will the proletariat be able in a useful manner to force its former opponents to serve it, gradually bringing them, under its own control, to the work of communistic construction.

DEMOCRACY AND LEADERSHIP.

Just as every state so the proletarian state represents an apparatus of compulsion, and this apparatus of compulsion is now directed against the enemy of the working class. Its significance consists in this—that it is to break and make impossible the resistance of the exploiters, who will use in this struggle all means to suppress the revolution in streams of blood. On the other hand the dictatorship of the proletariat, which will place this class officially in a position of the dominant class in society, represents a transition state. In measure as the opposition of the bourgeoisie is broken, the latter will be expropriated and gradually converted into a working class of society and the dictatorship will disappear and the state and the dividing of society into classes will die out.

So-called democracy—that is, bourgeois democracy—is nothing other than a concealed dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The famous general “will of the people” is the same kind of fiction as is the united people. In fact, there exist classes with opposed tendencies exclusive of one another. And as the bourgeoisie is an insignificant minority, so it uses this fiction, this fictitious popular will, in order under the cover of this broad phrase to strengthen its domination over the working class and impose on the latter the will of its own class. On the other hand, the proletariat, which represents the overwhelming majority of the population, will quite openly use the class strength of its mass organizations, of its soviets, in order to abolish the privileges of the bourgeoisie and guarantee the passing to a nonclass communistic society.

The essence of bourgeois democracy consists in a purely declaratory formal recognition of rights and liberties that are not accessible for the proletariat and the half-proletariat elements, because the latter have not the material means, while the bourgeoisie has the full possibility to use its material means, its press, and its organizations for lies and to deceive the people. On the other hand, the essence of the soviet system, of this new type of governmental authority, consists in this, that under this system the proletariat is given the possibility, in fact, to secure for itself its rights and liberty. The soviet authority will give to the people the best palaces, houses, printing shops, stores of paper, etc., for its press, for its meeting, and its club. Only then will the proletarian democracy be really possible.

Bourgeois democracy, with its parliamentary system, allows the masses participation in the government of the state only in words. In actual fact the masses and their organizations are completely shut off from actual authority and the actual government of the country. Under the system of soviets mass organizations govern, and through the latter the masses themselves, as the soviet, bring a constantly increasing number of workmen into the administration of the State, and only thus is the entire working people gradually drawn into the actual work of governing the State. The soviet system thus rests on mass organization of the proletariat in the form of these soviets or revolutionary trade-unions, cooperative societies, etc.

Bourgeois democracy and the parliamentary system, as a result of the separation of executive and legislative authority and the absence of the right to recall representatives, make broader the gulf between the masses and the State. On the other hand the soviet system, with its right of recall, by uniting the executive and legislative powers, and as a result of the ability of the soviet to be functioning collegiate institutions, makes a close bond between the masses and the organs of government. This bond is more easily maintained because under the system of soviets elections take place, not according to artificially created districts but correspond with groupings resulting from the productive process.

Thus the soviet system guarantees the possibility of an actual proletarian democracy—a democracy for the proletariat and within the proletariat, and a democracy directed against the bourgeoisie. Under this system the industrial proletariat is guaranteed a privileged position as the leading, better organized and politically more matured class, under the hegemony of which the half-proletarian elements and the peasant poor elements of the village will be able gradually to raise themselves. These temporary privileges of the industrial proletariat must be used in order to wrest the nonpropertied petty bourgeois masses of the village from under the influence of the village peasant bourgeoisie, to organize them and bring them as collaborators into the work of communistic construction.

THE EXPROPRIATION OF THE BOURGEOISE AND THE SOCIALIZATION OF PRODUCTION.

The disintegration of the capitalistic system and of capitalistic labor discipline makes it impossible under the present interclass relations to reestablish production on the former basis. The struggle of workmen for increase of wages, even when successful, does not lead to the expected raising of the standard of living, because the increase of prices on all productions of consumption inevitably neutralizes the success. The energetic struggle of the workmen for increase of wages in those countries where the situation is clearly hopeless because of the elemental bitterness and the tendency to convert the strike into a world strike makes it impossible the further development of capitalistic production. Improvement of conditions of workmen can be attained only when the bourgeoisie (has been expropriated—this added by translator as there is evidently an omission here) and the proletariat itself take possession of production. In order to raise the productive power of economic life, in order to break as quickly as possible the resistance of the bourgeoisie which is prolonging the agony of the old form of society and thus creating the danger of the complete disruption of economic life, the proletarian dictatorship must carry out the expropriation of the large bourgeoisie and nobility and make the means of production and transportation the public property of the proletarian state.

Communism is being born now in the ruins of the capitalistic order; history will not give mankind any other issue from the situation. The opportunists who put forward the Utopian demand for the regeneration of the capitalistic system of economy in order to postpone socialization are simply dragging out the solution of the crisis and thus creating the direct menace of complete ruin, while the communistic revolution is the best and actually possible means by which the actual productive force in society—the proletariat—and with it society itself may save themselves.

Proletarian dictatorship does not contemplate any kind of dividing up of the means of production and transportation. Quite to the contrary, its task is to bring about a greater centralization of productive forces and the subjection of all production to a unified plan.

As the first steps on the road to the socialization of the entire economic life are necessary; the socialization of the apparatus of the largest banks, which now control industry; the gaining possession of all economic State capitalistic organs by transferring them to the proletarian state, governmental authority; the gaining possession of all commercial enterprises; the socialization of syndicalized and "trusted" branches of industry, and also of those branches of industry in which the degree of concentration and centralization of capital are such as to make socialization technically possible; the socialization of agricultural farms and their conversion into publicly managed agricultural enterprises.

As for the small enterprises the proletariat must gradually unite them, taking into consideration their sizes.

In this connection one must emphasize particularly that the small holders of private property may not be expropriated and the small proprietor who did not exploit the labors of others may not be subject to any violent measures. This group will be drawn into the spheres of socialist organization gradually, by example and by practical experience, which will show the advantages of the new order, which in turn will free the small farmer and the small bourgeoisie from the economic yoke of the rich farmer and nobility, and from the weight of taxes (particularly as the result of the repudiation of State loans), etc.

The task of the proletarian dictatorship in the fields of economics may be fulfilled only to the extent to which the proletariat will be able to create centralized organs for the administration of industry and to realize workmen's administration. Furthermore, the proletariat will be obliged to use those of its mass organizations which are most closely associated with the process of production.

In the field of distribution, the proletarian dictatorship must bring about the proper distribution of products as a substitute for trading; one must call attention to those measures which will have to be adopted to this end: The socialization of the largest trading enterprises; the transfer into the hands of the proletariat of all bourgeoisie public, and also municipal organs of distribution; control over the largest cooperative combinations, the organization of which will still have enormous economic significance through the period of

transition; the gradual centralization of all these organs and their gradual conversion into a single whole for the national distribution of products.

Both in the field of production and also in that of distribution all workers of qualified economic experience and specialization must be made use of, after their opposition in the fields of politics will have been broken, so that they will be in a position to serve the new system of production instead of capital.

The proletariat has no intention to oppress the latter (technical experts and specialists); quite on the contrary, the proletariat will be the first to give to them the possibility of developing the most energetic creative activity. The proletarian dictatorship will replace the division into physical and intellectual labor, which is characteristic of capitalism, by a uniting of the two and thus it will bring together labor and science.

Together with the expropriation of factories, mines, landed estate, etc., the proletariat must also put an end to the exploitation of the population by capitalistic house owners and transfer the larger houses into the hands of local workmen's soviets and move the workmen into the apartments of the bourgeoisie, etc. In the course of this enormous change the soviet authority must on the one hand create an enormous apparatus of administration, becoming more centralized, and on the other hand it must bring larger groups of the working people to the immediate task of government.

THE ROAD TO VICTORY.

The revolutionary epoch demands of the proletariat the application of such methods of struggle as will concentrate all its energies, first of all melting of mass struggle with its logical conclusion—direct conflict in open battle with the bourgeois governmental machinery. To this end must be subordinated all other means, as, for example, the revolutionary making use of bourgeois parliamentary institutions.

A necessary preliminary condition for such a victorious struggle is a rupture not only with the out-and-out lackeys of capital and with the executioners of the Communist revolution, such as the right Social Democrats, but also a breaking away from the Center (followers of Kautsky), which abandons the proletariat at a critical moment and flirts with its open enemies.

On the other hand one must form an alliance with the elements of the revolutionary workmen's movement, which, in spite of the fact that formerly they did not belong to the Socialist Party, have not become, in general and on the whole, supporters of the proletarian dictatorship in the form of soviets, as, for example, the certain elements of syndicalism.

The growth of the revolutionary movement in all countries, the danger that this revolution will be suppressed by a union of capitalistic States, attempts a traitor socialist parties to unite (the forming of a yellow "international" in Berne), in order lackeylike to serve Wilson's league, and finally the absolute necessity of coordinating the proletarian movement—all this leads eventually to the establishment of a genuinely revolutionary and genuinely proletarian Communist International.

The international that will be able to subordinate so-called national interests to the interest of the world revolution will by this very reason realize mutual assistance between proletariats of various countries, for, without economic and other forms of mutual support the proletariat will not be able to establish the new society. On the other hand, in opposition to the yellow socialist international, the international of the communist proletariat will support the exploited peoples of colonies in their struggle against imperialism, in order to assist the final collapse of the system of world imperialism.

The criminals of capitalism affirmed at the beginning of the world war that all of them was simply defending their own countries. But soon German imperialism revealed its beast-like nature by a series of bloody acts in Russia, the Ukraine, and Finland. Now in their turn the powers of the Entente are revealing themselves in the eyes even of the most retrograde groups of the population, for they have turned out to be the world robbers and the murderers of the proletariat. In agreement with the German bourgeoisie and with socialist patriots, with hypocritical phrases about peace on their lips, they are trying to crush to the ground, with the help of tanks and uneducated barbarian colonial troops, the revolution of the European proletariat. The white terror of the bourgeois cannibals is cruel beyond description. The sacrifices of the working class can not be numbered; it has lost its best fighters, Liebknecht and Luxemburg.

The proletariat must defend itself at any cost. The Communist International calls on the entire proletariat of the world to take part in this last struggle. Arms against arms! Force against force!

Down with the imperialistic conspiracy of capital! Long live the international republic of proletarian soviets!

EXHIBIT No. 15.

BRIEF ON THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

STATUS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY UNDER THE ACT OF CONGRESS APPROVED
OCTOBER 16, 1918.

(A) FEDERAL STATUTE APPLICABLE TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

The act of Congress approved October 16, 1918, amending the immigration laws of the United States, provides among other things that (1) aliens who disbelieve in or advocate or teach the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States shall be deported; (2) aliens who are members of or affiliated with any organization that entertains a belief in, teaches, or advocates the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States shall be deported.

(B) PROPOSITION.

The Communist Party is an organization advocating and teaching the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States and members thereof believe in and advocate and teach the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States.

(C) INTRODUCTION.

During the year of 1918 a considerable amount of dissension arose in the Socialist Party between the conservative and extreme elements. In a subtle and discreet manner an ultrarevolutionary movement gained headway within the ranks of the Socialist Party of America, with the result that on November 7, 1918, a Communist propaganda league was organized and established a publication, The Revolutionary Age. In this publication an agitation was started against the so-called "reactionary Socialists," but, with the exception of the Foreign Language Federation, it met with but little response for some months. The pages of the Revolutionary Age called upon the Socialist Party to adopt the revolutionary communist tactics. In February, 1919, there was organized in New York City the left-wing section of the Socialist Party. On February 16, 1919, the foreign language branches and a few of the English branches of the left-wing section issued a manifesto to the members of the Socialist Party. Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit 1" is a copy of the manifesto of the left-wing section of the Socialist Party. Examination of the manifesto throws considerable light upon the purposes of this organization, which later grew into the Communist Party.

I shall now set forth certain extracts taken from the manifesto as illustrative of its purposes:

"Revolutionary Socialists hold, with the founders of scientific socialism, that there are two dominant classes in society, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat; that between these two classes a struggle must go on until the working class through the seizure of the instruments of production and distribution, the abolition of the capitalist state, and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, creates a socialist system. Revolutionary Socialists do not believe that they can be voted into power. They struggle for the conquest of power by the revolutionary proletariat."

It will thus be seen that it is expressly stated that the revolutionary Socialist planned to seize the instruments of production and distribution and the abolition of the capitalist state.

"Between the capitalist society and the communist lies the period of revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. This corresponds to a political transition period, in which the State can not be anything else but the dictatorship of the proletariat * * *."

"We assert with Marx that the 'class struggle is essentially a political struggle,' and we can only accept his own oft-repeated interpretation of that phrase. The class struggle, whether it manifest itself on the industrial field or in the direct struggle for governmental control, is essentially a struggle for the capture and destruction of the capitalist state. This is a political act. In this broader view of the term 'political' Marx includes revolutionary industrial action. In the sense that it aims to undermine the bourgeois state, which 'is nothing less than a machine for the oppression of one class by another and that no less so in a democratic republic than under a monarchy.'"

Particular attention is to be noted of the doctrine of Marx, wherein it is specifically stated that not only will the class struggle manifest itself on the industrial field but that it will also direct its energies toward the struggle for Government control and for the capture and destruction of the capitalist state. Attention is particularly called to this expression of Marx's for the reason that communists often allude to their propaganda and program as being political and, therefore, not a violation of the present Federal statutes. It will be noted, however, that Marx, the spokesman of communists and the formulator of the original communist manifesto, explains the class struggle as being an essentially political struggle in that its end is the destruction of the political state, but that the means of accomplishing such an end is not to be accomplished through political means, but by direct and mass action.

"Political action, revolutionary and emphasizing the implacable character of the class struggle, is a valuable means of propaganda. It must at all times struggle to arouse the revolutionary mass action of the proletariat—its use is both agitational and obstructive. It must on all issues wage war upon capitalism and the state. Revolutionary socialism uses the forum of Parliament for agitation, but it does not intend to and can not use the bourgeois state as a means of introducing socialism; this bourgeois state must be destroyed by the mass action of the revolutionary proletariat. The proletarian dictatorship in the form of a soviet state is the immediate objective of the class struggle.

"Marx declared that 'the working class can not simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for its own purposes.' This machinery must be destroyed. But 'moderate socialism' makes the state the center of its action."

From the above quotations we again see that the left wing section of the Socialist Party in February of 1919 stated that the bourgeois state must be destroyed by the mass action of the revolutionary proletariat. Later in this brief, a detailed explanation of mass action will be given, but it is illuminating to note that the word "destroy" runs throughout the first manifesto issued by the left wing section of the Socialist Party, and it is conceded by all parties concerned that the reference to the bourgeois state refers to the Government of the United States, as at the present time there is but one state existing in the United States, namely, the Government, and as will be pointed out later, "the state" is synonymous with "capitalist state" and "bourgeois state."

It will be noted from the above quotations that the left wing, in its first manifesto, advocated industrial action for political purposes and that they place the ballot as a secondary action for propaganda purposes only. After the issuance of the manifesto, the left wing began to take in members and the propaganda intensified, particularly in the foreign languages, and on May 10, 1919, they published the manifesto of the first congress of the communist international held at Moscow on March 2 to 6, 1919. A detailed analysis of this manifesto will later be made in this brief. It is sufficient at this point to state, however, that the manifesto of the third international called upon the proletariat to immediately seize government power and substitute in its place the power of the proletariat, and that mass action with force and violence as incidents thereto was openly advocated. In the list of eligible organizations to participate in the International Communist Congress we find but three names of organizations in the United States as considered eligible for such participation, namely, the Industrial Workers of the World, the Workers' International Industrial Union, and the left wing of the Socialist Party. Upon examination of the call for the International Communist Congress we will note the peculiar similarity between the doctrines enunciated in the call of the International Communist Congress and the call of the left wing of the Socialist Party of New York.

Following the issuance of the manifesto of the left wing of the Socialist Party the national executive committee of the Socialist Party commenced to take cognizance of the revolutionary movement within its organization and

started counter propaganda. On May 24, 1919, the so-called reactionary section of the Socialist Party convened in Chicago for the purpose of discussing the so-called fraudulent election for delegates to the international congress, and also to discuss the left wing. This conference lasted from May 24 to 29, inclusive, and expelled approximately 6,000 left-wing members from Michigan and 30,000 from the Foreign Language Federations. They also set August 30 for a special convention in Chicago.

This action caused the left wing to issue a call on May 31, 1919, for delegates to attend a national left-wing convention to be held in New York on June 21.

This call was responded to immediately, and when this conference convened, on June 21, there were delegates representing approximately 45,000 members. The conference lasted from June 21 to 24, inclusive, the principal discussion being as to whether a Communist Party should be organized at once or whether it would be more advisable to agitate in the Socialist Party until the special convention and then withdraw. It was finally decided to wage a struggle in the Socialist Party until September in order to rally all the revolutionary elements for a Communist Party, meanwhile organizing temporarily as the left-wing section of the Socialist Party. At this time they issued a manifesto and program.

In this manifesto it will be noted that practically the same wording and phraseology is used as was used by the Bolsheviks for the international communist congress, which will be analyzed later. The manifesto attacked social patriots scoffing at parliamentary action and advising mass action in conquering, suppressing, and overthrowing the bourgeois state, establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat for the transitory period. The following are some of the extracts from this manifesto, which show the nature of the organization:

"Revolutionary socialism, on the contrary, insists that the democratic parliamentary state can never be the basis for the introduction of socialism; that it is necessary to destroy the producers, which will deprive the bourgeoisie of political power and function as a revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.

"But there is a more vital tendency—the tendency of the workers to initiate mass strikes—strikes which are equally a revolt against the bureaucracy in the unions and against the employers. These strikes will constitute the determining feature of proletarian action in the days to come. Revolutionary socialism must use these mass industrial revolts to broaden the strike to make it general and militant; use the strike for political objectives, and finally develop the mass political strike against capitalism and the State.

"The mass strikes of the American proletariat provide the material basis out of which to develop the concepts and action of revolutionary socialism.

"Our task is to encourage the militant mass movements in the American Federation of Labor, to split the old unions, to break the power of unions which are corrupted by imperialism and betray the militant proletariat. The American Federation of Labor, in its dominant expression, is united with imperialism. A bulwark of reaction, it must be exposed and its power for evil broken.

"Our task, moreover, is to articulate and organize the mass of the unorganized industrial proletariat which constitutes the basis for militant socialism.

"The class struggle is a political struggle in the sense that its objective is political—the overthrow of the political organization upon which capitalistic exploitation depends and the introduction of a new social system. The direct objective is the conquest by the proletariat of the power of the State.

"Revolutionary socialism does not propose to 'capture' the bourgeois parliamentary state, but to conquer and destroy it. Revolutionary socialism, accordingly, repudiates the policy of introducing socialism by means of legislative measures on the basis of the bourgeois state. This state is a bourgeois state, the organ for the coercion of the proletariat by the capitalist. How, then, can it introduce socialism? As long as the bourgeois parliamentary state prevails, the capitalist class can baffle the will of the proletariat, since all the political power, the Army and the police, industry and the press are in the hands of the capitalists, whose economic power gives them complete domination. The revolutionary proletariat must expropriate all these by the conquest of the power of the state by annihilating the political power of the bourgeoisie before it can begin the task of introducing socialism.

"Revolutionary socialism, accordingly, proposes to conquer by means of political action—political action in the revolutionary Marxian sense, which does not simply mean parliamentarism, but the class action of the proletariat in any form having as its objective the conquest of the power of the state.

"But parliamentarism can not conquer the power of the state for the proletariat. The conquest of the power of the state is an extraparlimentary act. It is accomplished, not by the legislative representatives of the proletariat, but by the mass power of the proletariat in action. The supreme power of the proletariat inheres in the political mass strike, in using the industrial mass power of the proletariat for political objectives.

"The final objective of mass action is the conquest of the power of the state, the annihilation of the bourgeois parliamentary state, and the introduction of the transition proletarian state, functioning as a revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.

"*Dictatorship of the proletariat.*—The attitude toward the state divides the anarchist (and anarcho-syndicalist), the moderate socialist, and the revolutionary socialist. Eager to abolish the state (which is the ultimate purpose of revolutionary socialism), the anarchist (and anarcho-syndicalist) fails to realize that the state is necessary in the transition period from capitalism to socialism. The moderate socialist proposes to use the bourgeois state, with its fraudulent democracy, its illusory theory of the 'unity of all the classes,' its standing army, policy, and bureaucracy oppressing and baffling the masses. The revolutionary socialist maintains that the bourgeois parliamentary state must be completely destroyed, and proposes the organization of a new state, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"The state is an organ of coercion. The bourgeois parliamentary state is the organ of the bourgeoisie for the coercion of the proletariat. The revolutionary proletariat must, accordingly, destroy this state. But the conquest of political power by the proletariat does not immediately end capitalism or the power of the capitalists or immediately socialize industry. It is therefore necessary that the proletariat organize its own state for the coercion and suppression of the bourgeoisie.

"The old machinery of the State can not be used by the revolutionary proletariat. It must be destroyed.

"The state of proletarian dictatorship is political in character, since it represents a ruling class, the proletariat, which is now supreme; and it uses coercion against the old bourgeois class. But the task of this dictatorship is to render itself unnecessary; and it becomes unnecessary the moment the dictatorship of the proletariat performs its negative task of constructing the old order; it performs the positive task of constructing the new. Together with the Government of the proletarian dictatorship there is developed in the old sense, since it concerns itself with the management of production and not with the government of the persons. Out of workers' control of industry, introduced by the proletarian dictatorship, there develops the complete structure of communist socialism—industrial self-government of the communistically organized producers. When this structure is completed, which implies the complete expropriation of the bourgeoisie economically and politically, the dictatorship of the proletariat ends, in its place coming the full and free social and individual autonomy of the communist order."

From the above we see that the left wing of the Socialist Party, which later became the Communist Party, specifically states that it does not intend to capture the bourgeois parliamentary state, but to conquer and destroy it, and that the final objective of mass action is the medium intended to be used in the conquest and destruction of the bourgeois state to annihilate the parliamentary state and introduce a revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat. In another quotation, it is specifically stated that the proletariat must organize its own state for the "coercion and suppression of the bourgeoisie." Throughout the above manifesto, advocacy of force and violence is sponsored by the left-wing party.

After the conference, at which the above manifesto was formulated, the efforts of the Socialist Party intensified and the national executive committee of that party continued to expel members.

On July 19, 1919, the left wing of the Socialist Party issued a call for a convention to be held in Chicago on September 1, for the purpose of organizing a Communist Party. Attached hereto and marked "Exhibit 2" is a copy of the Communist for July 19, 1919, containing the call for the national convention. I will not advert to the contents of this call other than to point out that its phraseology and meaning was consistent with all the documents we have previously examined and that they again talk of conquering and destroying the state by mass action, thereby establishing clearly that they were following the lead of the Bolshevik and the first congress of the Communist International.

On August 30, 1919, the Socialist Party of America convened in Chicago for the purpose of discussing and, if possible, harmonizing the dissatisfied elements within its organization. The left wing of the Socialist Party tried to be seated and capture the convention, but were defeated in their attempt, with the result that they bolted the convention and convened the Communist Party convention on September 1, 1919, which lasted until September 7, 1919. Approximately 129 delegates attended this communist convention, representing 55,000 members. Officers were elected and a manifesto and program adopted which was consistent with all of the manifestos and programs previously issued by the left wing of the Socialist Party. The official manifesto and program will later be analyzed in this brief. Immediately at the close of this convention the Communist Party proceeded with an extensive propaganda, issuing a large number of pamphlets, not only in English but also in foreign languages, and immediately established the publication of *The Communist*, the official organ of the Communist Party, a periodical issued weekly from the headquarters of the organization in Chicago. The energies of the party were immediately directed toward the acquisition of new members, and to date the Communist Party has added to its original membership hundreds of new members, and is at present carrying on a most extensive and intensified propaganda.

(D) COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

Reference has previously been made to the third international or to the first international congress of communists, and I will later show that the Communist Party of America is actually affiliated and adheres to the teachings, program, and tactics of the third international. In order that an intelligent understanding may be had of the principles of the third international, it will be necessary to analyze in detail various provisions of the manifesto which was issued in connection with this international.

The first congress of the Communist International was held at Moscow from March 2 to 6, 1919, and on March 10, 1919, a manifesto was issued, signed by Charles Rakovsky, N. Lenin, G. Zinoview, Leon Trotsky, and Fritz Platten. Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit 3" is a translation of the manifesto of the Communist International. The manifesto calls upon the proletariat to seize all Government power and substitute in its place the power of the proletariat. It is noted that the manifesto is addressed not only to the proletariat of Russia but to the "proletariat of all countries." It proceeds with a discussion in which the statement is made that the proletariat recognizes neither inherited privileges nor rights of property. It urges the formation of workers, soldiers' and peasants' councils to oppose them to the State apparatus and to achieve "the same conditions as exist in Soviet Russia." Later in the manifesto we find the following statement: "The working class must answer blow for blow, if it will not renounce its own object and its own future, which is at the same time the future of all humanity." Immediately following this quotation is found the following statement: "This makes necessary the disarming of the bourgeoisie at the proper time, the arming of the laborer, and the formation of a communist army as the protector of the rule of the proletariat and the inviolability of the social structure."

It will be particularly noted that the quotations set forth above directly advocate force and violence in acquiring the ultimate aim of the proletarian dictatorship. I call particular attention to these particular quotations at the present time, for I shall later point out that each member of the Communist Party of America pledges himself to the principles and tactics set forth in the Communist International.

Later in the manifesto of the Communist International we find open advocacy of mass action, and the following quotation is particularly interesting: "It must end the domination of capital, make war impossible, wipe out State boundaries, transform the whole work into one cooperative commonwealth, and bring about real human brotherhood and freedom." This quotation is followed by the following statement: "This monstrous new conspiracy of the capitalist class must be met with the proletariat by seizure of the political power of the State, turning this power against its class enemies, and using it as a lever to set in motion the economic revolution." The next division of the manifesto is headed "The conquest of political power," and the following is the explanation of what is meant by the conquest of the political power:

"Seizure of political power by the proletariat means destruction of the political power of the bourgeoisie. The organized power of the bourgeoisie is in the

civil state, with its capitalistic army under control of bourgeois junker officers, its police and gendarmes, jailors and judges, its priests, Government officials, etc. Conquest of the political power means not merely a change in the personnel of ministries but annihilation of the enemy's apparatus of government; disarmament of the bourgeoisie of the counter revolutionary officers, of the White Guard, arming of the proletariat, the revolutionary soldiers, the Red Guard of workingmen, displacement of all bourgeois judges and organization of proletarian courts; elimination of control by reactionary government officials and substitution of new organs of management of the proletariat. Victory of the proletariat. Victory of the proletariat consists in shattering the enemy's organization and organizing the proletarian power; in the destruction of the bourgeois and upbuilding of the proletarian state apparatus. Not until the proletariat has achieved this victory and broken the resistance of the bourgeoisie can the former enemies of the new order be made useful by bringing them under control of the communist system and gradually bringing them into accord with its work."

From the above it will be noted that by the seizure of political power is meant the destruction of the political power of the bourgeoisie. It specifically advocates the elimination of government officers, police, judges, and priests. It urges the arming of the proletariat and the creation of a Red Guard. There is no effort to accomplish in this instance the ultimate aim by parliamentary action, but it is conclusive that in order to attain the aim desired that force and violence will be resorted to as a means of acquiring the desire. Later in the manifesto we find the following quotation:

"As the opposition of the bourgeoisie is broken, as it is expropriated and gradually absorbed into the working groups, the proletarian dictatorship disappears, until finally the State dies and there are no more class distinctions."

It will thus be seen from the foregoing quotation that the Communist International borders virtually upon the borders of anarchy, in that it contends through its efforts there will be no necessity of a state or government.

In the manifesto we find open advocacy for the expropriation of the means of production and the distribution of such means into the common property of the proletarian state. It specifically advocates the expropriation of factories, mines, and estates, and, to use the words of the manifesto, advocates the "transfer of the large mansions to the local workers' councils and move the working people into the bourgeois dwellings." Thus we see an utter disregard of the rights of property.

Under the heading of "The way to victory," which closes the manifesto, the following statement appears:

"The revolutionary era compels the proletariat to make use of the means of battle which will concentrate its entire energies, namely, mass action with its logical resultant direct conflict with the governmental machinery, in open combat. All other methods, such as revolutionary use of bourgeois parliamentarism, will be of only secondary significance."

Thus we come to the close of the communist international manifesto, and find that parliamentarism is to be considered victory in the drive of the communists for world-wide control and that it openly advocates mass action which will result in direct conflict with the governmental machinery in open conflict. There can no longer remain any doubt in even the mind of a reader who gives but casual note to the manifesto of the communist international, that it openly advocates the overthrow of the Government of the world by force or violence.

(E) COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA.

Now that we have examined the manifesto of the communist international, the next phase of the communist movement which should be considered is the manifesto and program of the Communist Party of America. Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit 4" is a copy of said manifesto and program, as issued by the Communist Party from its general headquarters at Chicago, Ill. The essence of the communist program is that the proletariat must be so directed and educated that by mass action they will at one sweep destroy the State and establish a dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of soviets, which will exist until the bourgeois is suppressed and destroyed, and the proletariat is organized into the working groups and the communist commonwealth is established. They will only use parliamentary action (the ballot) as propaganda.

I will now endeavor to analyze in detail the manifesto of the Communist Party as adopted at its first national convention in Chicago, September 1, 1919.

On page 1 of the manifesto we find the following statement: "The struggle is between the capitalist nations of the world and the international proletariat, inspired by Soviet Russia." Thus we see behind the movement of the Communist Party in this country the inspiration of the Bolshevik forces now at work in Russia.

On page 3 of the manifesto reference is made to the attitude of the Socialist Party of America during the war. An examination of page 3 shows that the communists lack patriotism for the Communist Party is founded upon internationalism and not nationalism.

On pages 5 and 6 of the manifesto we find the urging of the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which will be of particular significance in view of the advocacy of such dictatorship by the communist international above discussed in detail.

On page 6 we find set forth in the manifesto of Communist Party what communism considers its conception of the State, and the following is a quotation taken from page 6:

"There is a common policy that characterizes moderate socialism; that is, its conception of the State. Out of the conception that the bourgeois parliamentary State is the basis for the introduction of socialism developed a directly counterrevolutionary policy.

"Communism rejects this conception of the State. It rejects the idea of class reconciliation and the parliamentary conquest of capitalism. The Communist Party alone is capable of mobilizing the proletariat for the revolutionary mass struggle to conquer the power of the State."

Thus we see that the Communist Party of America rejects parliamentary actions as its means to accomplish its end and directly sponsors mass action in its campaigns.

On page 8 of the manifesto we find the advocacy of strikes and the seizure of the functions of industry and government by the strikers as was done in the Seattle-Winnipeg general strikes.

On page 9 we find the following statement: "Laborism is as much a danger to the proletarian as moderate petty bourgeois socialism."

Again, on page 9 we learn of the attitude of the Communist Party toward the fomenting of dissatisfied unrest:

"But there is a more vital tendency toward the workers to start mass strikes—strikes which are equally a revolt against the bureaucracy of the unions and the capitalists. The Communist Party will endeavor to broaden and deepen these strikes, making them general and militant, developing the general political strike."

This is of particular significance due to the fact that in the great coal and steel strikes which have been existing in the United States for the past several months, investigation has shown that Communist Party has been actively engaged in its propaganda in fomenting industrial unrest, a doctrine specifically advocated in its manifesto and to which, as I will later show, each and every member of the Communist Party pledges himself to adhere.

On page 9 of the manifesto under the heading "Political action" we find the following statement:

"It is a political struggle in the sense that its objective is political—overthrow of the political organizations upon which capitalist exploitation depends, and the introduction of a proletarian State power. The objective is the conquest by the proletariat of the power of the State. Communism does not propose to 'capture' the bourgeois parliamentary State, but to conquer and destroy it."

Thus we find that the Communist Party of America specifically pledges itself not only to capture the bourgeois parliamentary State but also to conquer and destroy it. Virtually the same language is found here as is found in the manifesto of the Communist International.

On page 10 of the manifesto we find the statement that the use of parliamentarism is only of secondary importance, and that the conquest of the power of the State is to be accomplished by the mass power of the proletariat, resulting in the mobilizing of this control against capitalism, which means the initial form of the revolutionary mass action that will conquer the power of the State.

On page 11 we find the particular significant statement of organization along the industrial lines rather than along craft lines, showing its similarity to the Industrial Workers of the World.

Pages 12 and 13 of the manifesto contains illuminating passages upon the doctrine of mass action, from which I will merely quote one sentence thereof, although all of the passages appearing on the pages mentioned are pertinent: "Therefore it is necessary that the proletariat organize its own State for the coercion and suppression of the bourgeoisie." The above concludes the manifesto of the Communist Party of America, and it is now necessary for us to examine in detail the program adopted at the Chicago convention.

On page 14 of the pamphlet attached and marked as "Exhibit 4" we find the program of the Communist Party, starting out with the following statement: "The Communist Party's aim is to direct this struggle to the conquest of political power, the overthrow of capitalism, and the destruction of the bourgeois State."

On page 15 the following statement appears: "The Communist Party maintains that the class struggle is essentially a political struggle; that is, a struggle to conquer the power of the State."

On page 16 we find the Communist Party's program pledged to the fomenting of mass strikes and the establishment in each industrial center and each industrial plant of a local committee for the purposes of stirring up the unrest.

On pages 16 and 17 we find the Communist Party against the unionism of the American Federation of Labor, to use the language of the program, as follows: "The Communist Party recognizes that the American Federation of Labor is reactionary and a bulwark of capitalism."

On page 17 of the program we find the Communist Party embracing the Industrial Workers of the World and militant unions of the American Federation of Labor.

Page 17 also contains the fact that the Communist Party will use their efforts to agitate among the unskilled workers so as to obtain their support.

Page 18 of the program we find the following statement: "The Communist Party will carry on among the negro workers agitation to unite them with all class conscious workers." Thus we see the cause of much of the racial trouble in the United States at the present time.

The program closes with the following statement: "There must be close unity with the Communist International for common action against imperialism."

From the above we see that not only is the Communist Party of America pledged to overthrow the Government of the United States by force and violence, but that it is also pledged to foment industrial unrest through mass strikes and to stir up and agitate racial prejudices throughout the entire country.

In Exhibit 4, in which is contained the manifesto and program of the Communist Party, we find also the constitution of this party, from which I will quote but one section:

"SEC. 8. No person shall be accepted as a member who enters into the service of the National, State, or local government bodies otherwise than through the civil service or by legal compulsion."

The last part of Exhibit 4 contains a report by Louis C. Fraina, international secretary of the Communist Party of America, to the executive committee of the Communist International. Thus we see that the Communist Party of America reports directly to the communist international, with which it is affiliated according to its constitution and program.

(F) MASS ACTION.

Numerous references have above been made to the term "mass action," which we find employed not only in the manifesto of the Communist International, but also in the manifesto of the Communist Party of America. In order that there may be no misunderstanding as to the direct meaning of the term "mass action," we will now consider the explanation of the term "mass action." As set forth in report by Louis C. Fraina, under subtitle "Unions and mass action," we find the following statements appearing in Fraina's work:

"It is the unity of all forms of proletarian action, a means of throwing the proletariat, organized and unorganized, in a general struggle against capitalism and the capitalist state.

"The value of this mass action is that it shows the proletariat its power, weakens capitalism, and compels the State largely to depend upon the use of brutal force in the struggle, either the physical force of the military or the

terrorism; this emphasizes antagonisms between proletarian and the capitalist, widening the scope and deepening the intensity of the proletarian struggle against capitalism.

"Organizations, political and economic, have a tendency to become conservative; a tendency emphasized, moreover, by the fact that they largely represent the more favored groups of workers. The organizations must be swept out of their conservatism by the elemental impact of mass action, functioning through organized and unorganized workers, acting instinctively under the pressure of events and in disregard of bureaucratic discipline.

"A vital feature of mass action is precisely that it places in the hands of the proletariat the power to overcome the fetters of the organizations, to act in spite of their conservatism, and through proletarian mass action emphasize antagonisms between workers and capitalists and conquer power.

"MASS ACTION IS THE PROLETARIAT ITSELF IN ACTION.

"The class power of the proletariat arises out of the intensity of its struggles and revolutionary energy. It consists, moreover, of undermining the bases of the power and morale of the capitalist state, a process that requires extraparlimentary activity through mass action.

"It is the concentration of proletarian forces that makes mass action the method of the proletarian revolution.

"The proletarian revolution is a test of power, a process of forcible struggles, an epoch in which the proletariat requires a flexible method of action, a method of action that will not only concentrate all its available forces, but which will develop its initiative and consciousness, allowing it to seize and use any particular means of struggle in accord with a prevailing situation and necessary under the conditions.

"Socialism will come not through the peaceful, democratic, parliamentary conquest of the state, but through the determined and revolutionary mass action of a proletarian minority.

"Parliamentarism in and of itself fetters proletarian action; organizations are often equally fetters upon action; the proletariat must act and always act; through action it conquers.

"Mass action is a dynamic, pliable, creative; the proletariat, through mass action, instinctively adapts itself to the means and the tactics necessary in a prevailing situation. The forms of activity of the proletariat are not limited and stultified by mass action; they are broadened, deepened, and coordinated. Mass action is equally a process of revolution and the revolution itself in operation.

"It will be noted by an examination of the above that the basis of the so-called mass action is primarily industrial and economic in function, but actually political in purpose. It basically functions on the industrial and economic field through mass action (meaning the general strike, or direct action) to force concessions from the so-called bourgeoisie state, considering parliamentary action but secondary at best. Hence, if mass action is to be the principal method used to bring about the communist commonwealth, with parliamentary action (the ballot) as a poor secondary method, we can conclude but one thing, and that is: Mass action is the very essence of force and violence.

The above needs little or no comment, as the substance of same is well expressed in its last phrase, "Mass action is the very essence of force and violence." It is to be borne in mind that the above exposition of mass action is given by Louis C. Fraina, the official head of the Communist Party of America, and a man who directs its purposes and energies.

(G) MEMBERSHIP OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA.

From the examination of the above documents, namely, the manifesto of the Communist International and the manifesto of the Communist Party of America, we find advocacy of doctrines for the overthrow of the Government of the United States, not by parliamentary action but by direct action or mass action, which, as above shown, means force and violence. Thus the Communist Party of America stands indicted under the act of October 16, 1918. However, in order that there may be no doubt as to the responsibility of individual members of the Communist Party of America, we have but to examine the application for membership which each member must sign upon entering the organization. The following is a statement taken from the application: "The undersigned, after having read the constitution and program of the Communist Party,

declares his adherence to the principles and tactics of that party and the Communist International; agrees to submit to the discipline of the party as stated in its constitution; and pledges himself to engage actively in its work."

Thus we see from the above that each and every member accepted for membership in the Communist Party pledges himself not only to the constitution and program of that party, but also to the principles and tactics of the Communist International, and further pledges himself to engage actively in the work of carrying out such principles and tactics.

Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit 5" is an application for membership of the Communist Party of America.

Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit 6" is a copy of the membership card issued to each member of the Communist Party of America, on which it will be seen that the statement appears, "Affiliated with the Communist International."

From the above examination of the membership we find that each member of the organization knowingly accepts the principles and tactics of the organization and pledges himself to the purpose of not only the Communist Party of America, but also of the Communist International, which is the ruling power of Soviet Russia.

(H) ACTIVITIES OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA.

In order that we may gain a view into the actual propaganda work of the Communist Party of America, we have but to examine a few samples of its literature.

Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit 7" is a leaflet issued by the Communist Party of America, entitled "The capitalist challenge you, workingmen." This circular, it will be noted, bears upon the steel strike at Gary, Ind., and urges the workers to resort to mass action. Of particular significance is the following statement appearing in the circular: "The National Government—the capitalist State—has stepped in." Thus we see that the Communist Party uses the "capitalist State" as a term synonymous with the National Government. The circular urges the workingmen to express opposition to law and order, and ends with the statement, "The workers must capture the power of the State."

Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit 8" is a circular issued by the Communist Party of America, entitled "Your shop." In this circular we find the workers urged to take over the shops and urged to adopt mass action in accomplishing this purpose. Further, we find the workers urged to establish in this country the present conditions existing in Russia.

Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit 9" is a copy of a circular entitled "The State—strike breaker." This circular was printed in Detroit, Mich., on November 3, 1919, and through the efforts of the Federal authorities was never actually circulated. It will be noted that the circular was issued after the injunction had been issued by the court upon the coal strike, and yet we find the Communist Party of America openly violating that injunction. The examination of the circular shows an attitude of satire upon the Government of the United States. The miners are urged to take over the mines and the circular incites the workers against the Government. The following statement appears: "The workers must conquer that power (the State). The workers are urged to establish a dictatorship of the proletariat." The same phrasing is used in this circular as was used by the Communist International.

Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit 10" is a copy of a circular issued to the workers of the world by the executive committee of the Communist International, with which the Communist Party of America is affiliated, according to its own statement, and wherein protest is again made against the Versailles peace treaty. It is also further urged in the proclamation to the workers of the world that there should be a world-wide revolution, like that existing in Russia, with a resultant destruction of the bourgeois state. The above is but a small sample of the literature circulated by the Communist Party of America, but is sufficient to definitely establish its type of propaganda.

(I) PUBLIC OPINION ON COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA.

The Communist Party of America has been in existence for so short a time that few States have as yet been able to proceed against members of the organization; however, in New York State, under the criminal-anarchy law of that State, a large number of the members of the Communist Party of America have been indicted, and the following is a quotation from the opinion of Chief Magistrate William McAdoo upon the nature of the organization.

"The Communist Party is intended to destroy organized government and it appeals for class hatred, and the Communist Party is an organized conspiracy against the United States Government and the State of New York, and each member of the party is guilty and responsible for the acts, writings, and sayings of each and every member, just as handed down years ago in the famous Lord George Gordon case, following the no-property riots in London, in which each member of the mob that followed him through the streets was held guilty.

"I hold that the Communist Party has declared a state of war against the United States and the government of the State of New York and that the establishment of the Communist Party in the State of New York is the highest crime known to our law, and I will not reduce the bail one dollar.

"If the Communist Party is an organization intended to destroy the Government of the United States and preparing the way by appeals to class hatred and by preventing members from taking part in government and impliedly preventing their using constitutional methods to bring about a change, then every member is responsible for the acts and sayings of every other member. This is a well-established principle of law.

"The common impression that these men are held because they have membership cards in an organization is erroneous. There are some well-meaning citizens who have gotten the idea that these men are being mistreated; that all that they have done is join some organization just as anyone might join the Elks.

"These men are recruited into barracks, into which they make a declaration against the Government of the United States before they can become a member."

It will thus be noted from the above that the nature of the Communist Party of America has been recognized by the judiciary and that its obnoxious and insidious propaganda has borne fruit.

(J) CONCLUSION.

From examination of the various documents analyzed above the following is definitely established:

(1) That the Communist Party was the outgrowth of the left wing of the Socialist Party of America.

(2) That the Communist Party is an integral part of the first congress of the Communist International, which was formed by the Bolsheviks.

(3) That through its history as the left wing, the Communist Party constantly followed the doctrines of mass action and the advocacy of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

(4) That the first congress of the Communist International directly advocated the overthrow of all the governments of the world by force and violence through its advocacy of mass action.

(5) That the Communist Party of America, in its manifesto and program officially adopted at its convention in Chicago held September 1, 1919, advocated the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence.

(6) That each and every member of the Communist Party of America pledges himself knowingly to the tactics and principles of the Communist Party of America and to the tactics and principles enunciated in the manifesto of the Communist International.

(7) That the Communist Party of America, through the propaganda being actively carried on at the present time, is advocating the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence.

It is respectfully submitted that the Communist Party of America and persons members thereof fall within the provisions of the act of October 16, 1918, in that it openly advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence.

Respectfully submitted.

J. E. HOOVER,
Special Assistant to the Attorney General.

EXHIBIT I.

MANIFESTO OF THE LEFT WING SECTION OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW YORK CITY.

The members of the Socialist Party are entitled to an explanation for the issuance of this pamphlet by the left wing section.

We are a very active and growing section of the Socialist Party who are attempting to reach the rank and file with our urgent message over the heads

of the powers that be, who through inertia paralyzed the party's policies and tactics.

The official Socialist Party press in the main is closed to us; therefore we can not adequately present our side of the case.

In the various discussions that arise everywhere party members or delegates assemble, both sides grow too heated for calm, dispassionate judgment.

Therefore we have decided to issue our manifesto and program in pamphlet form, so that the rank and file may read and judge our case on its merits.

Comrades—and this is addressed to members of the party—the situation is such that a careful study of our position is absolutely imperative.

MANIFESTO.

Prior to August, 1914, the nations of the world lived on a volcano. Violent eruptions from time to time gave warning of the cataclysm to come; but the diplomats and statesmen managed to localize the outbreaks; and the masses, slightly aroused, sank back into their accustomed lethargy with doubts and misgivings, and the subterranean fires continued to smolder.

Many trusted blindly—some in their statesmen, some in the cohesive power of Christianity, their common religion, and some in the growing strength of the international socialist movement. Had not the German Social Democracy exchanged dramatic telegrams with the French Socialist Party, each pledging itself not to fight in case their Governments declared war on each other? A general strike of workers led by these determined socialists would quickly bring the Governments to their senses.

So the workers reasoned until the thunderclap of Sarejevo and Austria's ultimatum to Serbia. Then suddenly the storm broke. Mobilization everywhere. Everywhere declarations of war. In three or four days Europe was in arms.

The present structure of society—capitalism—with its pretensions to democracy on the one hand and its commercial rivalries, armaments, rings, and standing armies on the other, all based on the exploitation of the working class and the division of the loot, was cast into the furnace of war. Two things only could issue forth; either international capitalist control, through a league of nations, or social revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Both of these forces are to-day contending for world power.

The social democracies of Europe, unable or unwilling to meet the crisis, were themselves hurled into the conflagration, to be tempered or consumed by it.

THE COLLAPSE OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL.

Great demonstrations were held in every European country by socialists, protesting against their Governments' declarations of war and mobilizations of war. And we know that these demonstrations were rendered impotent by the complete surrender of the socialist parliamentary leaders and the official socialist press, with their "justifications" of "defensive wars" and the safeguarding of "democracy."

Why the sudden change of front? Why did the socialist leaders in the parliaments of the belligerents vote the war credits?

Why did not moderate socialism carry out the policy of the Basle manifesto, namely, the converting of an imperialistic war into a civic war—into a proletarian revolution? Why did it either openly favor the war or adopt a policy of petty bourgeois pacifism?

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERATE "SOCIALISM."

In the latter part of the nineteenth century the social democracies of Europe set out to "legislate capitalism out of office." The class struggle was to be won in the capitalist legislatures. Step by step concessions were to be wrested from the State; the working class and the socialist parties were to be strengthened by means of "constructive" reform and social legislation; each concession would act as a rung in the ladder of social revolution upon which the workers could climb, step by step, until finally some bright sunny morning the peoples would awaken to find the cooperative commonwealth functioning without disorder, confusion, or hitch on the ruins of the capitalist state.

And what happened? When a few legislative seats had been secured the thunderous denunciations of the socialist legislators suddenly ceased. No more

were the parliaments used as platforms from which the challenge of revolutionary socialism was flung to all the corners of Europe. Another era had set in, the era of "constructive" social reform legislation. Dominant moderate socialism accepted that state. All power to shape the policies and tactics of the socialist parties was intrusted to the parliamentary leaders. And these lost sight of socialism's original purpose; their goal became "constructive reforms" and cabinet portfolios—the "cooperation of classes"—the policy of openly or tactically declaring that the coming of socialism was a concern "of all classes," instead of emphasizing the Marxian policy that the construction of the socialist system is the task of the revolutionary proletariat alone. "Moderate socialism," in the hands of these parliamentary leaders, was now ready to share responsibility with the bourgeoisie in the control of the capitalist state, even to the extent of defending the bourgeoisie against the working class—as in the first Briand ministry in France, when the official party press was opened to a defense of the shooting of striking railway workers at the order of the Socialist-Bourgeois coalition cabinet.

"SAUSAGE SOCIALISM."

This situation was brought about by mixing the democratic cant of the eighteenth century with scientific socialism. The result was what Rosa Luxemburg called "sausage socialism." The "moderates" emphasized petty bourgeois social reformism in order to attract tradesmen, shopkeepers, and members of the professions, and, of course, the latter flocked to the socialist movement in great numbers, seeking relief from the constant grinding between corporate capital and awakening labor.

The socialist organizations actively competed for votes, on the basis of social reforms, with the bourgeois-liberal political parties. And so they catered to the ignorance and prejudice of the workers, trading promises of immediate reforms for votes.

Dominant "moderate socialism" forgot the teachings of the founders of scientific socialism, forgot its function as a proletariat movement—"the most resolute and advanced section of the working class parties"—and permitted the bourgeois and self-seeking trade-union elements to shape its policies and tactics. This was the condition in which the social democracies of Europe found themselves at the outbreak of war in 1914. Demoralized and confused by the cross currents within their own parties, vacillating and compromising with the bourgeois state they fell a prey to social patriotism and nationalism.

SPARTICIDES AND BOLSHEVIKI.

But revolutionary socialism was not destined to lie inert for long. In Germany, Karl Liebknecht, Franz Mehring, Rosa Luxemburg, and Otto Ruhle organized the Spartacus group. But their voices were drowned in the roar of cannon and the shriek of the dying and the maimed.

Russia, however, was to be the first battle ground where "moderate" and revolutionary socialism should come to grips for the mastery of state. The breakdown of the corrupt, bureaucratic Czarist régime opened the floodgates of revolution.

Three main contending parties attempted to ride into power on the revolutionary tide; the cadets, the "moderate Socialists" (Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries), and the revolutionary Socialists—the Bolsheviks. The cadets were first to be swept into power; but they tried to stem the still-rising flood with a few abstract political ideals, and were soon carried away. The soldiers, workers and peasants could no longer be fooled by phrases. The Mensheviks and Social revolutionaries succeeded the cadets. And now came the crucial test; would they, in accord with Marxian teachings, make themselves the ruling class and sweep away the old conditions of production, and thus prepare the way for the cooperative commonwealth or would they tinker with the old machinery and try to foist it on the masses as something just as good?

They did the latter and proved for all time that "moderate Socialism" can not be trusted.

"Moderate Socialism" was not prepared to seize the power for the workers during a revolution. "Moderate Socialism" had a rigid formula—"constructive social reform legislation within the capitalist state" and to that formula it clung. It believed that bourgeois democracy could be used as a means of

constructing the Socialist system; therefore, it must wait until the people, through a constituent assembly, should vote Socialism into existence. And in the meantime it held that there must be established a government of coalition with the enemy, the bourgeoisie. As if, with all the means of controlling public opinion in the hands of the bourgeoisie, a constituent assembly could or would ever vote the Socialists into power.

Revolutionary Socialists hold, with the founders of scientific Socialism, that there are two dominant classes in society—the bourgeoisie and the proletariat; that between these two classes a struggle must go on until the working class, through the seizure of the instruments of production and distribution, the abolition of the capitalist state, and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, creates a Socialist system. Revolutionary Socialists do not believe that they can be voted into power. They struggle for the conquest of power by the revolutionary proletariat. Then comes the transition period from capitalism to socialism, of which Marx speaks in his "Critique of the Gotha Program," when he says:

"Between the capitalist society and the communist lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. This corresponds to a political transition period, in which the State can not be anything else but the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Marx and Engels clearly explained the function of the Socialist movement. It is the "moderate Socialist," through intellectual gymnastics, evasions, misquotations, and the tearings of sentences and phrases from their context, who make Marx and Engels sponsors for their perverted version of socialism.

PROBLEMS OF AMERICAN SOCIALISM.

At the present moment the Socialist Party of America is agitated by several cross currents, some local in their character, and some a reflex of cleavages within the European Socialist movements. Many see in this internal dissention merely an unimportant difference of opinion, or, at most, dissatisfaction with the control of the party, and the desire to replace those who have misused it with better men.

We, however, maintain that there is a fundamental distinction in views concerning party policies and tactics. And we believe that this difference is so vast that from our standpoint a radical change in party policies and tactics is necessary.

This essential task is being shirked by our party leaders and officials generally.

Already there is formidable industrial unrest, a seething ferment of discontent, evidences by inarticulate rumblings which presage striking occurrences. The transformation of industry from a war to a peace basis has thoroughly disorganized the economic structure. Thousands upon thousands of workers are being thrown out of work. Demobilized soldiers and sailors find themselves a drug upon the labor market unless they act as scabs and strikebreakers. Skilled mechanics fighting desperately to maintain their war wage and their industrial status, are forced to strike. Women, who during the war have been welcomed into industries hitherto closed to them, are struggling to keep their jobs. And to cap the climax the capitalists, through their chambers of commerce and their merchants and manufacturers' associations, have resolved to take advantage of the situation to break down even the inadequate organizations labor has built through generations of painful struggle.

The temper of the workers and soldiers, after the sacrifices they have made in the war, is such that they will not endure the reactionary labor conditions so openly advocated by the master class. A series of labor struggles is bound to follow—indeed, is beginning now. Shall the Socialist Party continue to feed the workers with social reform legislation at this critical period? Shall it approach the whole question from the standpoint of votes and the election of representatives to the legislatures? Shall it emphasize the consumers' point of view, when the Socialist principles teach that the workers are robbed, at the point of production? Shall it talk about the cost of living and taxation when it should be explaining how the worker is robbed at his job?

There are many signs of the awakening of labor. Strikes are developing which verge on revolutionary action; the trade-unions are organizing a labor party, in an effort to conserve what they have won and wrest new concessions from the master class. The organization of a labor party is an immature expression of a new spirit in the labor movement; but a labor party is not the

instrument for the emancipation of the working class; its policy would be in general what is now the official policy of the Socialist Party—reforming capitalism on the basis of the bourgeois state. Laborism is as much a danger to the revolutionary proletariat as “moderate” socialism; neither is an instrument for the conquest of power.

CAPITALIST IMPERIALISM.

Imperialism is the final stage of capitalism in which the accumulated capital or surplus of the Nation is too great to be reinvested in the home market. The increased productivity of the working class, due to improved machinery and efficiency methods, and the mere subsistence wage which permits the worker to buy back only a small portion of what he produces, causes an ever-increasing accumulation of commodities, which in turn become capital and must be invested in further production. When capitalism has reached the stage in which it imports raw materials from undeveloped countries and exports them again in the shape of manufactured products it has reached its highest development.

This process is universal. Foreign markets, sphere of influence, and protectorates, under the intensive development of capitalist industry and finance, in turn become highly developed. They, too, seek for markets. National capitalist control, to save itself from ruin, breaks its national bonds and emerges full grown as a capitalist league of nations, with international armies and navies to maintain its supremacy.

The United States no longer holds itself aloof, isolated, and provincial. It is reaching out for new markets, new zones of influence, new protectorates.

The capitalist class of America is using organized labor for its imperialistic purposes. We may soon expect the capitalist class, in true Bismarkian fashion, to grant factory laws, old-age pensions, unemployment insurance, sick benefits, and the whole litter of bourgeois reforms, so that the workers may be kept fit to produce the greatest profits at the greatest speed.

DANGERS TO AMERICAN SOCIALISM.

There is danger that the Socialist Party of America might make use of these purely bourgeois reforms to attract the workers' votes by claiming that they are victories for socialism and that they have been won by socialist political action, when, as a matter of fact, the object of these master class measures is to prevent the growing class consciousness of the workers and to divert from their revolutionary aim. By agitating for these reforms, therefore, the Socialist Party would be playing into the hands of the American imperialists.

On the basis of the class struggle, then, the Socialist Party of America must reorganize itself, must prepare to come to grips with the master class during the difficult period of capitalist readjustment now going on. This it can do only by teaching the working class the truth about present-day conditions; it must preach revolutionary industrial unionism and urge all the workers to organize into industrial unions, the only form of labor organization which can cope with the power of great modern aggregations of capital. It must carry on its political campaigns, not merely as a means of electing officials to political office, as in the past, but as a year-round educational campaign to arouse the workers to class conscious, economic, and political action, and to keep alive the burning ideal of revolution in the hearts of the people.

POLITICAL ACTION.

We assert, with Marx, that “the class struggle is essentially a political struggle,” and we can only accept his own oft-repeated interpretation of that phrase. The class struggle, whether it manifest itself on the industrial field or in the direct struggle for governmental control, is essentially a struggle for the capture and destruction of the capitalist state. This is a political act. In this broader view of the term “political” Marx includes revolutionary industrial action. In other words, the objective of socialist industrial action is “political,” in the sense that it aims to undermine the bourgeois state, which “is nothing less than a machine for the oppression of one class by another, and that no less so in a democratic republic than under a monarchy.”

Political action is also and more generally used to refer to participation in election campaigns for the immediate purpose of winning legislative seats. In this sense, too, we urge the use of political action as a revolutionary weapon.

But both in the nature and the purpose of this form of political action revolutionary socialism and "moderate socialism" are completely at odds.

Political action, revolutionary and emphasizing the implacable character of the class struggle, is a valuable means of propaganda. It must at all times struggle to arouse the revolutionary mass action of the proletariat—its use is both agitational and obstructive. It must on all issues wage war upon capitalism and the state. Revolutionary socialism uses the forum of parliament for agitation; but it does not intend to and can not use the bourgeois state as a means of introducing socialism; this bourgeois state must be destroyed by the mass action of the revolutionary proletariat. The proletariat dictatorship, in the form of a soviet state, is the immediate objective of the class struggle.

Marx declared that "the working class can not simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for its own purposes." This machinery must be destroyed. But "moderate socialism" makes the state the center of its action.

The attitude toward the state divides the anarchist (anarcho-sindicalist), the "moderate socialist," and the revolutionary socialist. Eager to abolish the state (which is the ultimate purpose of revolutionary socialism), the anarchist and (anarcho-socialist) fails to realize that a state is necessary in the transition period from the capitalism to socialism; the "moderate socialist" proposes to use the bourgeois state, with its fraudulent democracy, its illusory theory of "unity of all the classes," its standing army, police, and bureaucracy oppressing and baffling the masses; the revolutionary socialist maintains that the bourgeois state must be completely destroyed, and proposes the organization of a new state—the state of the organized producer, of the federated soviets—on the basis of which alone can socialism be introduced.

Industrial unionism, the organization of the proletariat in accordance with the integration of industry and for the overthrow of capitalism, is a necessary phase of revolutionary socialist agitation. Potentially, industrial unionism constructs the basis and develops the ideology of the industrial state of socialism; but industrial unionism alone can not perform the revolutionary act of seizure of the power of the state, since under the conditions of capitalism it is impossible to organize the whole working class or an overwhelming majority into industrial unionism.

It is the task of a revolutionary socialist party to direct the struggles of the proletariat and provide a program for the culminating crisis. Its propaganda must be so directed that when this crisis comes, the workers will be prepared to accept a program of the following character:

(a) The organization of workmen's councils; recognition of, and propaganda for, these mass organizations in the immediate struggle, as the form of expression of the class struggle, and as the instruments for the seizure of the power of the state and the basis of the new proletarian state of the organized producers and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

(b) Workmen's control of industry, to be exercised by the industrial organizations (industrial unions of soviets) or the workers and the industrial vote, as against Government ownership or State control of industry.

(c) Repudiation of all national debts, with provisions to safeguard small investors.

(d) Expropriation of the banks; preliminary measure for the complete expropriation of capital.

(e) Expropriation of the railways and the large (trust) organizations of capital; no compensation to be paid, as "buying-out" the capitalists would insure a continuance of the exploitation of the workers; provisions, however, to be made during the transition period for the protection of small owners of stock.

(f) The nationalization of foreign trade.

These are not the "immediate demands" comprised in the social reform blanks now in the platform of our party; they are not a compromise with the capitalist state, but imply a revolutionary struggle against that state and against capitalism, the conquest of power by the proletariat through revolutionary mass action. They imply the new soviet state of the organized producers, the dictatorship of the proletariat; they are preliminary revolutionary measures for the expropriation of capital and the introduction of communist socialism.

PROGRAM.

1. We stand for a uniform declaration of principles in all party platforms both local and national and the abolition of all social reform planks now contained in them.

2. The party must teach, propagate, and agitate exclusively for the overthrow of capitalism, and the establishment of socialism through a proletarian dictatorship.

3. The socialist candidates elected to office shall adhere strictly to the above provisions.

4. Realizing that a political party can not reorganize and reconstruct the industrial organizations of the working class, and that this is the task of the economic organizations themselves, we demand that the party assist this process of reorganization by a propaganda for revolutionary industrial unionism as part of its general activities. We believe it is the mission of the socialist movement to encourage and assist the proletariat to adopt newer and more effective forms of organization and to stir it into newer and more revolutionary modes of action.

5. We demand that the official party press be party owned and controlled.

6. We demand that officially recognized educational institutions be party owned and controlled.

7. We demand that the party discard its obsolete literature and publish new literature in keeping with the policies and tactics above mentioned.

8. We demand that the national executive committee call an immediate emergency national convention for the purpose of formulating party policies and tactics to meet the present crisis.

9. We demand that the socialist party repudiate the Berne Congress or any other conference engineered by "moderate socialists" and social patriots.

10. We demand that the socialist party shall elect delegates to the international congress proposed by the communist party of Russia (Bolshevik); that our party shall participate only in a new international with which are affiliated the communist party of Russia (Bolshevik), the communist labor party of Germany (Spartacans), and all other left wing parties and groups.

EXHIBIT E.

CALL FOR A NATIONAL CONVENTION FOR THE PURPOSE OF ORGANIZING THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA.

In this the most momentous period of the world's history capitalism is tottering to its ruin. The proletariat is straining at the chains which bind it. A revolutionary spirit is spreading throughout the world. The workers are rising to answer the clarion call of the third international.

Only one socialism is possible in the crisis. A socialism based upon understanding. A socialism that will express in action the needs of the proletariat. The time has passed for temporizing and hesitating. We must act. The communist call of the third international, the echo of the communist manifesto of 1848, must be answered.

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of America has evidenced by its expulsion of nearly half of the membership that they will not hesitate at wrecking the organization in order to maintain their control. A crisis has been precipitated in the ranks of revolutionary socialism by the wholesale expulsion or suspension of the membership comprising the Socialist Party of Michigan, locals and branches throughout the country, together with seven language federations. This has created a condition in our movement that makes it manifestly impossible to longer delay the calling of a convention to organize a new party. Those who realize that the capturing of the Socialist Party as such is but an empty victory will not hesitate to respond to this call and leave the "right" and "center" to sink together with their "revolutionary" leaders.

The majority of the delegates to the left wing conference in New York weakly neglected to sever their connections with the reactionary national executive committee. Rendered impotent by the conflicting emotions and lack of understanding present they continued to mark time as centrists in the wake of the right. Their policy is one of endeavor to capture the old party machinery

and the stagnant elements which have been struggling for a false unity, who are only ready to abandon the ship when it sinks beneath the waves of reaction.

The condition which confronted the minority delegates at the left wing conference has been met by issuing this call for the formation of a Communist Party of America. The delegates issuing the call represented the following organizations: Socialist Party of Michigan, Left Wing State Convention of Minnesota, locals Buffalo, N. Y., Chicago, Ill., Union Local, N. J., Cudahy, Wis., Rochester, N. Y., Rockford, Ill., Kenosha, Wis., New York, Providence, R. I., Nanticoke, Pa., Milwaukee, Wis., Boston, Mass., and the Polish, Lettish, Russian, Jewish, Lithuanian, Ukrainian, and Estonian Federations.

No other course is possible; therefore, we, the minority delegates at the left wing conference, call a convention to meet in the city of Chicago on September 1, 1919, for the purpose of organizing a Communist Party in America.

This party will be founded upon the following principles:

1. The present is the period of the dissolution and collapse of the whole capitalist world system, which will mean the complete collapse of world culture. If capitalism with its unsolvable contradictions is not replaced by communism.

2. The problem of the proletariat consists in organizing and training itself for the conquest of the powers of the State. This conquest of power means the replacement of the State machinery of the bourgeoisie with a new proletarian machinery of government.

3. This new proletarian state must embody the dictatorship of the proletariat. both industrial and agricultural, this dictatorship constituting the instrument for the taking over of property used for exploiting the workers, and for the reorganization of society on a communist basis.

Not the fraudulent bourgeois democracy—the hypocritical form of the rule of the finance oligarchy, with its purely formal equality—but proletarian democracy based on the possibility of actual realization of freedom for the working masses; not capitalist bureaucracy, but organs of administration which have been created by the masses themselves, with the real participation of these masses in the government of the country and in the activity of the communist structure—this should be the type of the proletarian state. The workers' councils and similar organizations represent its concrete form.

4. The dictatorship of the proletariat shall carry out the abolition of private property in the means of production and distribution, by transfer to the proletarian state under socialist administration of the working class; nationalization of the great business enterprises and financial trusts.

5. The present world situation demands the closest relation between the revolutionary proletariat of all countries.

6. The fundamental means of the struggle for power is the mass action of the proletariat, a gathering together and concentration of all its energies; whereas methods such as the revolutionary use of bourgeois parliamentarism are only of subsidiary significance.

In those countries in which the historical development has furnished the opportunity, the working class has utilized the régime of political democracy for its organization against capitalism. In all countries where the conditions for a workers' revolution are not yet ripe, the same process will go on.

But within this process the workers must never lose sight of the true character of bourgeois democracy. If the finance oligarchy considers it advantageous to veil its deeds of violence behind parliamentary votes, then the capitalist power has at its command, in order to gain its ends, all the traditions and attainments of former centuries of upper-class rule, demagogism, persecution, slander, bribery, calumny, and terror. To demand of the proletariat that it shall be content to yield itself to the artificial rules devised by its mortal enemy, but not observed by the enemy, is to make a mockery of the proletarian struggle for power—a struggle which depends primarily on the development of separate organs of the working-class power.

7. The old Socialist International has broken into three main groups: (a) Those frankly social patriots who since 1914 have supported their bourgeoisie and transformed those elements of the working class which they control into hangmen of the international revolution:

- (b) The "center," representing elements which are constantly wavering and incapable of following a definite plan of action, and which are at times positively traitorous; and

- (c) The communists.

As regards the social patriots, who everywhere, in the critical moment oppose the proletarian revolution with force of arms, a merciless fight is absolutely necessary. As regards the "center" our tactics must be to separate the revolutionary elements by pitilessly criticizing the leaders. Absolute separation from the organization of the center is necessary.

8. It is necessary to rally the groups and proletarian organizations who, though not as yet in the wake of revolutionary trend of the communist movement, nevertheless have manifested and developed a tendency leading in that direction.

Socialist criticism has sufficiently stigmatized the bourgeois world order. The task of the international communist press is to carry on propaganda for the abolition of this order and to erect in its place the structure of the Socialist world order. Under the communist banner, the emblem under which the first great victories have already been won; in the war against imperialistic barbarity, against the privileged classes, against the social and national oppression—we call upon the proletarians of all lands to unite!

PROGRAM OF THE CALL

1. We favor international alliance of the Socialist movement of the United States only with the communist groups of other countries, such as the Bolsheviks of Russia, Spartacists of Germany, etc., according to the program of communism as above outlined.

2. We are opposed to association with other groups not committed to the revolutionary class struggle, such as labor parties, nonpartisan leagues, people's councils, municipal ownership leagues and the like.

3. We maintain that the class struggle is essentially a political struggle—that is, a struggle by the proletariat to conquer the capitalist state—whether its form be monarchistic or democratic republican, and to destroy and replace it by a governmental structure adapted to the socialist transformation.

4. The party shall propagandize class-conscious industrial unionism as against the craft form of unionism, and shall carry on party activity in co-operation with industrial disputes that take on a revolutionary character.

5. We do not disparage voting nor the value of success in electing our candidates to public office—not if these are in direct line with the class struggle. The trouble comes with the illusion that political or industrial immediate achievements are of themselves steps in the revolution, the progressive merging of capitalism into the cooperative commonwealth.

The basis of our political campaign should be:

(a) To propagandize the overthrow of capitalism by proletarian conquest of the political power and the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat.

(b) To maintain a political organization as a clearing house for proletarian thought, a center of political education for the development of revolutionary working-class action.

(c) To keep in the foreground our consistent appeal for proletarian revolution; and to analyze the counter proposals and reformist palliatives in their true light of evasion of the issue; recognizing at all times the characteristic developments of the class conflict as applicable to all capitalistic nations.

(d) To propagandize the party organization as the organ of contact with the revolutionary proletariat of other lands, the basis for international association being the same political understanding and the common plan of action, tending toward increasing unity in detail as the international crisis develops.

6. Socialist platforms, proceeding on the basis of the class struggle, recognizing that the Socialist movement has come into the historic period of the social revolution, can contain only the demand for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

(a) The basis of this demand should be thoroughly explained in the economic, political, and social analysis of the class struggle, as evolving within the system of capitalism.

(b) The implications of this demand should be illustrated by the first steps and general modes of social reconstruction dependent upon and involved within the proletarian domination of the political life of the nation.

(c) A municipal platform of socialism can not proceed on a separate basis, but must conform to the general platform, simply relating the attainment of local power to the immediate goal of gaining national power. There are no

separate city problems within the terms of the class struggle, only the one problem of capitalist versus proletarian domination.

7. We realize that the coming of the social revolution depends on an overwhelming assertion of mass power by the proletariat, taking on political consciousness and the definite direction of revolutionary socialism. The manifestations of this power and consciousness are not subject to precise, precalculation. But the history of the movement of the proletariat toward the revolutionary proletarian assertion and the political mass strike.

The mass action conception looks to the general unity of the proletarian forces under revolutionary provocation and stimulus. In the preliminary stages, which alone come within our predetermination and party initiative, the tactics of mass action includes all mass demonstrations and mass struggles which sharpen the understanding of the proletariat as to the class conflict and which separate the revolutionary proletariat into groups distinct from all others.

Mass action, in time of revolutionary crisis, or the analogous case of large scale industrial conflict, naturally accepts the council form of organization for its expression over a continued period of time.

8. Applying our declarations of party principle to the organization of the party itself, we realize the need, in correspondence with the highly centralized capitalist power to be combated of a centralized party organization.

Organizations indorsing the principles and program outlined as a tentative basis for the organization of a Communist Party are invited to send delegates to the convention in Chicago on September 1, 1919.

The basis of representation to be one delegate for every organization and one additional for every five hundred members or major fraction thereof.

Provided, also, that each language federation shall have one fraternal delegate at the convention.

Provided further, that in States where the States are organized, they shall send delegates as States. In States which are not organized, the locals shall send delegates as such. In locals which are not organized a part of the local may send a delegate.

DENNIS E. BATT,
D. ELBAUM,
O. C. JOHNSON,
JOHN KERACHER,
S. KOPFAGEL,
J. V. STILSON,
ALEXANDER STOKLITSKY,
National Organization Committee.

Send communications to the national office of the organization committee: Dennis E. Batt, 1221 Blue Island Ave., Chicago, Ill.

MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

[Manifesto of the first congress of the Communist International, held at Moscow, Mar. 2-6, 1919. Issued Mar. 10, and signed Charles Rakovsky, N. Lenin, G. Zinoviev, Leon Trotsky, Fritz Platten. Text received direct from Moscow. Translated by Ida Ferguson.]

To the proletariat of all countries:

Seventy-two years have gone by since the Communist Party of the World proclaimed its program in the form of the manifesto written by the greatest teachers of the proletarian revolution, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Even at that early time, when communism had scarcely come into the arena of conflict, it was hounded by the lies, hatred, and calumny of the possessing classes, who rightly suspected in it their mortal enemy. During these seven decades communism has traveled a hard road of ascent followed by periods of sharp decline; successes, but also severe defeats. In spite of all, the development at bottom went the way forecast by the manifesto of the Communist Party. The epoch of the last decisive battle came later than the apostle of the social revolution expected and wished. But it has come.

We communists, representatives of the revolutionary proletariat of the different countries of Europe, America, and Asia, assembled in Soviet Moscow, feel and consider ourselves followers and fulfillers of the program proclaimed 72 years ago. It is our task now to sum up the practical revolutionary experience of the working class, to cleanse the movement of its admixtures of opportunism and social patriotism, and to gather together the forces of all the true revolutionary proletarian parties in order to further and hasten the complete victory of the communist revolution.

1. For a long span of years socialism predicted the inevitableness of the imperialistic war; it perceived the essential cause of this war in the insatiable greed of the possessing classes in both camps of capitalist nations. Two years before the outbreak of the war, at the congress of Basle, the responsible socialist leaders of all countries branded imperialism as the instigator of the coming war, and menaced the bourgeoisie with the threat of the socialist revolution—the retaliation of the proletariat for the crimes of militarism. Now, after the experience of five years, after history has disclosed the predatory lust of Germany, and has unmasked the no less criminal deeds on the part of the Allies, the State socialists of the Entente nations, together with their governments, again unmask the deposed German Kaiser. And the German social patriots, who in August, 1914, proclaimed the diplomatic White Book of the Hohenzollern as the holiest gospel of the people to-day in vulgar sycophancy join with the socialists of the Entente countries in accusing as archcriminals the deposed German monarchy which they formerly served as slaves. In this way they hope to erase the memory of their own guilt and to gain the good will of the victors. But alongside the dethroned dynasties of the Romanoffs, Hohenzollerns, and Hapsburgs, and the capitalistic cliques of these lands, the rulers of France, England, Italy, and the United States stand revealed in the light of unfolding events and diplomatic disclosures in their immeasurable villainess.

The contradictions of the capitalist system were converted by the war into beastly torments of hunger and cold, epidemics, and moral savagery for all mankind. In this the academic quarrel in socialism over the theory of increasing misery, and also of the undermining of capitalism through socialism, is now finally determined. Statisticians and teachers of the theory of reconciliation of these contradictions have endeavored for decades to gather together from all countries of the earth real and apparent facts which evidence the increasing well-being of the working class. To-day abysmal misery is before our eyes, social as well as physiological, in all its shocking reality.

Finance-capital, which threw mankind into the abyss of war, has itself suffered catastrophic changes during the course of the war. The dependence of paper money upon the material basis of production was completely destroyed. More and more losing its significance as medium and regulator of capitalistic commodity circulation, paper money becomes merely a means of exploitation, robbery, of military economic oppression. The complete deterioration of paper money now reflects the general deadly crisis of capitalist commodity exchange.

As free competition was replaced as regulator of production and distribution in the chief domains of economy, during the decades which preceded the war, by the system of trusts and monopolies, so the exigencies of the war took the regulating rôle out of the hands of the monopolies and give it directly to the military power. Distribution of raw materials, utilization of petroleum from Baku or Roumania, of coal from Donetz, of cereals from the Ukraine; the fate of German locomotives, railroad cars, and automobiles, the provisioning of famine-stricken Europe with bread and meat, all these basic questions of the economic life of the world are no longer regulated by free competition, nor yet by combinations of national and international trusts, but through direct application of military force.

Just as complete subordination of the power of the State to the purposes of finance-capital led mankind to the imperialistic shambles, so finance-capital has, through this mass slaughter, completely militarized not alone the State but also itself. It is no longer able to fulfill its essential economic functions otherwise than by means of blood and iron.

The opportunists who before the war exhorted the workers, in the name of the gradual transition into socialism, to be temperate; who, during the war, asked for submission in the name of "civil peace" and defense of the Fatherland, now again demand of the workers self-abnegation to overcome the terrible consequences of the war. If this preaching were listened to by the workers, capitalism would build out of the bones of several generations a new and still more formidable structure, leading to a new and inevitable world war. Fortunately for humanity, this is no longer possible.

The absorption by the State of the economic life, so vigorously opposed by capitalist liberalism, has now become a fact. There can be no return either to free competition nor to the rule of the trusts, syndicates, and other economic monsters. The only question is what shall be the future mainstay of state production, the imperialistic State or the State of the victorious proletariat? In other words, shall the whole of working humanity become the feudal bond servants of the victorious Entente bourgeoisie, which under the name of a

League of Nations aided by an "international" army and an "international" navy, here plunders and murders, there throws a crumb, but everywhere enchains the proletariat, with the single aim of maintaining its own rule? Or will the working class take into its own hands the disorganized and shattered economic life and make certain its reconstruction on a socialist basis?

Only the proletarian dictatorship, which recognizes neither inherited privileges nor rights of property, but which arises from the needs of the hungering masses, can shorten the period of the present crisis; and for this purpose it mobilizes all materials and forces, introduces the universal duty to labor, establishes the régime of industrial discipline, this way to heal in the course of a few years the open wounds caused by the war and also to raise humanity to new undreamed-of heights.

The national State which was given a tremendous impulse by capitalistic evolution has become too narrow for the development of the productive forces. And even more untenable has become the position of the small States, distributed among the great powers of Europe and in other parts of the world. These small States came into existence at different times as fragments split off the bigger States, as petty currency in payment for services rendered, to serve as strategic buffer States. They, too, have their dynasties, their ruling gangs, their imperialistic pretensions, their diplomatic machinations, their illusory independence had until the war precisely the same support as the European balance of power; namely, the continuous opposition between the two imperialistic camps. The war has destroyed this balance. The tremendous preponderance of power which the war gave to Germany in the beginning compelled these smaller nations to seek their welfare and safety under the wings of German militarism. After Germany was beaten the bourgeoisie of the small nations, together with their patriotic "socialists," turned to the victorious imperialism of the Allies and began to seek assurance for their further independent existence in the hypocritical "points" of the Wilson program. At the same time the number of little States has increased; out of the unity of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, out of the different parts of Czarist Empire, new sovereignties have formed themselves; and these, as soon as born, jump at each other's throats on account of their frontier disputes. Meanwhile the allied imperialists brought about certain combinations of new and old small States through the cement of mutual hatreds and general weakness. Even while violating the small and weak peoples and delivering them to famine and degradation, the Entente imperialists, exactly as the Imperialists of the Central Powers before them, did not cease to talk of the right of self-determination of all peoples, a right which is now entirely destroyed in Europe and in the rest of the world.

Only the proletarian revolution can secure the existence of the small nations, a revolution which frees the productive forces of all countries from the restrictions of the national States, which unites all peoples in the closest economic cooperation on the basis of a universal economic plan, and gives even to the smallest and weakest peoples the possibility freely and independently to carry on their national culture without detriment to the united and centralized economy of Europe and of the whole world.

The last war, after all a war against the colonies, was at the same time a war with the aid of the colonies. To an unprecedented extent the population of the colonies was drawn into the European war. Indians, Arabs, Madagascans battled on the European Continent—what for?—for their right to remain slaves of England or France? Never did capitalist rule show itself more shameless, never was the truth of colonial slavery brought into such sharp relief. As a consequence we witnessed a series of open rebellions and revolutionary ferment in all colonies. In Europe itself it was Ireland which reminded us in bloody street battles that it is still an enslaved country and feels itself as such. In Madagascar, in Annam, and in other countries the troops of the bourgeois republic have had more than one insurrection of the colonial slaves to suppress during the war. In India the revolutionary movement has not been at a stand-still for one day, and lately we have witnessed the greatest labor strike in Asia, to which the Government of Great Britain answered with armored cars.

In this manner the colonial question in its entirety became the order of the day, not alone on the green table of the diplomatic conferences at Paris but also in the colonies themselves. The Wilson program, at the very best, calls only for a change in the firm name of colonial enslavement. Liberation of the colonies can come only through liberation of the working class of the oppressing nations. The workers and peasants not only of Annam, Algeria, Bengal, but also of Persia and Armenia, can gain independent existence only after the laborers of England

and France have overthrown Lloyd-George and Clemenceau and taken the power into their own hands. Even now in the more advanced colonies the battle goes on, not only under the flag of national liberation but it assumes also an open and outspoken social character. Capitalistic Europe has drawn the backward countries by force into the capitalistic whirlpool, and socialistic Europe will come to the aid of the liberated colonies with its technique, its organization, its spiritual influence, in order to facilitate their transition into the orderly system of socialistic economy.

Colonial slaves of Africa and Asia! The hour of triumph of the proletarian dictatorship of Europe will also be the hour of your liberation!

II. The whole bourgeois world accuses the communists of destroying liberties and political democracy. That is not true. Having come into power, the proletariat only asserts the absolute impossibility of applying the methods of bourgeois democracy and creates the conditions and forms of a higher working-class democracy. The whole course of capitalistic development undermined political democracy, not only by dividing the nation into two irreconcilable classes but also by condemning the numerous petty bourgeois and semiproletarian elements, as well as the sum proletariat, to permanent economic stagnation and political impotence.

In those countries in which the historical development has furnished the opportunity, the working class has utilized the régime of political democracy for its organization against capitalism. In all countries where the conditions for a worker's revolution are not yet ripe, the same process will go on. But the great middle layers on the farms, as well as in the cities, are hindered by capitalism in the historic development and remain stagnant for whole epochs. The peasant of Bavaria and Baden, who does not look beyond his church spire, the small French winegrower who has been ruined by the adulterations practiced by the big capitalists, the small farmer of America plundered and betrayed by bankers and legislators—all these social ranks which have been shoved aside from the main road of development by capitalism, are called on paper by the régime of political democracy to the administration of the state. In reality, however, the finance oligarchy decides all important questions which determine the destinies of nations behind the back of parliamentary democracy. Particularly was this true of the war question. The same applies to the question of peace.

If the finance-oligarchy considers it advantageous to veil its deeds of violence behind parliamentary votes, then the bourgeois state has at its command in order to gain its ends all the traditions and attainments of former centuries of upper-class rule multiplied by the wonders of capitalistic technique—lies, demagogism, persecution, slander, bribery, calumny, and terror. To demand of the proletariat in the final life and death struggle with capitalism that it should follow lamblike the demands of bourgeois democracy would be the same as to ask a man who is defending his life against robbers to follow the artificial rules of a French duel that have been set by his enemy but not followed by him.

In an empire of destruction, where not only the means of production and transportation, but also the institutions of political democracy represent bloody ruins, the proletariat must create its own forms, to serve above all as a bond of unity for the working class and to enable it to accomplish a revolutionary intervention in the further development of mankind. Such apparatus is represented in the workmen's councils. The old parties, the old unions, have proved incapable, in person of their leaders, to understand, much less to carry out, the task which the new epoch presents to them. The proletariat created a new institution which embraces the entire working class, without distinction of vocation or political maturity, an elastic form of organization capable of continually renewing itself, expanding, and of drawing into itself ever new elements, ready to open its doors to the working groups of city and village which are near to the proletariat. This indispensable autonomous organization of the working class in the present struggle and in the future conquests of different lands, tests the proletariat and represents the greatest inspiration and the mightiest weapon of the proletariat of our time.

Wherever the masses are awakened to consciousness, workers', soldiers', and peasants' councils will be formed. To fortify these councils, to increase their authority, to oppose them to the State apparatus of the bourgeoisie is now the chief task of the class-conscious and honest workers of all countries. By means of these councils the working class can counteract that disorganization which has been brought into it by the infernal anguish of the war, by hunger, by the violent deeds of the possessing classes, and by the betrayal of their former lead-

ers. By means of these councils the working class will gain power in all countries most readily and most certainly when these councils gain the support of the majority of the laboring population. By means of these councils the working class, once attaining power, will control all the field of economic and cultural life, as in Soviet Russia.

The collapse of the imperialistic state, czaristic to most democratic, goes on simultaneously with the collapse of the imperialistic military system. The armies of millions, mobilized by imperialism, could remain steadfast only so long as the proletariat remained obedient under the yoke of the bourgeoisie. The complete breakdown of national unity signifies also an inevitable disintegration of the army. Thus it happened, first in Russia, then in Austria-Hungary, then in Germany. The same also is to be expected in other imperialistic States. Insurrection of the peasants against the landowner, of laborer against capitalist, of both against the monarchic or "democratic" bureaucracy, must lead inevitably to the insurrection of soldier against commander and, furthermore, to a sharp division between the proletarian and bourgeois elements within the army. The imperialistic war which pitted nation against nation, has passed and is passing into the civil war which lines up class against class.

The outcry of the bourgeois world against the civil war and the red terror is the most colossal hypocrisy of which the history of political struggles can boast. There would be no civil war if the exploiters who have carried mankind to the very brink of ruin had not prevented every forward step of the laboring masses, if they had not instigated plots and murders and called to their aid armed help from outside to maintain or restore their predatory privileges. Civil war is forced upon the laboring classes by their archenemies. The working class must answer blow for blow, if it will not renounce its own object and its own future which is at the same time the future of all humanity.

The communist parties, far from conjuring up civil war artificially, rather strive to shorten its duration as much as possible—in case it has become an iron necessity—to minimize the number of its victims, and above all to secure victory for the proletariat. This makes necessary the disarming of the bourgeoisie at the proper time, the arming of the laborer, and the formation of a communist army as the protector of the rule of the proletariat and the inviolability of the social structure. Such is the red army of Soviet Russia which arose to protect the achievements of the working class against every assault from within or without. The Soviet Army is inseparable from the Soviet State.

Conscious of the world historic character of their mission, the enlightened workers strove from the very beginning of the organized socialist movement for an international union. The foundation stone of this union was laid in the year 1864 in London, in the first international. The Franco-Prussian War, from which arose the Germany of the Hohenzollerns, undermined the first International, giving rise at the same time to the national labor parties. As early as 1889 these parties united at the congress of Paris and organized the second international. But during this period the center of gravity of the labor movement rested entirely on national ground, confining itself within the realm of national parliamentarism, to the narrow compass of national States and national industries. Decades of organizing and labor reformism created a generation of leaders most of whom gave verbal recognition to the program of social revolution but denied it in substance. They were lost in the swamp of reformism and adaptation to the bourgeois state. The opportunistic character of the leading parties of the second international was finally revealed—and led to the greatest collapse of the movement in all its history—when events required revolutionary methods of warfare from the labor parties. Just as the war of 1870 dealt a death blow to the first international by revealing that there was not in fact behind the social-revolutionary program any compact power of the masses, so the war of 1914 killed the second international by showing that above the consolidated labor masses there stood labor parties which converted themselves into servile organs of the bourgeois State.

This includes not only the social patriots who to-day are openly in the camp of the bourgeoisie as preferred confidential advisers and reliable hangers-on of the working class, but also the hazy, fickle, and irresolute socialist center which is to-day trying to revive the second international, i. e., the narrowness, opportunism and revolutionary impotence of their predecessors. The Independents of Germany, the present majority of the Socialist Party in France, the Independent Labor Party in England, and similar groups, are actually trying to reestablish themselves in the position which the old official

parties of the second international held before the war. They appear as before with proposals of compromise and conciliation and thereby paralyze the energy of the proletariat, lengthening the period of crisis and consequently increasing the misery of Europe. War against the socialist center is a necessary condition of successful war against imperialism.

Spurning the half-heartedness, hypocrisy, and corruption of the decadent official socialist parties, we, the communists assembled in the third international, feel ourselves to be the direct successors of the heroic efforts and martyrdom of a long series of revolutionary generations from Babeuf to Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. As the first international foresaw the future development and pointed the way; as the second international gathered together and organized millions of the proletarians, so the third international is the international of open mass action of the revolutionary realization, the international of deeds. Socialist criticism has sufficiently stigmatized the bourgeois world order. The task of the International Communist Party is now to overthrow this order and to erect in its place the structure of the socialist world order. We urge the working men and women of all countries to unite under the communist banner, the emblem under which the first great victories have already been won.

Proletarians of all countries! In the war against imperialistic barbarity, against monarchy, against the privileged classes, against the bourgeois State and bourgeois property, against all forms and varieties of social and national oppression—unite!

Under the standard of the workmen's councils, under the banner of the third international, in the revolutionary struggle for power and the dictatorship of the proletariat, proletarians of all countries—unite!

PROGRAM.

The new era has begun! The era of the downfall of capitalism—its internal disintegration. The epoch of the proletarian communist revolution. In some countries, victorious proletarian revolution; increasing revolutionary ferment in other lands; uprisings in the colonies; utter incapacity of the ruling classes to control the fate of peoples any longer—that is the picture of world conditions to-day.

Humanity, whose whole culture now lies in ruins, faces danger of complete destruction. There is only one power which can save it—the power of the proletariat. The old capitalist "order" can exist no longer. The ultimate result of the capitalistic mode of production is chaos—a chaos to be overcome only by the great producing class, the proletariat. It is the proletariat which must establish real order, the order of Communism. It must end the domination of capital, make war impossible, wipe out State boundaries, transform the whole world into one cooperative commonwealth, and bring about real human brotherhood and freedom.

World capitalism prepares itself for the final battle. Under cover of the League of Nations and a deluge of pacifist phrase-mongering, a desperate effort is being made to pull together the tumbling capitalist system and to direct its forces against the constantly growing proletarian revolt. This monstrous new conspiracy of the capitalist class must be met by the proletariat by seizure of the political power of the State, turning this power against its class enemies, and using it as a lever to set in motion the economic revolution. The final victory of the proletariat of the world means the beginning of the real history of free mankind.

THE CONQUEST OF POLITICAL POWER.

Seizure of political power by the proletariat means destruction of the political power of the bourgeoisie. The organized power of the bourgeoisie is in the civil State, with its capitalistic army under control of bourgeois-junker officers, its police and gendarmes, jailers and judges, its priests, government officials, etc. Conquest of the political power means not merely a change in the personnel of ministries but annihilation of the enemy's apparatus of government; disarmament of the bourgeoisie, of the counter-revolutionary officers, of the white guard; arming of the proletariat, the revolutionary soldiers, the red guard of workingmen; displacement of all bourgeois judges and organization of proletarian courts; elimination of control by reactionary government officials and substitution of new organs of management of the proletariat. Victory of the proletariat. Victory of the proletariat consists in shattering

the enemy's organization and organizing the proletarian power; in the destruction of the bourgeois and upbuilding of the proletarian State apparatus. Not until the proletariat has achieved this victory and broken the resistance of the bourgeoisie can the former enemies of the new order be made useful, by bringing them under control of the communist system and gradually bringing them into accord with its work.

DEMOCRACY AND DICTATORSHIP.

The proletarian state, like every state, is an organ of suppression, but it arrays itself against the enemies of the working class. It aims to break the opposition of the despoilers of labor, who are using every means in a desperate effort to stifle the revolution in blood, and to make impossible further opposition. The dictatorship of the proletariat, which gives it the favored position in the community, is only a provisional institution. As the opposition of the bourgeoisie is broken, as it is expropriated and gradually absorbed into the working groups, the proletarian dictatorship disappears, until finally the state dies and there are no more class distinctions.

Democracy, so-called, that is, bourgeois democracy, is nothing more nor less than veiled dictatorship by the bourgeoisie. The much-vaunted "popular will" exists as little as a unified people. In reality, there are the classes, with antagonistic, irreconcilable purposes. However, since the bourgeoisie is only a small minority, it needs this fiction of the "popular will" as a flourish of fine-sounding words to reinforce its rule over the working classes and to impose its own class will upon the people. The proletariat, on the contrary, as the overwhelming majority of the people, openly exercises its class power by means of its mass organization and through its Soviets, in order to wipe out the privileges of the bourgeoisie and to secure the transition, rather the transformation, into a classless communist commonwealth.

The main emphasis of bourgeois democracy is on formal declarations of rights and liberties which are actually unattainable by the proletariat, because of want of the material means for their enjoyment; while the bourgeoisie uses its material advantages, through its press and organizations, to deceive and betray the people. On the other hand, the Soviet type of government makes it possible for the proletariat to realize its rights and liberties. The Soviet power gives to the people palaces, houses, printing offices, paper supply, etc., for their press, their societies, and assemblies. And in this way alone is actual proletarian democracy made possible.

Bourgeois democracy, with its parliamentary system, uses words to induce belief in popular participation in government. Actually the masses and their organizations are held far out of reach of the real power and the real State administration. In the council-soviet system the mass organizations rule and through them the mass itself, inasmuch as the councils draw constantly increasing numbers of workers into the State administration; and only by this process will the entire working population gradually become part of the government. The council system also builds itself directly on the mass organizations of the proletariat, on the councils themselves, the revolutionary trade unions, the cooperatives, etc. Bourgeois democracy and its parliamentary system sharpen the separation of the masses from the State by division of the government into legislative and executive powers, and through parliamentary mandates beyond popular recall. The council system, by contrast, unites the masses with the organs of government by right of recall, amalgamation of legislature and executive powers, and by use of working boards. Above all this union is fostered by the fact that in the council system elections are based not on arbitrary territorial districts, but on units of production.

In this way the council-soviet system brings true proletarian democracy by and for the proletarians against the bourgeoisie. The industrial proletariat is favored in this system because it is the most aggressive, best organized, and politically ripest class, under whose leadership the semiproletarians and small farmers will be gradually elevated. These temporary privileges of the industrial proletariat must be utilized to draw the small farmers away from the control of the big landowners and bourgeoisie and to organize and train them as helpers in the building of the communistic structure.

EXPROPRIATION OF THE BOURGEOISIE AND SOCIALIZATION OF PRODUCTION.

The breakdown of the capitalistic order and the disruption of capitalistic industrial discipline makes impossible the reorganization of production on a

capitalistic basis. Wage wars of the workingmen—even when successful—do not bring the anticipated betterment of conditions of living; the workers can only become emancipated when production is no longer controlled by the bourgeoisie but by the proletariat. In order to raise the standards of productivity, in order to crush the opposition on the part of the bourgeoisie (which only prolongs the death struggle of the old régime and thereby invites danger of total ruin), the proletarian dictatorship must carry out the expropriation of the greater bourgeoisie and Junkerdom and convert the means of production and distribution into the common property of the proletarian state.

Communism is now being born out of the ruins of capitalism—there is no other salvation for humanity. The opportunists who are making utopian demands for the reconstruction of the economic system of capitalism, so as to postpone socialization only delay the process of disintegration and increase the danger of total demolition. The communist revolution, on the other hand, is the best, only means, by which the most important social power of production—the proletariat—can be saved, and with it society itself.

The dictatorship of the proletariat does not in any way call for partition of the means of production and exchange; rather, on the contrary, its aim is further to centralize the forces of production and to subject all of production to a systematic plan. As the first steps—socialization of the great banks which now control production; the taking over by the power of the proletariat of all government-controlled economic utilities; the transferring of all communal enterprises; the socializing of the syndicated and trustified units of production, as well as all other branches of production in which the degree of concentration and centralization of capital makes this technically practicable; the socializing of agricultural estates and their conversion into cooperative establishments.

As far as the smaller enterprises are concerned, the proletariat must gradually unite them, according to the degree of their importance. It must be particularly emphasized that small properties will in no way be expropriated and that property owners who are not exploiters of labor will not be forcibly dispossessed. This element will gradually be drawn into the socialistic organization through the force of example, through practical demonstration of the superiority of the new order of things, and the regulation by which the small farmers and the petty bourgeoisie of the cities will be freed from economic bondage to usurious capital and landlordism, and from tax burdens (especially by annulment of the national debts), etc.

The task of the proletarian dictatorship in the economic field can only be fulfilled to the extent that the proletariat is enabled to create centralized organs of management and to institute workers' control. To this end it must make use of its mass organizations which are in closest relation to the process of production. In the field of distribution the proletarian dictatorship must reestablish commerce by an accurate distribution of products, to which end the following methods are to be considered: The socialization of wholesale establishments; the taking over of all bourgeois State and municipal apparatus of distribution; control of the great cooperative societies, which organizations will still have an important rôle in the production epoch; the gradual centralization of all these organs and their conversion into a systematic unity for the rational distribution of products.

As in the field of production so also in the field of distribution all qualified technicians and specialists are to be made use of, provided their political resistance is broken and they are still capable of adapting themselves, not to the service of capital, but to the new system of production. Far from oppressing them the proletariat will make it possible for the first time for them to develop intensive creative work. The proletarian dictatorship, with their cooperation, will retrieve the separation of physical and mental work which capitalism has developed and thus will science and labor be unified. Besides expropriating the factories, mines, estates, etc., the proletariat must also abolish the exploitation of the people by capitalistic landlords, transfer the large mansions to the local workers' councils, and move the working people into the bourgeois dwellings.

During this great transition period the power of the councils must constantly build up the entire administrative organization into a more centralized structure, but on the other hand, constantly draw ever-increasing elements of the working people into the immediate control of government.

THE WAY OF VICTORY.

The revolutionary era compels the proletariat to make use of the means of battle which will concentrate its entire energies, namely, mass action, with its logical resultant, direct conflict with the governmental machinery in open combat. All other methods, such as revolutionary use of bourgeois parliamentarism, will be of only secondary significance.

The indispensable condition for successful struggle is separation not only from the direct servitors of capitalism and enemies of the communist revolution, in which rôle the social democrats of the right appear, but also from the party of the center (Kautskians), who desert the proletariat at the critical moment in order to come to terms with its open antagonists. On the other hand, there are essential elements of the proletariat, heretofore not within the Socialist Party, who stand now completely and absolutely on the platform of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of soviet rule, for example, the corresponding elements among the syndicalists.

The growth of the revolutionary movement in all lands, the danger of suppression of this revolution through the coalition of capitalistic States, the attempts of the socialist betrayers to unite with one another (the formation of the Yellow "International" at Berne), and to give their services to the Wilsonian league; finally the absolute necessity for coordination of proletarian action—all these demand the formation of a real revolutionary and real Proletarian Communist International. This international, which subordinates this so-called national interests to the interests of the international revolution, will personify the mutual help of the proletariat of the different countries, for without economic and other mutual helpfulness the proletariat will not be able to organize the new society. On the other hand, in contrast with the Yellow International of the social patriots, the Proletarian Communist International will support the plundered colonial peoples in their fight against imperialism, in order to hasten the final collapse of the imperialistic world system.

The capitalistic criminals asserted at the beginning of the World War that it was only in defense of the common Fatherland. But soon German imperialism revealed its real brigand character by its bloody deeds in Russia, in the Ukraine, and Finland. Now, the Entente States unmask themselves as would despoilers and murderers of the proletariat. Together with the German bourgeoisie and social patriots, with hypocritical phrases about peace on their lips, they are trying to throttle the revolution of the European proletariat by means of their war machinery and stupid barbaric colonial soldiery. Indescribable is the White Terror of the bourgeois cannibals. Incalculable are the sacrifices of the working class. Their best—Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg—have they lost. Against this the proletariat must defend itself; defend at any price. The Communist International calls the whole world proletariat to this final struggle.

Down with the imperialistic conspiracy of capital!

Long live the International Republic of the Proletarian Councils!

Order this leaflet from Chas. Dirba, secretary, 1217 Hennepin Avenue, Minneapolis, Minn., at \$1.75 per thousand (\$2 per thousand prepaid, in Minnesota).

[Pamphlet No. 1. Price 10 cents. Communist Party of America, Chicago, Ill.]

MANIFESTO AND PROGRAM—CONSTITUTION—REPORT TO THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERSHIP—CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS.

SECTION 1. Every person who accepts the principles and tactics of the Communist Party and the Communist International and agrees to engage actively in the work of the party shall be eligible to membership. It is the aim of this organization to have in its ranks only those who participate actively in its work.

Sec. 2. Applicants for membership shall sign an application card reading as follows:

"The undersigned, after having read the constitution and program of the Communist Party, declares his adherence to the principles and tactics of the party and the Communist International, agrees to submit to the discipline of the party as stated in its constitution, and pledges himself to engage actively in its work."

Sec. 3. Every member must join a duly constituted branch of the party. There shall be no members at large.

SEC. 4. All application cards must be indorsed by two persons who have been members for not less than three months.

SEC. 5. Applications for membership shall not be finally acted upon until two months after presentation to the branch, and in the meantime applicant shall pay initiation fee and dues and shall attend meetings and classes. He shall have a voice and no vote: *Provided*, That this rule shall not apply to the charter members who make application to newly organized branches during the first month.

SEC. 6. No person who is a member or supporter of any other political organization shall be admitted to membership.

SEC. 7. No person who has an entire livelihood from rent, interest, or profits shall be eligible to membership in the Communist Party.

SEC. 8. No person shall be accepted as a member who enters into the service of the National, State, or local governmental bodies otherwise than through the civil service or by legal compulsion: *Provided*, That the civil employment by the Government is of a nonpolitical character.

For information regarding the local organization in your city write to Communist Party of America, 1219 Blue Island Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY MANIFESTO.

The world is on the verge of a new era. Europe is in revolt. The masses of Asia are stirring uneasily. Capitalism is in collapse. The workers of the world are seeing a new life and securing new courage. Out of the night of war is coming a new day.

The specter of communism haunts the world of capitalism—communism, the hope of the workers to end misery and oppression.

The workers of Russia smashed the front of international capitalism and imperialism. They broke the chains of the terrible war; and in the midst of agony, starvation and the attacks of the capitalists of the world, they are creating a new social order.

The class war rages fiercely in all nations. Everywhere the workers are in a desperate struggle against their capitalist masters. The call to action has come. The workers must answer the call!

The Communist Party of America is the party of the working class. The Communist Party proposes to end capitalism and organize a workers' industrial republic. The workers must control industry and dispose of the products of industry. The Communist Party is a party realizing the limitations of all existing workers' organizations and proposes to develop the revolutionary movement necessary to free the workers from the oppression of capitalism. The Communist Party insists that the problems of the American worker are identical with the problems of the workers of the world.

THE WAR AND SOCIALISM.

A giant struggle is convulsing the world. The war is at end, but peace is not here. The struggle is between the capitalist nations of the world and the international proletariat, inspired by soviet Russia. The imperialisms of the world are desperately arraying themselves against the onswEEPing proletarian revolution.

The League of Nations is dividing the world financially and territorially. It is directing the fight against the workers. It is the last effort of capitalism to save itself.

The reactionary League of Nations is the logical result of this imperialistic war. And the war was the product of capitalism.

Capitalism oppresses the workers. It deprives them of the fruit of their labor, the difference between wages and product constituting the profits of the capitalists. As the capitalists compete with each other, while exploiting the workers, new and more efficient means of production develop. This compels the concentration of industry which results in monopoly. Under monopoly there is rapid accumulation of capital, producing a surplus which it is necessary to export for investment. This export of capital, together with the struggle to monopolize the world's sources of raw materials and to control undeveloped territory for purposes of investment, is the basis of imperialism.

Imperialism produced the war. The war now being at an end, the victorious nations are concerned almost exclusively with these economic, territorial, and financial problems. The United States was vitally concerned in the war, the

issue being world power; and its capitalism, having secured a position of financial supremacy, had a direct imperialistic interest at stake.

The war made a shambles of civilization. It proved the utter incapacity of capitalism to direct and promote the progress of humanity. Capitalism has broken down.

But the socialist movement itself broke down under the test of war. The old dominant moderate socialism accepted and justified the war. It acted against the proletarian revolution and united with the capitalists against the workers. Out of this circumstance developed the forces of revolutionary socialism now expressed in the communist international.

Socialism had repeatedly emphasized the menace of war. It had urged the workers to act against the war. The socialist congress at Basel in 1912, when Europe was on the verge of a general war, condemned the war as imperialistic and as unjustifiable on any pretext of national interest. It urged using the crisis of war to "rouse the masses and to hasten the downfall of capitalism."

The war that came in 1914 was the same imperialistic war that might have come in 1912. But upon the declaration of war the dominant opportunistic Socialist parties accepted and justified the war of plunder and mass murder!

This was a direct betrayal of socialism. It was an abandonment of the class struggle. The class struggle is the very heart of revolutionary socialism. Unless the Socialist movement wages the class struggle under any and all conditions in its revolutionary implications, it becomes either Utopian or reactionary. But moderate socialism accepted the war and the "unity of the classes" and united with the capitalist governments against the working class.

The Socialist parties accepted the war as a war for democracy—as if democracy under imperialism is not directly counter-revolutionary. They justified the war as a war for the independence of nations. Not the proletarian class struggle, but nationalism, social patriotism, and social imperialism determined the policy of the dominant socialism. The coming of socialism was made dependent upon the workers cutting each other's throats in the struggles of their own ruling class!

SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM.

The collapse of the Socialist International during the war marks the transition from the older moderate socialism to the new socialism of revolutionary practice and promise in the Communist International.

Moderate socialism, which perverted the revolutionary socialism of the First International, placed its faith in "constructive" social reforms. It accepted the bourgeois state as the basis of its activities, and then strengthened that state. It developed a policy of "class reconciliation," affirming that the coming of socialism was a concern of "all the classes," instead of emphasizing the Marxian policy that it was the task of the revolutionary proletariat alone. There was a joint movement that affected the thought and practice of socialism: On the one hand, the organization of the skilled workers into trade-unions, which secured certain concessions and became a semiprivileged caste; and, on the other hand, the decay of the class of small producers, crushed under the iron tread of industrial concentration. As one moved upward and the other downward, they met and formed a political juncture to use the state to improve their conditions. The dominant socialism expressed this compromise. It developed a policy of legislative reforms and State capitalism.

The whole process was simple. The workers were to unite with the middle-class and Government ownership of industry was to emancipate the working class. Parliamentarism was to revolutionize the old order of slavery and power, of oppression and destruction.

It was simple but disastrous. The State, as owner of industry, did not free the workers, but imposed a sterner bondage. The capitalist State was made stronger by its industrial functions. The parliamentary representatives of the workers played at the parliamentary comedy, while capitalism developed new powers of oppression and destruction.

But imperialism exposed the final futility of this policy. Imperialism united the nonproletarian classes, by means of State capitalism, for international conquest and spoliation. The small capitalists, middle class, and the aristocracy of labor, which previously acted against concentrated industry, now compromise and unite with concentrated industry and finance-capital in imperialism. The small capitalists accept the domination of finance-capital, being allowed to participate in the adventures and the fabulous profits of imperialism, upon which now depends the whole of trade and industry. The middle class invests in

monopolistic enterprises; its income now depends upon finance-capital, its members securing "positions of superintendence," its technicians and intellectuals being exported to lands in process of development. The workers of the privileged unions are assured steady employment and comparatively high wages through the profits that come in from the savage exploitation of colonial peoples. All these nonproletarian social groups accept imperialism, their "liberal and progressive" ideas becoming camouflage for imperialism with which to seduce the masses. Imperialism requires the centralized state, capable of uniting all the forces of capital, of unifying the industrial process through State regulation, of maintaining "class peace," of mobilizing the whole national power for the struggles of imperialism. State capitalism is the expression of imperialism, precisely that State capitalism promoted by moderate socialism. What the parliamentary policy of socialism accomplished was to buttress the capitalistic state, to promote State capitalism to strengthen imperialism.

Moderate socialism developed while capitalism was still competitive. Upon the advent of monopoly and imperialism, socialism emerged into a new epoch—an epoch requiring new and more aggressive proletarian tactics. Capitalism acquired a terrific power in industry and the state. The concentration of industry, together with the subservency of parliaments to the imperialistic mandates and the transfer of their vital functions to the executive organ of government, made more clear the impossibility of the parliamentary conquest of power. The older unionism and parliamentary socialism proved their utter incompetence for the new conditions of struggle. These conditions developed the concept of industrial unionism in the United States and the concept of mass action in Europe. Imperialism made it necessary to reconstruct the socialist movement.

But moderate socialism itself did not change under the necessity of events. The consequence was a miserable collapse under the test of the war and the proletarian revolution in Russia and Germany.

In the Russian revolution, the proletariat, urging on the poorer peasantry, conquered the power of the state after the first revolution had established the democratic parliamentary republic. It established a dictatorship of the proletariat. This proletarian revolution was accomplished in spite of the opposition of modern socialism, represented by the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionists. These moderates argued that since Russia was economically an undeveloped country, it was premature to make a proletarian revolution in Russia and historically impossible to realize socialism.

Moderate socialism in Germany also acted against the proletarian revolution. It offered a capitalist parliamentary republic as against proletarian dictatorship.

The issue in Germany could not be obscured. Germany was a fully developed nation industrially, its economic conditions were mature for the introduction of socialism. But moderate socialists rejected the revolutionary task.

There is a common policy that characterizes moderate socialism; that is, its conception of the state. Out of the conception that the bourgeois parliamentary state is the basis for the introduction of socialism developed a directly counter-revolutionary policy.

Communism rejects this conception of the state. It rejects the idea of class reconciliation and the parliamentary conquest of capitalism. The communist party alone is capable of mobilizing the proletariat for the revolutionary mass struggle to conquer the power of the state. The Communist Party realizes that it is necessary to develop separate organs of working class political power by means of which to crush the resistance of capitalism and establish the Communist Commonwealth.

AMERICAN SOCIALISM.

Socialism in the United States, prior to the appearance of the Socialist Labor Party, was a movement of isolated and indefinite protest. It was the sport of middle class movements, while itself split by socialist and anarchist factions.

The Socialist Labor Party, after casting off the nonsocialist elements, developed as a consistent party of revolutionary socialism. Particularly, the Socialist Labor Party realized the importance of imparting a socialist character and consciousness to the unions. The Socialist Labor Party, together with the experience of the Western Federation of Miners and the American Labor Union, developed the theory and practice of industrial unionism.

The struggle of the Socialist Labor Party against the old unionism developed a secession from the party of elements who considered protecting the reactionary American Federation of Labor more important than revolutionary socialism. These, together with bourgeois and agrarian radicals, organized the Socialist Party.

The Socialist Party was a party of moderate socialism. Its policy was that of Government ownership of industry, not the proletarian conquest of power. It maintained that the middle class and the lesser capitalists are necessary in the socialist struggle against capitalism. The Socialist Party asserted in substance: Socialism is a struggle of all the people against the trusts, making the realization of socialism depend upon the "unity of the common people," the workers, the small capitalists and investors, the professions. In short, the official policy of the Socialist Party was to attain socialism by means of capitalist democracy.

The Socialist Party stultified proletarian political action by limiting it to elections and participation in legislative reform activity. The party favored reactionary trades-unionism as against revolutionary industrial unionism.

The Socialist Labor Party developed a purely theoretical activity of real value, but was isolated from the masses. The Socialist Party attained a considerable membership, but largely of a petty bourgeois character. The war brought in new industrial proletarian elements, but the party still isolated itself from revolutionary theory and practice. The proletarian masses in the Socialist Party required simply the opportunity to develop a revolutionary proletarian policy.

The Socialist Party, under the impulse of its proletarian membership, adopted a militant declaration against the war, but the officials of the party sabotaged this declaration. The official policy of the party on the war was that of liberal pacifism. The party bureaucracy united with the People's Council, which propagandized a Wilson peace. The 1918 party platform accepted the Wilson "14 points," as adopted by the prowar Interallied Labor and Socialist Conference.

The war and proletarian revolution in Russia sharpened the antagonism between the party policy and the revolutionary proletarian temper in the party. Revolt broke loose. The Socialist Party was crushed. The Communist Party is the response to this revolt and to the call of the Communist International.

COMMUNIST PARTY PROBLEMS.

The United States is now a world power. It is developing a centralized, autocratic Federal Government, acquiring financial and military reserves for aggression and wars of conquest. Imperialism now consciously dominates the national policy.

The war strengthened American capitalism, instead of weakening it, as in Europe. But the collapse of capitalism in other countries will play upon and affect events in this country. Feverishly American capital is developing a brutal campaign of terrorism. It is utterly incompetent on the problems of reconstruction that press down upon society. Its "reconstruction" program aims simply to develop power for aggression and plunder in the markets of the world. While this is not the moment of actual revolution, it is a moment of struggles pregnant with revolution.

Strikes are developing, verging on revolutionary action, and in which the suggestion of proletarian dictatorship is apparent. The strike workers try to usurp functions of industry and government, as in the Seattle and Winnipeg general strikes.

A minor phase of proletarian unrest is the trade-unions organizing a labor party in an effort to conserve what they have secured as a privileged caste. A labor party is not the instrument of aggressive working class struggle. It can not break the power of the capitalists and the profit system of oppression and misery, since it accepts private property and the "rights of capital." The practice of a labor party is in general the practice of the Socialist Party—cooperation with bourgeois "progressives" and reforming capitalism on the basis of the capitalist parliamentary state. Laborism is as much a danger to the proletarian as moderate petty bourgeois socialism, the two being expressions of an identical social tendency and policy. There can be no compromise either with laborism or reactionary socialism.

But there is a more vital tendency, the tendency of the workers to start mass strikes—strikes which are equally a revolt against the bureaucracy of the unions and the capitalists. The Communist Party will endeavor to broaden

and deepen these strikes, making them general and militant, developing the general political strike.

The Communist Party accepts as the basis of its action the mass struggles of the proletariat, engaging directly in these struggles and emphasizing their revolutionary implications.

POLITICAL ACTION.

The proletarian class struggle is essentially a political struggle. It is a political struggle in the sense that its objective is political—overthrow of the political organizations upon which capitalist exploitation depends, and the introduction of a proletarian state power. The object is the conquest by the proletariat of the power of the state.

Communism does not propose to "capture" the bourgeois parliamentary state, but to conquer and destroy it. As long as the bourgeois state prevails the capitalist class can baffle the will of the proletariat.

In those countries in which historical development has furnished the opportunity, the working class has utilized the régime of political democracy for its organization against capitalism. In all countries where the conditions for a workers' revolution are not yet ripe, the same process will go on. The use of parliamentarism, however, is only of secondary importance.

But within this process the workers must never lose sight of the true character of bourgeois democracy. If the finance-oligarchy considers it advantageous to veil its deeds of violence behind parliamentary votes, then the capitalist class has at its command in order to gain its end, all the traditions and attainments of former centuries of working class rule, multiplied by the wonders of capitalist technique—lies, demagogism, persecution, slander, bribery. To the demand of the proletariat that it shall be content to yield itself to the artificial rules devised by its mortal enemy but not observed by the enemy is to make a mockery of the proletarian struggle for power, a struggle which depends primarily on the development of separate organs of working class power.

The parliamentarism of the Communist Party performs a service in mobilizing the proletariat against capitalism, emphasizing the political character of the class struggle.

The conquest of the power of the state is accomplished by the mass power of the proletariat. Political mass strikes are a vital factor in developing this mass power, preparing the working class for the conquest of capitalism. The power of the proletariat lies fundamentally in its control of the industrial process. The mobilizing of this control against capitalism means the initial form of the revolutionary mass action that will conquer the power of the state.

UNIONISM AND MASS ACTION.

The older unionism was based on the craft divisions of small industry. The unions consisted primarily of skilled workers, whose skill is itself a form of property. The unions were not organs of the militant class struggle. To-day the dominant unionism is actually a bulwark of capitalism, merging in imperialism and accepting State capitalism.

The concentration of industry and the development of the machine process expropriated large numbers of the skilled workers of their skill; but the unions still maintained the ideology of property contract and caste. Deprived of actual power by the ineffectiveness of its localized strikes as against large scale industry, trades unionism resorts to dickers with the bourgeois state and accepts imperialistic State capitalism to maintain its privileges as against the unskilled industrial proletariat.

The concentration of industry produces the industrial proletariat—the machine workers. This proletariat, massed in the basic industry, constitutes the militant basis of the class struggle. Deprived of skill and craft divisions, the old petty isolated strike is useless to these workers.

These facts of industrial concentration developed the concept of industrial unionism among the organized workers, and mass action among the unorganized.

Mass action is the proletarian response to the facts of modern industry, and the forms it imposes upon the proletarian class struggle. Mass action develops as the spontaneous activity of unorganized workers in the basic industry; its initial form is the mass strike of the unskilled. In these strikes large masses of workers are unified by the impulse of the struggle, developing a new tactic and a new ideology.

Mass action is industrial in its origin, but it acquires political character as it develops fuller forms. Mass action, in the form of general political strikes and demonstrations, unites the energy and forces of the proletariat, brings proletarian mass pressure upon the bourgeois state. The more general and conscious mass action becomes, the more it antagonizes the bourgeois state, the more it becomes political mass action. Mass action is responsive to life itself, the form of aggressive proletarian struggle under imperialism. Out of this struggle develops revolutionary mass action, the means for the proletarian conquest of power.

The conception of mass action has little in common with syndicalism. In its mass impulse, syndicalism was a protest against futility of parliamentarism. But anarcho-syndicalism tactically and theoretically is a departure from Marxism. It does not appreciate the necessity of a proletarian state during the transition period from capitalism to communism (which implies the disappearance of all forms of the State). Syndicalism makes the proletarian revolution a direct seizure of industry, instead of the conquest of the power of the State.

Industrial unionism, also, can not conquer the power of the State. Under the conditions of capitalism it is impossible to organize the whole working class into industrial unions. It will be necessary to rally the workers, organized and unorganized, by means of revolutionary mass action. Moreover, industrial unionism does not actually construct the forms of the communist administration of industry, only potentially. After the conquest of power the industrial unions may become the starting point of the communist reconstruction of society. But the conception that the majority of the working class can be organized into conscious industrial unions and construct under capitalism the form of the communist society is as Utopian as the moderate socialist conception of the gradual "growing into socialism."

DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT.

The proletarian revolution comes at the moment of crises in capitalism, of a collapse of the old order. Under the impulse of the crises, the proletariat act for the conquest of power, by means of mass action. Mass action concentrates and mobilizes the forces of the proletariat, organized and unorganized; it acts equally against the bourgeois state and the conservative organizations of the working class. Strikes of protest develop into general political strikes and then into revolutionary mass action for the conquest of the power of the State. Mass action becomes political in purpose while extraparlimentary in form; it is equally a process of revolution and the revolution itself in operation.

The State is an organ of coercion. The bourgeois parliamentary state is the organ of the bourgeoisie for the coercion of the proletariat. Parliamentary government in the expression of bourgeois supremacy, the form of authority of the capitalist over the worker. Bourgeois democracy promotes the dictatorship of capital, assisted by the press, the pulpit, the army and the police. Bourgeois democracy is historically necessary, on the one hand, to break the power of feudalism, and, on the other, to maintain the proletariat in subjection. It is precisely this democracy that is now the instrument of imperialism, since the middle class, the traditional carrier of democracy, accepts imperialism. The proletarian revolution disrupts bourgeois democracy. It disrupts this democracy in order to end class divisions and class rule, to realize industrial self-government of the workers. Therefore it is necessary that the proletariat organize its own state for the coercion and suppression of the bourgeoisie. Proletarian dictatorship is a recognition of that fact; it is equally a recognition of the fact that in the communist reconstruction of society the proletariat alone counts as a class.

While the dictatorship of the proletariat performs the negative task of crushing the old order, it performs the positive task of constructing the new. Together with the government of the proletarian dictatorship, there is developed a new "government," which is no longer government in the old sense, since it concerns itself with the management of the production and not with the government of persons. Out of workers' control of industry, introduced by the proletarian dictatorship, there develops the complete structure of communist socialism—industrial self-government of the communistically organized producers. When this structure is completed, which implies the com-

plete expropriation of the bourgeoisie, economically and politically, the dictatorship of the proletariat ends, in its place coming the full, free social and individual autonomy of the communist order.

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

The Communist International, issuing directly out of the proletarian revolution in action, is the organ of the international revolutionary proletariat; just as the League of Nations is the organ of the joint aggression and resistance of the dominant imperialism.

The Communist International represents a socialism in complete accord with the revolutionary character of the class struggle. It unites all the conscious revolutionary forces. It wages war equally against imperialism and moderate socialism—each of which has demonstrated its complete inability to solve the problems that now press down upon the workers. The Communist International issues its call to the conscious proletariat for the final struggle against capitalism.

It is not a problem of immediate revolution. The revolutionary epoch may last for years, and tens of years. The Communist International offers a program both immediate and ultimate in scope.

The old order is in decay. Civilization is in collapse. The workers must prepare for the proletarian revolution and the communist reconstruction of society.

The Communist International calls!

Workers of the world, unite!

THE PROGRAM OF THE PARTY.

The Communist Party is the conscious expression of the class struggle of the workers against capitalism. Its aim is to direct this struggle to the conquest of political power, the overthrow of capitalism and the destruction of the bourgeois state.

The Communist Party prepares itself for the revolution in the measure that it develops a program of immediate action, expressing the mass struggles of the proletariat. These struggles must be inspired with revolutionary spirit and purposes.

The Communist Party is fundamentally a party of action. It brings to the workers a consciousness of their oppression, of the impossibility of improving their conditions under capitalism. The Communist Party directs the workers' struggle against capitalism, developing fuller forms and purposes in this struggle, culminating in the mass action of the revolution.

I. The Communist Party maintains that the class struggle is essentially a political struggle; that is, a struggle to conquer the power of the State.

(a) The Communist Party shall keep in the foreground its consistent appeal for proletarian revolution, the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat. As the opposition of the bourgeoisie is broken, as it is expropriated and gradually absorbed in the working groups, the proletarian dictatorship disappears, until finally the State dies and there are no more class distinctions.

(b) Participation in parliamentary campaigns, which in the general struggle of the proletariat is of secondary importance, is for the purpose of revolutionary propaganda only.

(c) Parliamentary representatives of the Communist Party shall not introduce or support reform measures. Parliaments and political democracy shall be utilized to assist in organizing the working class against capitalism and the State. Parliamentary representatives shall consistently expose the oppressive class character of the capitalist state, using the legislative forum to interpret and emphasize the class struggle; they shall make clear how parliamentarism and parliamentary democracy deceive the workers; and they shall analyze capitalist legislative proposals and reform palliatives as evasions of the issue and as of no fundamental significance to the working class.

(d) Nominations for public office and participation in elections are limited to legislative bodies only, such as municipal councils, State legislatures, and the National Congress.

(e) The uncompromising character of the class struggle must be maintained under all circumstances. The Communist Party accordingly, in campaigns and elections, and in all its other activity, shall not cooperate with groups or par-

ties not committed to the revolutionary class struggle, such as the Socialist Party, Labor Party, non-Partisan League, People's Council, Municipal Ownership Leagues, etc.

II. The Communist Party shall make the great industrial struggle of the working class its major campaigns, in order to develop an understanding of the strike in relation to the overthrow of capitalism.

(a) The Communist Party shall participate in mass strikes, not only to achieve the immediate purposes of the strike, but to develop the revolutionary implications of the mass strike.

(b) Mass strikes are vital factors in the process out of which develops the workers' understanding and action for the conquest of power.

(c) In mass strikes under conditions of concentrated capitalism there is latent the tendency toward the general mass strike, which takes on a political character and manifests the impulse toward proletarian dictatorship.

In these general mass strikes the Communist Party shall emphasize the necessity of maintaining industry and the taking over of social functions usually discharged by the capitalists and the institutions of capitalism. The strike must cease being isolated and passive; it must become positive, general, and aggressive, preparing the workers for the complete assumption of industrial and social control.

(a) Every local and district organization of the party shall establish contact with industrial units in its territory, the shops, mills, and mines—and direct its agitation accordingly.

(b) Shop committees shall be organized wherever possible for the purpose of communist agitation in a particular shop or industry by the workers employed there. These committees shall be united with each other and with the Communist Party, so that the party shall have actual contact with the workers and mobilize them for action against capitalism.

III. The Communist Party must engage actively in the struggle to revolutionize the trade-unions. As against the unionism of the American Federation of Labor, the Communist Party propagandizes industrial unionism and industrial union organization, emphasizing their revolutionary implications. Industrial unionism is not simply a means for the everyday struggle against capitalism; its ultimate purpose is revolutionary, implying the necessity of ending the capitalist parliamentary state. Industrial unionism is a factor in the final mass action for the conquest of power, as it will constitute the basis for the industrial administration of the communist commonwealth.

(a) The Communist Party recognizes that the A. F. of L. is reactionary and a bulwark of capitalism.

(b) Councils of workers shall be organized in the shops as circumstances allow for the purpose of carrying on the industrial union struggle in the old unions, uniting and mobilizing the militant elements; these councils to be unified in a central council wherever possible.

(c) It shall be a major task of the Communist Party to agitate for the construction of a general industrial union organization embracing the I. W. W., W. I. I. U., independent and secession unions, militant unions of the A. F. of L., and the unorganized workers on the basis of the revolutionary class struggle.

IV. The Communist Party shall encourage movements of the workers in the shops seeking to realize workers' control of industry, while indicating their limitations under capitalism; concretely, any movement analogous to the Shop Stewards of England. These movements (equally directed against the union bureaucracy) should be related to the Communist Party.

V. The unorganized unskilled workers (including the agricultural proletariat) constitute the bulk of the working class. The Communist Party shall directly and systematically agitate among these workers, awakening them to industrial union organization and action.

VI. In close connection with the unskilled workers is the problem of the Negro worker. The Negro problem is a political and economic problem. The racial oppression of the Negro is simply the expression of his economic bondage and oppression, each intensifying the other. This complicates the Negro problem, but does not alter its proletarian character. The Communist Party will carry on agitation among the Negro workers to unite them with all class-conscious workers.

VII. The United States is developing an aggressive militarism. The Communist Party will wage the struggle against militarism as a phase of the class struggle to hasten the downfall of capitalism.

VIII. The struggle against imperialism, necessarily an international struggle, is the basis of proletarian revolutionary action in this epoch.

(a) There must be close unity with the Communist International for common action against the Imperialism.

(b) The Communist Party emphasizes the common character of the struggle of the workers of all nations, making necessary the solidarity of the workers of the world.

THE PARTY CONSTITUTION.

I. NAME AND PURPOSE.

SEC. 1. The name of this organization shall be the Communist Party of America. Its purpose shall be the education and organization of the working class for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the abolition of the capitalist system, and the establishment of the communist society.

II. EMBLEM.

SEC. 1. The emblem of the party shall be a button with the figure of the earth in the center in white with gold lines and a red flag across the face bearing the inscription, "All power to the workers"; around the figure of the earth a red margin shall appear with the words "The Communist Party of America" and "The Communist International" on this margin in white letters.

III. MEMBERSHIP.

SEC. 1. Every person who accepts the principles and tactics of the Communist Party and the Communist International and agrees to engage actively in the work of the party shall be eligible to membership. It is the aim of this organization to have in its ranks only those who participate actively in its work.

SEC. 2. Applicants for membership shall sign an application card reading as follows:

"The undersigned, after having read the constitution and program of the Communist Party, declares his adherence to the principles and tactics of the party and the Communist International; agrees to submit to the discipline of the party as stated in its constitution and pledges himself to engage actively in its work."

SEC. 3. Every member must join a duly constituted branch of the party. There shall be no members at large.

SEC. 4. All application cards must be endorsed by two persons who have been members for not less than three months.

SEC. 5. Applications for membership shall not be finally acted upon until two months after presentation to the branch, and in the meantime applicant shall pay initiation fee and dues and shall attend meetings and classes. He shall have a voice and no vote. Provided that this rule shall not apply to the charter members of new branches nor to the members who make application to newly organized branches during the first month.

SEC. 6. No person who is a member or supporter of any other political organization shall be admitted to membership.

SEC. 7. No person who has an entire livelihood from rent, interest, or profit shall be eligible to membership in the Communist Party.

SEC. 8. No person shall be accepted as a member who enters into the service of the national, State or local governmental bodies otherwise than through the civil service or by legal compulsion.

Provided, that the civil employment by the Government is of a non-political character.

SEC. 9. No members of The Communist Party shall contribute articles or editorials of a political or economic character to publications other than those of the Communist Party or of parties affiliated with the Communist International. (This clause shall not be considered as prohibiting the contribution of articles written from an economic or scientific standpoint to scientific or professional journals. Permission to answer an attack upon the Communist Party in the bourgeois press may be granted by the central executive committee.)

IV. UNITS OF ORGANIZATIONS.

SEC. 1. The basic organization of the Communist Party shall be branches of not less than seven members. (Applicants for a charter shall fill out the form provided by the national organization.)

SEC. 2. Two or more branches located in the same city shall form a city central committee. City central committees may include branches in adjacent territory, subject to supervision of the central management of the party.

SEC. 3. City central committees and all other branches in the same State shall form State organizations. Provided, that under the control of the central executive committee more than one State may be included in a single district organization; and provided also that district organizations may be formed by the central executive committee along the lines of industrial rather than State divisions.

SEC. 4. Branches of the Communist Party made up of members who speak a foreign language, when there are ten or more of such branches, consisting of a total not less than 750 members, may form a language federation. Provided, that this rule shall not apply as to members of those federations affiliating with the party at the time of its organization or within four months thereafter. No more than one federation of the same language may exist in the party.

SEC. 5. All language branches shall join and become part of the federations of their language, if such a federation exists.

SEC. 6. All subsidiary units shall be combined in the Communist Party. Branches of the cities, States, districts and federations shall be units of the Communist Party.

V. ADMINISTRATION.

SEC. 1. The supreme administrative body of the Communist Party shall be the convention of the party.

SEC. 2. Between the meetings of the conventions the supreme body shall be the central executive committee elected by the convention. The central executive committee shall consist of 15 members. The convention shall also elect five alternates who shall take their places as members of the central executive committee in case of vacancies in the order of their vote.

SEC. 3. The central executive committee shall elect from its members a sub-committee of five members, who together with the executive secretary and the editor of the central organ of the party shall be known as the executive council. The members of the executive council shall live in the city in which the national headquarters are located or in adjacent cities. This executive council shall carry on the work of the party under the supervision of the central executive committee.

SEC. 4. The convention shall elect an executive secretary and the editor of the central organ of the party. All other officials shall be appointed by the central executive committee.

SEC. 5. The executive secretary and editor shall conduct their work under the direction of the central executive committee.

SEC. 6. The supreme administrative power of the State, district, federation, or city units shall be vested in the conventions of these respective units. Conventions of the State or district organization shall be held in May or June each year.

SEC. 7. Between conventions of the district, State, and federation the central executive committee of these organizations shall be the supreme bodies.

SEC. 8. The central executive committee of these organizations shall in each case be elected by the conventions, which shall also determine the number of members.

SEC. 9. The city central committees shall consist of delegates elected by the branches upon the basis of proportional representation. They shall meet at least once each month. The city central committees shall elect their executive committees and executive officers.

SEC. 10. Each federation shall elect a translator-secretary, who shall have an office in the national headquarters and whose salary shall be paid by the national organization. Translator-secretaries are the representatives of their organizations in the national headquarters, and shall serve as mediums of communication. They shall submit monthly to the executive secretary and the State and district organizations a statement showing all the dues stamps sold during the previous month. Translator-secretaries shall not be eligible to membership in the central executive committee but shall meet with the committee and the executive council and have a voice but no vote.

VI. DUES.

SECTION 1. Each applicant for membership shall pay an initiation fee of 50 cents, which shall be accepted for by an initiation stamp furnished by the na-

tional organization. The 50 cents shall be divided between the branch and city central committee. Where there is no city central committee its share shall be paid to the State or district organization.

SEC. 2. Each member shall pay 40 cents per month in dues. Stamps shall be sold to the State or district organization at 15 cents; State or district organizations shall sell stamps to the city central committees and branches in cases where there are no city committees at 25 cents; city central committees shall sell stamps to branches at 30 cents.

SEC. 3. Branches of language federation shall purchase their dues stamps through their federations. Translator-secretaries shall pay 10 cents per stamp to the national organization and shall remit to each State or district organization 10 cents for each stamp sold each month. Where a city central committee exists the State or district organization shall remit 5 cents of this amount to the city central committee. Members of language federation branches pay 40 cents per stamp, 10 cents going to the branch and 10 cents to the federation.

SEC. 4. Special assessment may be levied by the national organization, federations, or the central executive committee. No member shall be considered in good standing unless he purchased such special assessment stamps.

SEC. 5. Husband and wife belonging to the same branch may purchase dual stamps, which shall be sold at the same price as the regular stamps. Special assessments must be paid by both husband and wife.

SEC. 6. Member unable to pay dues on account of unemployment, strikes, sickness, or for similar reasons shall, upon application to their financial secretary, be furnished exempt stamps. Provided that no State or district organization or federation shall be allowed exempt stamps in a proportion greater than 5 per cent of its monthly purchase of regular stamps.

SEC. 7. Members who are three months in arrears in payment of their dues shall cease to be members of the party in good standing. Members who are six months in arrears shall be stricken from the rolls. No member shall pay dues in advance for a period of more than three months.

VII. DISCIPLINE.

SECTION 1. All decisions of the governing bodies of the party shall be binding upon the membership and subordinate units of the organizations.

SEC. 2. Any member or organization violating the decisions of the party shall be subject to expulsion by the organization which has jurisdiction. Charges against members shall be made before branches, subject to appeal by either side to the city central committee or State or district organization where there is no city central committee. Charges against the branches shall be made before the city central committee, or where there is no city central committee, before the State or district organization. Decisions of the city central committee in the case of branches shall be subject to revision by the State or district organization. Charges against State or district organizations shall be made before the central executive committee. When a city central committee expels a federation branch, the branch shall have the right to present its case to the central executive committee of the federation. If the central executive committee of the federation decides to that effect it may bring an appeal for reinstatement before the central executive committee of the party, which shall make final disposition of the matter.

SEC. 3. Members and branches of the federation shall be subject to the discipline of the federation. Branches expelled by the federation shall have the right to appeal to the city central committee, or, when there is no city central committee, to the State or district organization. If the city central committee or the State or district organization does not uphold the expulsion the matter shall be referred to the central committee upon documentary evidence, and if the decision of the city central committee or State or district organization is upheld, the branch shall be reinstated as a branch of the federation.

SEC. 4. Each unit of the party organization shall restrict its activities to the territory it represents.

SEC. 5. A member who desires to transfer his membership to another branch shall secure a transfer card from the financial secretary of his branch. No branch shall receive a member from another branch without such a transferral card, and upon presentation of the transfer card the secretary of the branch receiving the same shall make inquiry about the standing of the member to the secretary issuing the card.

SEC. 6. All party units shall use uniform application cards, dues books, and accounting records, which shall be printed by the national organization.

SEC. 7. All employees of the party must be party members.

VIII. HEADQUARTERS.

SECTION 1. The national headquarters of the party shall be located in Chicago. In an emergency, district or State office may be used as the national headquarters.

IX. QUALIFICATIONS.

SECTION 1. Members of the central executive committee, the executive secretary, editor, international delegates and international secretary and all candidates for political office must have been members of the party for two years at the time of their election or nomination. Those shall be eligible in election to party offices or nomination to public office on June 1, 1920, who join the Communist Party before January 1, 1920. All who state their intention of joining the Communist Party shall be eligible at this convention.

X. CONVENTIONS.

SECTION 1. National conventions shall be held annually during the month of June, the specific date and place to be determined by the central executive committee. The central executive committee may call emergency conventions, and such conventions may also be called by referendum vote.

SEC. 2. Representation at the national convention shall be upon the basis of one delegate for each 500 members or major fraction thereof: *Provided*, That when the number of delegates would exceed a total of 200 the central executive committee shall increase the basis of representation so that the number of delegates shall not exceed that figure.

SEC. 3. Delegates shall be apportioned to the State or district organizations on the basis of one delegate for each such organization, and the apportionment of the balance on the basis of the average membership for the six months prior to the issue of the call for the convention. Delegates shall be elected at the convention of the State or district organization.

SEC. 5. Delegates to the national convention shall be paid their traveling expenses and a per diem of \$5.

SEC. 6. The call for the convention and the apportionment of delegates shall be published not later than April 1.

XI. REFERENDUM AND RECALL.

SECTION 1. Referendums on the question of party platform policy or constitution shall be held upon the petition of 25 or more branches representing 5 per cent of the membership; 2) or by initiative of the central executive committee; 3) or by initiative of the national convention.

SEC. 2. All officers of the national organization or those elected to public office shall be subject to recall upon initiative petition of 25 or more branches, representing 5 per cent of the membership. A recall vote of the membership may also be initiated by the central executive committee.

SEC. 3. Each motion and resolution shall be printed in the official bulletin and remain open for 90 days from the date of first publication, and if it has then not received the requisite number of seconds it shall be abandoned. The vote on each referendum shall close 60 days after its submission.

SEC. 4. Referendums shall be submitted without preamble or comment, but the party press shall be open for discussion of the question involved during the time the referendum is pending.

XII. INTERNATIONAL DELEGATE AND SECRETARY.

SECTION 1. Delegates to the international congress and alternates and an international secretary and alternate shall be elected by the convention.

SCHEDULE.

Any branch of the Socialist Party or Socialist Labor Party which indorses the program and constitution of the Communist Party and applies for a charter before January 1, 1920, shall be accepted as a branch.

The provisions of article III, section 4, shall not be enforced until after December 1, 1919, except as to the two signatures.

RECOMMENDATION.

That this convention authorize the secretary immediately to issue a special organization stamp, to sell at 50 cents, to create a fund for the organization of the party.

REPORT OF LOUIS C. FRAINA, INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA, TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

As international secretary, I make application for admission of the Communist Party of America to the bureau of the communist international as a major party.

The Communist Party, organized September 1, 1919, with approximately 55,000 members, issues directly out of a split in the old Socialist Party. The new party represents more than half the membership of the old party.

1. SOCIALIST PARTY, SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY, I. W. W.

The Socialist Party was organized in 1901, of a merger of two elements: (1) Seceders from the Socialist Labor Party, like Morris Hillquit, who split away in 1899 largely because of the S. L. P.'s uncompromising endeavors to revolutionize the trades unions; (2) the Social Democratic Party of Wisconsin, a purely middle-class liberal party tinged with socialism, of which Victor L. Berger was representative.

The Socialist Labor Party, organized definitely in 1890, acted on the basis of the uncompromising proletarian class struggle. Appearing at a period when class relations were still in state of flux, when the ideology of independence, created by the free lands of the West, still persisted among the workers, the Socialist Labor Party emphasized the class struggle and the class character of the proletarian movement. Realizing the peculiar problems of the American movement, the Socialist Labor Party initiated a consistent campaign for revolutionary unionism and against the dominant craft unionism of the American Federation of Labor, which, representing the skilled workers—"aristocracy of labor"—sabotaged every radical impulse of the working class. The S. L. P. was a party of revolutionary socialism, against which opportunist elements revolted.

The Spanish-American War was an immature expression of American imperialism, initiated by the requirements of monopolistic capitalism. A movement of protest developed in the middle class which, uniting with the previous impulses of petty bourgeois and agrarian radicalism, expressed itself in a campaign of anti-imperialism. There was a general revival of the ideology of liberal democracy. The Socialist Party expressed one phase of this liberal development; it adopted fundamentally a nonclass policy, directing its appeal to the middle class, to the farmers, to every temporary sentiment of discontent, for a program of Government ownership of the trusts. The Socialist Party particularly discouraged all action for revolutionary unionism, becoming a bulwark of the Gompertzized American Federation of Labor and its reactionary officials, "the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class." The typical party of opportunist socialism considered strikes and unions as of minor and transitory importance, instead of developing their revolutionary implications; parliamentarism was considered the important thing, legislative reforms and the use of the bourgeois state the means equally for waging the class struggle and for establishing the Socialist Republic. The Socialist Party was essentially a party of State capitalism, an expression of the dominant moderate socialism of the old international.

But industrial concentration proceeded feverishly, developing monopoly and the typical conditions of imperialism. Congress—parliamentarism—assumed an aspect of futility as imperialism developed and the Federal Government became a centralized autocracy. The industrial proletariat, expropriated of skill by the machine process and concentrated in the basic industry, initiated new means of struggle. The general conditions of imperialistic capitalism developed new tactical concepts—mass action in Europe and industrial unionism in the United States, the necessity for extraparlimentary means to conquer the power of the State.

The old craft unionism was more and more incapable of struggling successfully against concentrated capitalism. Out of this general situation arose the Industrial Workers of the World, organized in 1905—an event of the greatest revolutionary importance. The I. W. W. indicted craft unionism as reactionary and not in accord with the concentration of industry, which wipes out differences of skill and craft. The I. W. W. urged industrial unionism; that is to say, a unionism organized according to industrial division; all workers in one industry, regardless of particular crafts, to unite in one union; and all industrial unions to unite in the general organization, thereby paralleling the industrial structure of modern capitalism. Industrial unionism was urged not simply for the immediate struggle of the workers, but as the revolutionary means for the workers to assume control of industry.

Previous movements of revolutionary unionism, such as the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance and the American Labor Union, united in the I. W. W. The Socialist Labor Party was a vital factor in the organization of the I. W. W., Daniel De Leon formulating the theoretical concepts of industrial unionism. Industrial unionism and the conception of overthrowing the parliamentary state, substituting it with an industrial administration based upon the industrial unions, was related by De Leon to the general theory of Marxism.

The Socialist Party repeatedly rejected resolutions indorsing the I. W. W. and industrial unionism, although supporting I. W. W. strikes by money and publicity. The Socialist Party supported the A. F. of L. and craft unionism, rejecting the revolutionary implications of industrial unionism—the necessity of extraparlimentary action to conquer the power of the State.

After the panic of 1907, there was an awakening of the American proletariat. New and more proletarian elements joined the Socialist Party. Industrial unionism developed an enormous impetus, and violent tactical disputes arose in the party, particularly in the Northwest, where the new unionism was a vital factor. These disputes came to a climax at the Socialist Party convention of 1912. The tactical issue of industrial unionism was comprised in the problem of whether parliamentarism alone constituted political action, whether parliamentarism alone could accomplish the revolution or whether extraparlimentary means were indispensable for the conquest of political power. The Socialist Party convention, by a large majority, emasculated the Marxian conception of political action, limiting it to parliamentarism; an amendment to the party constitution defined political action as "participation in elections for public office and practical legislative and administrative work along the lines of the Socialist Party platform." That year the Socialist Party, by means of a petty bourgeois liberal campaign, polled more than 900,000 votes for its presidential candidate, but the thousands of militant proletarians seceded from the party in disgust at the rejection of revolutionary industrial unionism, while William D. Haywood, representative of the industrialists in the party, was recalled on referendum vote as a member of the national executive committee.

The organization of the Progressive Party in 1912 made "progressivism" a political issue. The Socialist Party adapted itself to this "progressivism." But this progressivism was the last flickering expression of radical democracy; Theodore Roosevelt harnessed progressivism to imperialism and State capitalism. A new social alignment arose, requiring new Socialist tactics.

2. THE WAR, THE SOCIALIST PARTY, AND THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION.

After 1912 the party officially proceeded on its peaceful, petty, bourgeois way. Then—the war, and the collapse of the International. The official representatives of the Socialist Party either justified the betrayal of socialism in Europe, or else were acquiescently silent while issuing liberal appeals to "humanity."

As the war continued and the betrayal of socialism became more apparent, and particularly as the American comrades learned of the revolutionary minority elements in the European movement, there was a revolutionary awakening in the Socialist Party, strengthened by new accessions of proletarian elements to the party. The first organized expression of this awakening was the formation of the Socialist Propaganda League, in Boston, in 1916, issuing a weekly organ which afterwards became *The New International*, with Louis C. Fraña as editor and S. J. Rutgers as associate. The league emphasized the necessity of new proletarian tactics in the epoch of imperialism. In April, 1917, was started *The Class Struggle*, a magazine devoted to international socialism. In the State of Michigan the antireformists captured the Socialist

Party and carried on a nonreformist agitation, particularly in The Proletarian.

The enormous exports of war munitions, the development of large reserves of surplus capital, and the assumption of a position of world power financially by American capitalism forced the United States into the war. There was an immediate revolutionary upsurge in the Socialist Party. The St. Louis convention of the party, in April, 1917, adopted a militant declaration against the war, forced upon a reluctant bureaucracy by the revolutionary membership. But this bureaucracy sabotaged the declaration. It adopted a policy of petty bourgeois pacifism, uniting with the Liberal People's Council, which subsequently accepted President Wilson's "14 points" as its own program. Moreover, there was a minority on the national executive committee in favor of the war; in August, 1918, the vote in the N. E. C. stood 4 to 4 on repudiation of the St. Louis declaration. The Socialist Party's only representative in Congress, Meyer London, openly supported the war, and flouted the party's declaration against the war; but he was neither disciplined nor expelled; in fact, secured a renomination. Morris Hillquit accepted the declaration against the war, but converted it into bourgeois pacifism, being a prominent member of the People's Council. In reply to a question whether, if a Member of Congress, he would have voted in favor of war, Hillquit answered (The New Republic, Dec. 1, 1917): "If I had believed that our participation would shorten the World War and force a better, more democratic and more durable peace, I should have favored the measure, regardless of the cost and sacrifices of America. My opposition to our entry into the war was based upon the conviction that it would prolong the disastrous conflict without compensating gains to humanity." This was a complete abandonment of the class struggle and the Socialist conception of war. The war was a test of the Socialist Party, and proved it officially a party of vicious centrism.

The Russian revolution was another test of the party. Officially, the Socialist Party was for the Menshevik policy and enthusiastic about Kerensky; while the New York Call, Socialist Party daily newspaper in New York City, editorially characterized Comrade Lenin and the Bolsheviks, in June, 1917, as "anarchists." The party officially was silent about the November revolution; it was silent about the Soviet Government's proposal for an armistice on all fronts, although the national executive committee of the party met in December and should have acted vigorously, mobilizing the party for the armistice. But the revolutionary membership responded, its enthusiasm for the Bolshevik revolution being magnificent. This enthusiasm forced the party representatives to speak in favor of the Bolsheviks, but always in general terms capable of "interpretation." After the Brest-Litovsk peace there was a sentiment among the party representatives for war against Germany "to save the Russian Revolution."

The Socialist Party carried on an active campaign against intervention in Russia. However, this campaign did not emphasize the revolutionary implications of the situation in Russia, as making mandatory the reconstruction of the Socialist movement. A campaign against intervention must proceed as a phase of the general campaign to develop revolutionary proletarian action.

3 THE LEFT WING DEVELOPS.

During 1918 the Socialist Party was in ferment. The membership was more and more coming to think in revolutionary terms. Then came the armistice and the German revolution. The response was immediate. On November 7, 1918, a Communist propaganda league was organized in Chicago. On November 9 local Boston, Socialist Party, started to issue an agitational paper, The Revolutionary Age. This paper immediately issued a call to the party for the adoption of revolutionary communist tactics, emphasizing that the emergence of the proletariat into the epoch of the world revolution made absolutely imperative the reconstruction of socialism. In New York City in February, 1919, there was organized the left wing section of the Socialist Party. Its left wing manifesto and program was adopted by local after local of the Socialist Party, the left wing acquiring a definite expression. The left wing secured the immediate adhesion of the Lettish, Russian, Lithuanian, Polish, Ukrainian, South Slavic, Hungarian, and Estonian federations of the party, representing about 25,000 members. The official organs of the federation did splendid work for the left wing.

In January, 1919, the national executive committee of the Socialist Party decided to send delegates to the Berne congress of the great betrayal. This action was characteristic of the social patriot and centrist bent of the party administration. There was an immediate protest from the membership, the left wing using the Berne congress as again emphasizing the necessity for the revolutionary reconstruction of socialism. In March we received a copy of the call issued by the Communist Party of Russia for an international congress to organize a new international. The Revolutionary Age was the first to print the call, yielding it immediate adhesion; while the left wing section of New York City transmitted credentials to S. J. Rutgers to represent it at the congress. Local Boston initiated a motion for a referendum to affiliate the party with the third international; this was thrown out by the national administration of the party on a technicality; but after much delay another local succeeded in securing a referendum. (The vote was overwhelmingly in favor of the third international.)

The left wing was now, although still without a definite organization, a formidable power in the Socialist Party. Previously all revolts in the party were isolated or consisted purely of theoretical criticism; now there was this theoretical criticism united with a developing organization expression. There was not as yet any general conception of the organization of a new party; it was a struggle for power within the Socialist Party.

About this time the call for the new Socialist Party elections was issued. The left wing decided upon its own candidates. The elections constituted an overwhelming victory for the left wing. The national administration of the Socialist Party, realizing the impending disaster, decided upon desperate measures. Branch after branch and local after local of the party, which had adopted the left wing manifesto and program, was expelled. Morris Hillquit issued a declaration that the breach in the party had become irreconcilable, and that the only solution was to split, each faction organizing its own party. At first the expulsions were on a small scale; then, the danger becoming more acute, the national administration of the party acted. The national executive committee met in May determined to "purge" the party of the left wing. The N. E. C. was brutal and direct in its means; it refused to recognize the results of the elections, declaring them illegal because of "frauds." It issued a call for an emergency national convention on August 30, which was to decide the validity of the elections, meanwhile appointing an "investigating committee." But in order to insure that the convention would "act right," the N. E. C. suspended from the party the Russian Ukrainian, Polish, Hungarian, South Slavic, Lettish, and Lithuanian federations, and the Socialistic Party of Michigan State. In all, the N. E. C. suspended 40,000 members from the party—a deliberate, brazen move to control the election of delegates to the convention.

The charge of "fraud" was an easily detected camouflage. The elections were so overwhelmingly in favor of the left wing candidates as to prove the charge of fraud itself a fraud. For international delegates the vote was (excluding three States, where the returns were suppressed, but which would not alter the results), left-wing candidates: John Reed, 17,235; Louis C. Fraina, 14,124; C. E. Ruthenberg, 10,773; A. Wagenknecht, 10,650; I. E. Ferguson, 6,490. Right-wing candidates: Victor L. Berger, 4,871; Seymour Stedman, 4,729; Adolph Germer, 4,622; Oscar Ameringer, 3,184; J. L. Engdahl, 3,510; John M. Work, 2,664; A. I. Shiplacoff, 2,346; James O'neal, 1,895; Algernon Lee, 1,858. Louis B. Boudin, who was prowar and against the bolshevik revolution, secured 1,537 votes. The left wing elected 12 out of 15 members of the national executive committee. The moderates who had been dominant in the Socialist Party were overwhelmingly repudiated. Kate Richards O'Hare (supported by the left wing, although not its candidate) defeated Hillquit for international secretary, 13,262 to 4,775.

The N. E. C., after these desperate acts and after refusing to make public the vote on the referendum to affiliate with the Communist International, decided to retain office until the convention of August 30, although constitutionally it should have retired on June 30.

The issue was now definite. No compromise was conceivable. Events were directly making for a split and the organization of a new party. The old guard was concerned with retaining control of the Socialist Party organization, even is minus the bulk of the membership; the left wing was concerned with the principles and tactics.

5. THE NATIONAL LEFT WING CONFERENCE AND AFTER.

Just prior to the session of the national executive committee, Local Boston, Local Cleveland and the Left Wing Section of the Socialist Party of New York City, issued a call for a National Left Wing conference, which met in New York City on June 21. The conference was composed of 94 delegates representing 20 States, and coming overwhelmingly from the large industrial centers, the heart of the militant proletarian movement.

There was a difference of opinion in the conference as to whether a Communist Party should be organized immediately, or whether the struggle should be carried on within the Socialist Party until the emergency convention August 30. The proposal to organize a new party immediately was defeated, 55 to 38. Thereupon 31 delegates, consisting mostly of the federation comrades and the delegates of the Socialist Party of Michigan, determined to withdraw from the conference. The majority in the conference decided to participate in the Socialist Party emergency convention, all expelled and suspended locals to send contesting delegates; but issued a call for a convention September 1 "of all revolutionary elements" to organize a Communist Party together with delegates seceding from the Socialist Party convention.

One important thing was accomplished by the Left Wing conference—it made definite the issue of a new party which until that moment was very indefinite. The minority in the conference emphasized the inexorable necessity for the organization of a new party. This was in the minds of practically all, but it now became a definite conviction. There were centrists in the conference who still felt that the old party could be captured, who recoiled from a split, and these voted with the majority to go to the Socialist Party convention; but the majority in the majority was convinced of the necessity for a new party, differing with the minority of 31 simply on the right procedure to pursue.

After the conference the minority of 31 issued a call for a convention on September 1 to organize a communist party, repudiating all participation in the Socialist Party convention.

In the course of its development the left wing, while communist in its impulse, had attracted elements not all communist. There were conscious centrists, comrades who had for years been waging a struggle for administration control of the party and comrades who were disgusted with the gangster tactics pursued by the old guard in control of the party administration. The situation now began to clarify itself—right wing, center, left wing.

The important factor in this situation was the division in the organized left wing—the national council, elected by the left wing conference, and the minority which had organized a national organization committee and issued its own call for a Communist Party convention. This constituted more than a split in the left wing. It was a split of the conscious communist element in the left wing. The division, if persisted in, meant disaster. Unity was necessary—not simply organization unity, which at particular moments must be dispensed with, but revolutionary unity. This unity was accomplished by agreement for the merger of the two factions on the basis of a joint call for a Communist Party convention on September 1.

The overwhelming majority of the organizations and delegates represented at the left wing conference accepted the joint call.

The left wing had found itself, unified itself, determined upon the organization of a real Communist Party.

5. THE CONVENTIONS AND REVOLUTIONARY RECONSTRUCTION.

The Socialist Party convention met on August 30. The repudiated national executive committee manipulated the roster of delegates to insure Right Wing control, dozens of delegates suspected of sympathy for the Left Wing being contested and refused admission to the convention. The police was used against these delegates—an indication of the potential Noske-Scheidemann character of the old guard of the Socialist Party. The Left Wing was stigmatized as anarchistic, as consisting of foreigners, as an expression of emotional hysteria. The Socialist Party convention was ruthlessly dominated by the Right Wing, which used the camouflage of greetings to Soviet Russia and words about the "revolution." It did not adopt a new program in accord with the new tactical requirements of socialism, avoiding all fundamental problems. The Socialist Party convention adopted a resolution calling for an "international congress"

to organize the "Third International," to include the Communist Party of Russia and of Germany, but ignoring the existing Communist International! A minority resolution to affiliate with the Communist International was decisively defeated. The two resolutions are submitted to referendum vote. (There is a group still in the Socialist Party styling itself "Left Wing" which is unscrupulously trying to garner sentiment for the Communist International to revitalize the old party.) The Socialist Party now represents about 25,000 members.

The delegates refused admission to the Socialist Party convention proceeded to organize their own convention, the first act of which was to proclaim itself the "legal convention" of the Socialist Party—a beautiful centrist twist! These delegates organized themselves as the Communist Labor Party. This was on Sunday, August 31.

On Monday the Communist Party convention met, with 140 delegates, representing approximately 58,000 members.

A committee of five from the "left wing" convention met with a committee of the Communist Party to discuss unity. The Communist Labor Party offered unity "on a basis of equality"—that is, to combine the two conventions as units, delegate for delegate. This the Communist Party rejected. The delegates in the Communist Labor Party convention were a peculiar mixture, some of them openly repudiating the left wing principles and tactics, others notorious centrists. The Communist Party committee proposed that all delegates at the Communist Labor convention having instructions to participate in the Communist Party convention (about 20) should come in as regular delegates, while delegates whose organizations had adopted the left wing manifesto and program but who were not instructed to organize a Communist Party (about 20) would be admitted as fraternal delegates. The other delegates, representing an unknown constituency or no membership at all, who were simply disgruntled at the old guard for its gangster tactics, could not be allowed to participate in the organization of a Communist Party.

The Communist Labor Party convention refused this offer and proceeded to organize a permanent party. The delegates organizing the Communist Labor Party represented not more than 10,000 members, many of whom are now joining the Communist Party.

This third party adventure was the result of a number of factors—personal politics, centrism, and the fact that communist elements from the Western States had not been in close touch with the more rapid developments in the East.

Having consciously organized a third party, the Communist Labor Party is now making "unity" its major campaign. The former left wing organizations are almost entirely accepting the Communist Party, achieving unity through membership action. One word more: The Communist Labor Party speaks much of "an American communist movement" and fights our party on the issue of "federation control." This is malicious. There has been one disagreement with the federation comrades. Concerning this, it might be said that the federation comrades may have been too precipitate and the American comrades too hesitant. But the federation comrades have worked earnestly for an uncompromising Communist Party. In any event, if the federations offer any problem, it is a problem of internal party struggle and action. The sincerity of the federation comrades, all other considerations aside, is attested by their yielding administrative power to the nonfederation comrades.

The Communist Party manifesto is a consistent formulation of communist fundamentals; its program a realistic application of these fundamentals to the immediate problems of the proletarian struggle; its constitution based upon rigorous party centralization and discipline, without which a Communist Party builds upon sand.

6. THE GENERAL SITUATION.

The Communist Party appears at a moment of profound proletarian unrest. There has been strike after strike, developing larger and more aggressive character. There is now a strike of more than 300,000 workers in the steel industry, a really terrific portent to American capitalism.

There is a revolutionary upsurge in the old unions; the longshoremen of Seattle have just refused to allow munitions for Kolchak & Co. to be transported. There is a strong sentiment in favor of the Russian Soviet Republic. In the unions the workers are becoming conscious of the reactionary character of their officials, and movements of protest and a sentiment for industrial unionism are developing.

But the American Federation of Labor, as a whole, is hopelessly reactionary. At its recent convention the A. F. of L. approved the Versailles peace treaty and the League of Nations, and refused to declare its solidarity with Soviet Russia. It did not even protest the blockade of Russia and Hungary. This convention, moreover, did all in its power to break radical unions. The A. F. of L. is united with the government, securing a privileged status in the governing system of State capitalism. A labor party is being organized—much more conservative than the British Labor Party.

The Industrial Workers of the World is waging an aggressive campaign of organization. It has decided to affiliate with the Communist International; but its press and spokesmen show no understanding of communist tactics. The I. W. W. still clings to its old concepts of organizing all the workers industrially, gradually "growing into" the new society, as the only means of achieving the revolution—a conception as utopian as that of the moderate socialist, who proposes to "grow into" socialism by transforming the bourgeois state. The Communist Party indorses the I. W. W. as a revolutionary mass movement, while criticizing its theoretical shortcomings.

Imperialism is now consciously dominant in the United States. In his recent tour for the League of Nations President Wilson threw off the mask and spoke in plain imperialistic terms, emphasizing the absolute necessity of crushing Soviet Russia. Congress drifts, and is impotent. The Government, Federal and local, is adopting the most repressive measures against the proletariat. Armed force, martial law, and military invasion are used against strikes. State after State has adopted "criminal syndicalism" measures, making almost any advocacy of militant proletarian tactics a crime. On the least pretext agitators are arrested. Deportations occur almost daily; one of our international delegates, A. Stoklitsky, is now under trial for deportation.

American imperialism is usurping world power, constituting the very heart of international reaction. Reaction in Europe and the campaign against Soviet Russia are supported morally and financially by "our" government. An enormous agitation is being waged for military intervention in Mexico. The American capitalist class is brutal, unscrupulous, powerful; it controls enormous reserves of financial, industrial, and military power; it is determined to use this power to conquer world supremacy and to crush the revolutionary proletariat.

The Communist Party realizes the immensity of its task; it realizes that the final struggle of the Communist proletariat will be waged in the United States, our conquest of power alone assuring the world Soviet Republic. Realizing all this, the Communist Party prepares for the struggle.

Long live the Communist International! Long live the world revolution!

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA.

The undersigned, after having read the constitution and program of the Communist Party, declares his adherence to the principles and tactics of the party and the Communist International; agrees to submit to the discipline of the party as stated in its constitution and pledges himself to engage actively in its work.

Name.....Occupation.....
Address.....City.....
Where employed.....
Indorsed by.....

Application must be indorsed by two members in good standing.

[Reverse side.]

RECORD.

Name of branch.....
Name of local.....

Article 3, section 5, of Communist Party constitution provides:

Application for membership shall not be finally acted upon until two months after presentation to the branch, and in the meantime applicant shall pay initiation fee and dues and shall attend meetings and classes. He shall have a

voice and no vote. Provided that this rule shall not apply to the charter members of new branches nor to the members who make application to newly organized branches during the first month.

Application presented to branch _____
 Application approved by branch _____
 _____ Sec.
 Address _____
 Approved by city central committee.
 Signed _____ Sec.
 Address _____

**COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA, AFFILIATED WITH THE COMMUNIST
INTERNATIONAL.**

State _____
 Local _____
 Branch _____

MEMBERSHIP CARD.

Name _____
 Address _____
 Admitted _____, 19____
 No. _____, Page _____

Address _____ Secretary.

Issued by authority of the Central Executive Committee Communist Party.

YEAR 19.....				YEAR 19.....			
Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.
May	June	July	Aug.	May	June	July	Aug.
Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
YEAR 19.....				SPECIAL STAMPS.			
Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.				
May	June	July	Aug.				
Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.				

TRANSFER RECORD.

Date admitted _____
 Date withdrawn _____
 Local _____
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 Secretary _____
 Date admitted _____
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Branch -----
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 Secretary -----

THE CAPITALISTS CHALLENGE YOU, WORKINGMEN.

Proclamation of the Communist Party of America :

Martial law has been declared in Gary, Ind.

Soldiers of the Regular Army, soldiers who have seen service overseas, who have waded through the blood of their fellows on the battle fields of Europe, as the capitalist press is gloatingly declaring, are now in control.

The army of occupation entered Gary fully equipped. Automatic rifles, hand grenades, machine guns, and heavier cannon, cannon that can clear 2 miles of a city street in a few minutes, as the officer in charge said—these are ready for use in Gary. And the soldiers wear trench helmets made by the workers of Gary!

Why are these soldiers there, workingmen of the United States? What has happened in the city of steel that requires this murderous equipment for the destruction of human lives?

The workingmen of Gary are engaged in a struggle against the capitalists. They have suffered long. Low wages, long hours of exhausting work in the heat of the steel ovens, life-sapping toil with no time for home life, this has been their lot.

At last they revolted. Risking suffering and hunger, risking the assault of the brutal bullets of the Steel Trust, who do not stop even at murder, they resorted to the strike to make their masters lighten the conditions of their toil. They organized their power and united dared challenge to a test of strength the industrial octopus which dominates the steel industry.

Gary is the city of steel. It was built by the order of the Steel Trust. The influence and control of the Steel Trust extends to every nook and corner of the life of the city. Its spies are everywhere. The local government is its tool and expresses its will. This Steel Trust municipal government forbade the workingmen to show their solidarity by parades and public meetings. It hoped by keeping the workers apart to break their spirit, to give encouragement to the few scabs who were working.

For two weeks the workers submitted. They permitted the Steel Trust government to trample underfoot the democratic rights which they had been so often assured were the heritage of the people of this country. They let the industrial masters demonstrate clearly that not "democracy" but iron-fisted autocracy was, for the workers, the aftermath of the war.

Then these workers broke into spontaneous protest. The mayor, the steel trust tool, had forbidden them to meet in public. He had forbidden them to parade through the streets. But they would meet and would parade.

They formed in line with 500 uniformed men, strikers all, at the head of the line, and marched through the heart of the city.

This mass action of the workers won. Their mass power conquered. The orders of the mayor became mere rags of paper. Ten thousand workers marched through the heart of the city and in place of upholding the orders of the mayor, the militia and police cleared the way for the strikers—became their servants because they were showing their power.

But capitalism was not done. The Steel Trust does not only have at its beck and call of the power of the local government, but the National Government, the State, is equally its servant. The workers had won the first skirmish through their mass power. They must be taught a lesson. They must be cowed and thrown back into their former position of abject slaves.

The orders went forth. Soon the long line of truck loads of regular soldiers were on their way to Gary. The men whom the workers had been told a short year ago were fighting their battle for democracy upon the bloodstained fields of Europe, and whom they had been urged to support by giving the last of their strength to the work of production, these men were coming to teach them "democracy." And with them came their instruments of murder, their

automatic rifles, their machine guns, the cannon that could clear a street 2 miles long in a few minutes, and the helmets that the workers of Gary had produced. Gary was to be shown how the Czar and Kaiser treated rebellious workmen.

The National Government, the capitalist State, had stepped in. The Steel Trust was in danger of being beaten. It might have to submit before the power of the workers. To save itself it brought into the field the instrument forged by the capitalists to uphold their system of exploitation and oppression, the State, which in spite of all of its democratic pretensions, is but the physical expression of the dictatorship of the capitalist class.

Workingmen of the United States, the capitalists are challenging you!

They are demonstrating before your very eyes that the governmental power is theirs, for use against you when you dare strike against the enslavement which they force upon you.

The homes of the workingmen of Gary are being raided, their meetings forbidden, their literature confiscated by the military régime which controls Gary. Martial law is supreme. The instruments to destroy the lives of the workers are ready.

Are you, workingmen of this country, going to submit meekly to the use of military invasion and force to break your strikes? Shall the iron heel rule unchallenged?

This is the hour to rouse the workers.

Gather in great mass meetings. Bring to the attention of the unenlightened workers the meaning of martial law at Gary. Show them that it is not enough to strike against low wages and bad working conditions but that the strike must be directed against capitalism.

The workers must capture the power of the State. They must wrest from the capitalists the means through which the capitalists' rule is maintained.

The answer to the dictatorship of the capitalists is the dictatorship of the workers.

YOUR SHOP.

It should be your shop (or your factory, your store, your mill, your mine, or your railroad), yours to work in, yours to produce in, yours to manage with the help of your fellow workers.

You spend most of your waking hours in the shop. The conditions under which you work and produce determine your life, your happiness.

If you and your fellow workers controlled the shop, determined the hours of labor, the working conditions, and apportioned the rewards for the services rendered, you would be able to create the conditions that would bring happiness to you. You would so arrange your work that you would not have your life sapped by long hours and bad working conditions, and so that the wealth you produced would be yours, yours to secure the enjoyment of good food, good clothing, a good home, and the opportunity for education and healthy recreation.

There is enough wealth produced to give these things to all who work. But the capitalists own the shops that should be yours. The capitalists make you work long hours under bad working conditions; they take from you as their profit the lion's share of what you produce.

They will do that as long as they own and control the shop. There is no hope as long as the shop is not yours.

Workingmen everywhere are learning this. The workingmen of Russia have shown the way. In Russia the shops, as well as all other means of production and distribution, belong to the workers.

The Russian workers organized their power. They created shop committees in every plant and united these in workers' councils. Thus they built up the means for united action. When the crisis came they were prepared to use their mass power. Before their mass power the government of the capitalists and land owners broke up and disappeared. The workers' councils became the organs of the working-class government. The workers controlled the state power, the police, the army.

Having taken from the capitalists the governmental power through which the capitalists maintain their control of the shop and the exploitation and oppression of the workers, the workers took control of the shops. The shop committees they elected took over the management. They told the capitalists that their days as autocrats, czars, and kaisers of industry were over. They

told them there would be no more robbery of the workers through paying them for only a part of what they produced. They told them that the shops now belonged to all the workers, and that they, the capitalists, would have to go work for a living.

And in Russia the workers are building the society that means happiness, for all, in spite of all the efforts of the capitalists of the world to overthrow their government and strike down their new economic system.

The workers everywhere are growing more and more dissatisfied with the capitalists' control of the shop in which they work and spend most of their lives. That is the meaning of the great strikes in England and of the great industrial struggles in this country.

But the workers must organize to secure control of the shops. The first step is to organize a shop committee in the shop in which you work.

Bring together all the enlightened workers who are ready to participate in the struggle to win control of the shop. Organize them in a Communist Party shop branch. This committee will carry on the work of agitation and education among the other workers. It will collect funds and secure papers and pamphlets for distribution in the shop.

The work of the committee will be to unite all the workers in the shop in a shop organization; machinists, carpenters, shipping clerks, workers of every trade, all must unite in the one workers' organization in their shop.

Workers, you must build up the organs of working-class power if you are to win your freedom. The shop organization is the basis for the organization of the mass power of the workers.

Prepare to take control of your shop, of your work, of your lives and happiness.

Organize and make it your shop.

[This is propaganda leaflet No. 3, issued by the Communist Party of America, 1219 Blue Island Avenue, Chicago, Ill.]

THE STATE—STRIKE BREAKER.

Proclamation by the Communist Party of America:

Workers, you have been told that the Government of the United States is a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people."

The communists have told you that it is a government "of the capitalists, by the capitalists, and for the capitalists."

The proof is before you.

The representatives of more than a half million coal miners met in convention in September. They discussed the wages and working conditions in the coal-mining industry. They found that the capitalists who owned the coal mines were making greater profits than ever, but that the increased cost of living had so reduced the buying power of the wages of the workers that they were barely getting enough for an existence.

The work of the miners is of a dangerous character. How often have you not read of the mine disasters which snuff out the lives of hundreds of miners, disasters which are due to the fact that the capitalists, in their greed for profits, refused to spend the money necessary to safeguard the lives of the workers? The work of the miners is health-destroying. They work down in the dark places under the earth, among dangerous gases, where there is no life-giving air and sunshine.

The miners said that there were enough miners to produce enough coal to supply all the needs of the country, if they were employed regularly, working 30 hours per week, in place of being kept idle part of the time. They said a 30-hour week in the dangerous, health-destroying places under the earth was enough. They demanded a 30-hour week.

The miners are strongly organized. All the workers in and about the mines are in the miners' union. The workers are not divided into crafts, but united in one industrial organization. They have power to enforce their demands upon the capitalists.

They made their demands upon the coal-mine owners. These capitalists, standing alone, had no power to resist the demands of the workers. The workers could close the mines and prevent capitalists from making profits. If they were sufficiently conscious of the way to free themselves from exploitation, they could even take over the mines and operate them, without paying profits to the capitalists.

But the capitalists have a weapon which they have forged to keep the workers in submission.

The capitalists called in the Government—the State.

All the power of the Government was mobilized to prevent the miners from securing wages that will enable them to live and the working hours which should prevail in the mining industry.

The President of the United States denounced the strike as “illegal.” He threatened the miners with the power of the Government of the United States if they insisted upon compelling the capitalists to grant their demands by going on strike. The Government has already secured an injunction to prevent the miners from using their own funds and the power of their organization to support the strike.

The Government of the United States, through its injunction, is seeking to starve the wives and children of the miners by preventing their organization from paying strike benefits. All the legal machinery of the Government is being used against the miners, and the Army, the soldiers, with their death-dealing instruments, are ready to prevent the miners from securing a living wage and the hours that should prevail in the mining industry.

The State has stepped in.

This it did in the steel strike. This it threatens to do if there is a railroad strike.

The State does not coerce the capitalists; it does not tell the capitalists they must yield to the demands of the miners in order to prevent the stoppage of the mining of coal. The State never coerces the capitalists; its legal machinery is never directed against the capitalist (except occasionally against minor groups or individuals in the interest of the whole capitalist class). Its army is never used to destroy the lives of the capitalists. The State coerces the workers. Its legal machinery is used to enforce the demands upon the workers. Its army is used to destroy the lives of the workers who dare demand a living wage and a little more sunshine and fresh air.

Workers rally to the support of the miners.

The capitalists are playing to establish an industrial slavery in which their rule will be even greater than in the past. To make strikes “illegal” and crush them with the power of the State is the first move.

The Government of the United States, which some workers have been fooled into believing is a Government “of the people, by the people, and for the people” in reality the Government “of the capitalists, by the capitalists, and for the capitalists.” It is the instrument through which industrial slavery is maintained.

The workers can not win their freedom, they can not win even a living wage and a little more sunshine and fresh air, while the capitalists control the power of the State.

The workers must conquer that power. They must make themselves the ruling class. They must establish in the place of the dictatorship of the capitalists the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Workers, rally to the support of the miners. Make their strike general. Unite for the struggle against industrial slavery. Take from the capitalists the power through which they seek to increase your slavery.

TO THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

DECLARATION OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AGAINST THE VERSAILLES PEACE.

The Governments which began the war of plunder five years ago are making an effort to end it now with a predatory peace. The English, French, and American capitalists represented in Versailles have given to representatives of the German capitalists the so-called peace terms. Versailles becomes a new Brest-Litovsk. Each one of the points of the Versailles peace is a noose to choke one or another nation.

The anger and vengeance of the imperialist bourgeoisie of the victorious coalition know no bounds. The famous organization of the “League of Nations” is being put into practice by the American-Anglo-French bourgeoisie against the will of all nations of Europe. The bourgeoisie of the Allied Powers is making an effort to cripple Germany. They are cutting off from Germany a whole series of territories; they are taking away the coal from Germany, and the bread; they wish to take away the merchant marine, also force Germany to pay indemnities of enormous quantity. The bourgeoisie of the Allied

Powers which in words fought against annexations of alien territory is now committing a series of terrible and cynical annexations. They are trading with the colonies which belonged to Germany as with cattle. The imperialists of the Allied Powers have armed themselves with knives and are slicing the flesh of Germany.

But the predatory terms of peace which are dictated to Germany, from Versailles are only one of the links in the chain of force used by the Allied Powers to imprison the world. At the same moment when these imperialists are trying to cripple and choke Germany, they are carrying on a murderous attack on the Soviet Republic of Hungary. (This attack temporarily, has succeeded.)

It is they, the French and English bourgeoisie, who are the main instigators of the Roumanian soldiers at present carrying their White Guard attack against our brethren—the Hungarian workers.

It is they, the representatives of the enlightened French and English "democracy," who are the instigators of those pogroms let loose upon Red Budapest. It is they who are inspiring the Russian Black Hundreds of Kolchak, Denikine, and Krasnov in their bloody war against the Russian workers and peasants.

It is they, the Anglo-French bourgeois, who have inspired the German White Guard, led by Noske, Ebert, and Scheidemann, to crush the Bavarian Soviet Republic. The imperialists of the Allied Powers put a direct preliminary condition to the Government of Scheidemann to crush the Soviet Power in Munich.

It is they, the Anglo-French bankers and generals, who are disarming the revolutionary soldiers in Bulgaria. It is they who are choking the mass movement of the peoples and the revolutionary spirit in Serbia and Slovakia.

International gendarmes—such are the Anglo-French and American imperialists, who claim to be the representatives of world "democracy."

All illusions are broken. The masks are thrown off. Those whom the long and terrible imperialistic war has not taught a lesson, these will have to be taught by that imperialistic peace with which the "humanitarians" of Versailles are trying to "enrich" the world. The governments which during the four and one-half years lied to their people about carrying on the war for "self-determination of nations," for "independence" of small peoples, for "freedom and culture," for "democracy"—these governments are now unmasked as arch-criminals, as the worst kind of slave drivers, showing mercy to none.

The fairy tale of the League of Nations is dying without having had a chance to flourish. After the Versailles peace terms it will be very difficult to catch many workers with the bait of the League of Nations. The League of Nations at whose cradle stands Clemenceau, the butcher, is unmasked before the whole world as a league of murderers, who are nailing to the cross the millions of the laboring masses of Europe.

The Versailles peace, with all its weight, is first of all laid upon the working class of Germany. If the Versailles peace should work at all, it would mean that the working class of Germany would be forced to moan under a double pressure of both its own bourgeois and the slave drivers of the other nations.

Needless to talk of the fact that the sympathy of the Communist International, the sympathy of the conscious workers of the whole world, is with the German working class. The worker communists of all countries will take the Versailles peace terms as a blow to the international proletariat, as an effort which can be only put down by the combined strength of the proletariat of all countries.

The present German Government, which in words protests against the Versailles peace, in fact aids the imperialists of the allied powers to realize their hellish purposes in relation to the German working class. The executioner Clemenceau has no truer servants in Germany than Scheidemann and Ebert. The Scheidemann and Ebert party from the first moment of the German revolution humbly danced to the tune of the imperialists of the allied powers. Under the direction of Clemenceau, Scheidemann and Ebert sent White Guard armies against Soviet Russia. In order to satisfy the imperialists of the allied powers, the Social Democrats under the leadership of Ebert and Scheidemann killed Carl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg and with fire and guns crushed the great movement of the German workers to realize soviet power. Fulfilling the directions of the London and Paris exchanges, the government of Scheidemann has killed already not less than 10,000 worker Communists of Germany. Each

time when the wave of the workers' movement in Germany rose especially high, prepared to wash away the government of traitor Social Democrats, Scheidemann and Ebert threatened the starved workers that if soviet power should come to Germany the Allies would refuse to give bread to German people.

The central committee of the Scheidemann Social Democratic party, in its appeal in connection with the Versailles peace, maintains that the Versailles "lesson" is the "best evidence of the correct position of the German social democracy on the question of defending the fatherland."

"Socialists of all lands, do you understand at last our way of acting at the time of war?" asks Scheidemann in his appeal.

Oh, hypocrites! Oh, cynics!

Two robbers in 1914 fell on the same prey. One of the robbers proved the more successful. This criminal not only grabbed the whole prey which his competitor wanted, but went into the pocket of his rival. Then the other thief, made benefactor through want and having on his face the expression of innocence, appeals to the world and exclaims, "You see the conduct of my rival has shown the entire righteousness of my tactics. Is it possible that you do not yet understand that we, Scheidemanns, are whiter than the snow of the English mountains?"

The Versailles peace terms have proven to all conscious workers something altogether different. The enlightened workers of the whole world fully realize that if the German imperialists had been the victors they would have been as unmerciful to the defeated as their rivals are now to them. And then most likely the Hendersons and Renaudels would use the same lying phrases as now Scheidemann and Noske are using.

The Versailles peace terms show us that while imperialism exists in any country, until then force and robbery will also exist. The Versailles peace terms show that imperialism of any coalition is equally bloodthirsty. No matter how "democratic" the leaves which they use for covering imperialism, it remains the incarnation of barbarism and blood lust.

The Versailles peace terms have shown us that social patriots of all lands have permanently and forever become the servants of the bourgeois. The Versailles peace terms show how meaningless are the hopes of the sympathizers of the Berne yellow "International," of Kautsky and his friends, about the disarmament under capitalism, about the good and beneficent League of Nations under the wing of Wilson. The Versailles peace terms have shown that the bourgeois itself left for the workers of all lands only one road—the road of world revolution, the road across the corpse of capitalism.

Workers of France! Workers of England! Workers of America! Workers of Italy! The Communist International appeals to you. Upon you depends the destiny of tens of millions of workers of Austria and Germany. You must say your word now. You must pull out of the bloody hands of your Government that murderous knife which they have put over the heads of the German and Austrian workers. You must show that for you the lessons of the five-year war have not been in vain. You must not forget for a moment that the victory of the allied imperialists over the German and Austrian workers means a victory of the whole world, a victory over socialism. You, more than anybody else, have in your hands the destiny of international socialism. To you the enlightened workers of the world look. And we are sure that you will fulfill your duty, against the advice of your own Scheidemanns.

Workers of Germany! Workers of Austria! Now you see that you have no choice other than the immediate overthrow of the government of traitors calling themselves Social-Democrats, and in fact acting as the meanest agents of the bourgeoisie. You see now where politics of the Noske-Scheidemann type brought you. You see that your only hope lies in the international proletarian revolution.

But this revolution of the proletariat the Scheidemanns and Eberts are trying in every way to crush. When the Scheidemanns and Eberts call in your name to the international proletariat they will meet no answer other than hatred.

Those people do not protest by a word against the crushing of Soviet Hungary by the armies of the landowners; those people who near Libau are fighting on the side of the German barons; those people can not count on support from the international proletariat. In your name should speak not Count Brockdorf von Ranzau, not the traitor Landsberg, not the executioners Noske and Scheidemann. While the present German Government

is in power the quarrel between Berlin and Paris will be only between the bourgeoisie of two coalitions. All the power in your country must soon go into the hands of the workers' soviets. In your name, workers, communists must begin to talk.

Then and only then will you be able to save your country, will you be able to count upon full support from the proletariat of all lands.

The time for indecision has passed. Now it is clear to each one of us that it can not be worse, that the government of social traitors has brought you to the edge of the precipice.

Workers of Germany and Austria, know that proletarians of other countries will never believe in the German Social-Democracy, that Social-Democracy which did not utter one word of protest at the moment when the government of Wilhelm Hohenzollern forced upon Soviet Russia the Brest-Litovsk peace.

Workers of Germany and Austria, know that if the Brest-Litovsk peace forced upon Russia in 1918 collapsed so soon, it is because the Russian workers and peasants overthrew the government of bourgeoisie and social traitors and took the power into their own hands. Only due to this were they able comparatively quickly to break the Brest-Litovsk noose.

World proletarian revolution—this is the only savior for the oppressed workers of the world.

Dictatorship of the proletariat and the organizations of soviet power—this is the only escape for the proletariat of the whole world from the Versailles methods.

While capitalism exists there can be no real peace. Permanent peace will be possible only on the ruins of the bourgeois state.

Long live the uprising of the workers against oppression! Down with the Versailles peace, down with the new Brest-Litovsk! Down with the government of social traitors!

Long live soviet power throughout the entire world!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

G. ZINOVIEV, *Chairman.*

EXHIBIT L.

STATUS OF THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY UNDER THE ACT OF CONGRESS APPROVED OCTOBER 16, 1918.

[Submitted by special assistant to the Attorney General, Dec. 23, 1919.]

(a) *Federal statute applicable to the Communist Labor Party.*—The act of Congress approved October 16, 1918, amending the immigration laws of the United States provides among other things that: (1) Aliens who disbelieve in or advocate or teach the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States shall be deported; (2) aliens who are members of or affiliated with any organization that entertains a belief in, teaches, or advocates the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States shall be deported.

(b) The Communist Labor Party is an organization advocating and teaching the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States, and members thereof believe in and advocate and teach the overthrow by force and violence of the Government of the United States.

(c) *Introduction.*—In the memorandum brief prepared upon the Communist Party a detailed statement is given concerning the growth of that organization, and the steps outlined in the growth of the Communist Party refer also to the Communist Labor Party—for both are the outgrowth of the left wing of the Socialist Party and the sole difference existing between the two has arisen principally from international dissensions and desires of certain individuals to direct the energies of the left-wing movement. The purposes and principles of the Communist Labor Party and the Communist Party are practically the same in each instance.

At the assembly which met in Chicago in the latter part of August, 1919, called by the Socialist Party of America for the purpose of settling, and if possible adjusting the differences existing within its organization, the left-wing element of the Socialist Party withdrew en masse. The left-wing members of the Socialist Party, headed by John Reed, of New York, who were refused seats as delegates to the national emergency convention of the Socialist Party

met at the headquarters of the recruiting union of the I. W. W. on September 3, 1919, to hold a convention of their own, which was known as the Convention of the Communist Labor Party of America. The delegates attending this convention proceeded to draft and adopt a platform and program for the Communist Labor Party. During the course of the debate a discussion arose as to whether or not the words "political action" were to be used in connection with accomplishing the aims of the party. After a heated debate the words "political action" were struck out of the platform of the Communist Labor Party. An effort was made at the outset of the convention to unite with the Communist Party, but due to the attitude of some of the leaders of the Communist Labor Party the contemplated arrangement resulted in failure. Upon the conclusion of the convention the Communist Labor Party immediately embarked upon an extensively organized campaign for the purpose of strengthening its organization and obtaining additional members.

(d) *The Communist Labor Party of America.*—Reference is hereto made again to the memorandum brief prepared upon the Communist Party of America and the analysis contained therein of the manifesto and the Communist International, which is directly in point also in the consideration of the Communist Labor Party.

Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit A" is a copy of the platform and program of the Communist Labor Party. It will be noted that the program of this organization declares itself in full harmony with the revolutionary working class of all countries and stands by the principles of the third international at Moscow. It states that it realizes with the third international at Moscow that the time for "parleying" is past and that the question is now whether all power is to remain in the hands of the capitalists or shall be taken by the workers. The Communist Labor Party, to use its own words, has as its aim "the abolition of the present system of production, in which the working class is mercilessly exploited, and the creation of an industrial republic wherein a machinery of production shall be socialized so as to guarantee to the workers the full social value of the product of their toil."

In order to accomplish its end, the Communist Labor Party unites with the revolutionary workers of the world for "conquest of political power to establish a government adapted to the communist transformation."

In another portion of its platform we find the following amazing statement:

"The Communist Labor Party proposes the organization of the workers as a class, the overthrow of capitalist rule and the conquest of political power by the workers. The workers organized as the ruling class shall, through their Government, make and enforce the laws; they shall own and control land, factories, mills, mines, transportation systems, and financial institutions. All power to the workers!"

In the program of the party appears the following specific statement:

"The Communist Labor Party of America declares itself in complete accord with the principles of communism as laid down in the manifesto of the third international formed at Moscow."

Thus, we see that in its platform and program the Communist Labor Party pledges itself to that style of "communism" in the United States which is laid down by the third international, which has been analyzed in detail in the brief prepared on the Communist Party of America, and from which there is but one conclusion to draw, that the principles adopted at the third international aim at the overthrow of the Government of the United States.

Following the quotation above given appear in detail the essence, as the Communist Labor Party calls it, of the principles of the third international which it will endeavor to establish in the United States.

Significant among the principles thus enunciated is the following statement:

"The working class must organize and train itself for the capture of State power."

The following significant statement also appears:

"The most important means of capturing State power for the workers is the action of the masses, proceeding from the place where the workers are gathered together—in the shops and factories. The use of the political machinery of the capitalist State for this purpose is only secondary."

It will thus be noted that the Communist Labor Party advocates "mass action," a detailed analysis of which is given in the memorandum brief upon the Communist Party, where it was shown that by "direct action" is meant the use of "force and violence."

In the program of the party appears the following statement:

"We maintain that the class struggle is essentially a political struggle—that is, a struggle by the proletariat to conquer the capitalist State, whether its form be monarchical or democratic-republican, and to replace it by a governmental structure adapted to the communist transformation."

It will thus be seen from the analysis of the platform and program of the Communist Labor Party that it conforms entirely with that of the Communist Party of America in principles. Each party is an advocate of and teaches the principle of the overthrow of the State, establishing a dictatorship of the proletariat, and eventually bringing about a "communist commonwealth," the ultimate aim of which is that both parties pledge themselves to the principles and tactics of the third international. There is a constant reference to a pure economic feature, to wit, "the control of industry." The attainment of the control of industry is contemplated only as a means of preliminary basis. Through the control of industry it is proposed to meet the revolutionary mass action, conceived of as being the immediate force to overthrow the State.

(e) *Membership of the Communist Labor Party.*—Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit B" is an application of membership which must be signed by each applicant for membership in the Communist Labor Party. Upon referring to this, it will be noted that the applicant pledges himself to be guided by the constitution and platform of the Communist Labor Party.

Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit C" is a copy of the membership card of the Communist Labor Party.

Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit D" is an affiliation certificate, which is issued by the headquarters of the Communist Labor Party to each local, and upon which it appears that each local obtaining such certificate has indorsed the platform, program, and constitution of the Communist Labor Party.

Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit E" is an order blank of the Communist Labor Party, showing the extent to which the propaganda of this organization has grown.

It will thus be seen from the above that a person becoming a member of the Communist Labor Party becomes so knowing of the purposes of the organization and pledges himself for the carrying out of the same, almost exactly similar to the membership pledge of the Communist Party.

ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY.

The activities of the Communist Labor Party have been exactly similar to those of the Communist Party of America.

Attached hereto and marked "Exhibit F" is a copy of the Communist Labor Party News, which received quite a large circulation.

Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit G" is a copy of a circular entitled "Hands off Soviet Russia," issued by the Communist Labor Party of America.

Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit H" is a copy of the Communist Labor Party News, of the New York division of that organization, containing an announcement of a mass demonstration to be held in celebration of the second anniversary of the Russian Soviet Republic.

(f) *Conclusion.*—From the above examination which has been made of the Communist Labor Party it will thus be seen that this organization is modeled exactly along the same lines as the Communist Party of America, and that both organizations have arbitrarily expressed themselves and pledged themselves to overthrow the Government of the United States.

This memorandum brief is to be taken in conjunction with that prepared upon the Communist Party of America, for the reason of the close similarity of each organization, and particularly for the reason of the alignment of each organization with the third international of Moscow.

It is respectfully submitted, therefore, that the Communist Labor Party and persons members thereof fall within the provisions of the act of Congress approved October 16, 1918, in that the Communist Labor Party openly advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence.

Respectfully submitted.

J. E. HOOVER,
Special Assistant to the Attorney General.

EXHIBIT No. 16.

A.

[See Exhibit I, in Exhibit 15, down to signature of national organization committee.]

B.

PROJECT OF PROGRAM OF RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (BOLSHEVIKS).

[Severnaya Kommuna,¹ Feb. 28, 1919.]

[This project of program was published a month before the eighth congress of party in order to start discussion. In actual fact this program was accepted with very few amendments as shown in other exhibits. Only certain paragraphs of this program are given.]

(1) The revolution of October 25 (Nov. 7), 1917, in Russia, realized the dictatorship of the proletariat, which began with the support of the poorest peasantry or half proletariat to build the foundation of a communistic society.

The growth of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in all progressive countries and the simultaneous appearance and development of the soviet form of this movement—that is, such a form as was directed immediately toward the realization of the dictatorship of the proletariat—finally the beginning and the course of development of revolution in Austria-Hungary, and Germany in particular—all this indicated definitely that the era of world proletarian communistic revolution has started.

(15) The imperialistic war could not be concluded by just peace; there could not in general be a conclusion of any kind of stable peace by bourgeois governments. The imperialistic war inevitably developed and is developing before our eyes into civil war of the exploited toiling masses with the proletariat at their head against the bourgeoisie.

The growing pressure from the proletariat, and particularly the proletarian victories in neighboring countries, increases the resistance of the exploiters and gives rise to the creation by them of new forms of international cooperation of capitalists (League of Nations and such) which, by organizing on a world scale the systematic exploitation of all the peoples of the world, directs its main efforts toward the immediate suppression of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat of all countries.

All this inevitably leads to the starting of civil war within separate States by revolutionary soldiers, both those defending proletarian countries and also the oppressed peoples against the yoke of imperialistic powers.

Under these conditions the slogan of pacifism, of international disarmament in the presence of capitalism, of recourse to arbitration and such, are not only reactionary Utopias but a direct deception of the toilers with the aim of disarming the proletariat and distracting it from the task of disarming the exploiters.

C.

PROCLAMATION CALLING THE FIRST CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

[Rosta, official telegraph agency of the Bolsheviks, Feb. 24, 1919.]

COMRADES: The undersigned parties and organizations consider it indispensable to call the first congress of the New Revolutionary International. During the war and the revolution it has become clear not only that the old socialistic and social democratic parties have gone bankrupt, and the Second International

¹ This publication is published in Petrograd. In April, 1919, it was the official organ of the executive committee of soviets and peasants and workmen's and red army deputies of the northern region and of the Petrograd Soviet of Workmen and Red Army deputies. Since about April 15, 1919, when the northern region was abolished as a district administration, the Severnaya Kommuna has remained the official publication of the Petrograd Soviet of Workmen's and Red Army deputies.

with them, and that the elements included among the old social democracy (the so-called "center") were incapable of active revolutionary activity, but also that already now the framework is ready for the really revolutionary international. The gigantic pace of the world revolution which gives rise to new problems, the danger that this revolution may be killed by the alliance of the capitalistic States, which organize a "League of Nations" against the revolution, the attempt of the "traitor-Socialists" together, and after having "amnestied" each other, to assist their Governments, and the bourgeoisie again to betray the working class, and finally in view of the revolutionary experience and for the purpose of internationalizing the whole course of the revolution we were induced to take the initiative in placing on the order of the day the question of calling the revolutionary proletarian parties to an international congress.

Aim and tactics.

According to our opinion, the New International must be based on the recognition of the following principles, which we present as the platform and which have been worked out in accordance with the programs of the "Spartacus Association" in Germany and the Communist (bolshhevik party) in Russia:

1. The present is the period of destruction and crushing of the capitalistic system of the whole world, and it will be a catastrophe for the whole European culture should capitalism, with all its insoluble contradictions, not be done away with.

2. The aim of the proletariat must now be immediately to conquer the power. To conquer the power means to destroy the government apparatus of the bourgeoisie and to organize a new proletarian government apparatus.

3. The new apparatus of the government ought to express the dictatorship of the working class (and in certain places even the dictatorship of the half-proletariat in the villages, that is the peasant proletariat); that is, to persist in the systematic suppression of the exploiting classes and be the means of expropriating them. No false, bourgeois democracy—this treacherous form of the power of a financial oligarchy—with its mere external equality—but a proletarian democracy able to realize the freedom of the working masses; no parliamentarism, but the self-government of the masses through their elected organs; no capitalistic bureaucracy, but governing organs which have been appointed by the masses themselves, through the real participation of these masses in the governing of the country and the socialistic work of reorganization—such ought to be the type of the proletarian state. The Soviet power or a corresponding organization of government is its concrete expression.

4. The dictatorship of the proletariat ought to be ground for the immediate expropriation of capital and the doing away with the private right of owning the means of production, through making them common public property. The socialization (meaning doing away with private property and making it the property of the proletarian state, which is managed by the workers on a socialistic basis) of the large-scale industries and the central bodies organized by the same, including the banks, the confiscation of the capitalistic agricultural production, the monopolization of large-scale commerce; the socialization of the large buildings in the towns and in the country; the establishment of a workmen's government, and the concentration of the economic functions in the hands of the organs of the proletarian dictatorship—are the most essential aims of the day.

5. In order to protect the socialist revolution against external and internal enemies and to assist the fighting proletariats of other countries, etc., it becomes necessary entirely to disarm the bourgeoisie and its agent and to arm the proletariat.

6. The world situation demands immediate and as perfect as possible relations between the different groups of the revolutionary proletariat and a complete alliance of all the countries in which the revolution has already succeeded.

7. The most important method is the mass action of the proletariat, including armed struggle against the government power of capitalists.

8. The old International has been divided in three main groups: The frank Socialist Chauvinists, who during the whole imperialistic war 1914-1918 supported the bourgeoisie and undertook the rôle of executioners of the laborers'

revolution; the "center," the theoretical leader of which is Kautsky, and which within itself contains mostly wavering elements who are unable to follow any decided lines, but sometimes are clearly traitorous to the International; and, finally, the left revolutionary wing.

9. Toward the Social Chauvinists, who everywhere, and especially on the most critical occasions appear with arms in their hands against the proletarian revolution, we can only advocate a struggle without quarter, and toward the "center" such a tactic as would separate the most revolutionary elements from the rest by criticizing and exposing the leaders. It is absolutely necessary to see to it that the labor organizations at a certain stage of the development are kept from being controlled by the "center."

10. It is necessary to organize the revolutionary elements among the workers who have not joined the socialist parties so far, but completely stand on the side of the proletarian dictatorship in the form which it has assumed in the Soviet system. Such are first of all the syndicalist elements of the workers.

11. Finally, it is necessary to include all proletarian groups or organizations which, if they have not openly joined the left revolutionary movement, show, however, tendencies in that direction.

12. We propose that in the congress should participate representatives of the following parties, groups, and movements (which have the right to full membership in the Third International):

1. Spartacus-Association (Germany).
2. The Communist Party (bolshevik) (Russia).
3. Communist Party in German Austria.
4. The Communist Party of Hungary.
5. The Communist Party of Poland.
6. The Communist Party of Finland.
7. The Communist Party of Esthonia.
8. The Communist Party of Lettland.
9. The Communist Party of Lithuania.
10. The Communist Party of White Russia.
11. The Communist Party of Ukraine.
12. The revolutionary element within the Czech Social Democracy.
13. The Social Democratic Party of Bulgaria.
14. The Social Democratic Party of Rumania.
15. The left wing of the Socialist Party of Serbia.
16. The Social Democratic Left Party of Sweden.
17. The Social Democratic Party of Norway.
18. The Socialist Workers' Party of Denmark.
19. The Communist Party of Netherland.
20. The revolutionary elements within the Workers' Party of Belgium.
- 21 and 22. Groups and organizations within the socialist and syndicalist movements of France, mainly solidary with Loriot.
23. Left Social Democrats of Switzerland.
24. Socialist Party of Italy.
25. The left elements within the Socialist Party of Spain.
26. The left elements of the Socialist Party of Portugal.
27. The Socialist Party of Great Britain (especially adherents of MacLean's groups).
28. The Socialist Labor Party (S. L. P.) of England.
29. I. W. W. (Industrial Workers of the World) of England.
30. I. W. of Great Britain.
31. The revolutionary elements of "shop steward" movement of England.
32. The revolutionary elements of the labor organizations of Ireland.
33. Socialist Labor Party of America (S. L. P.).
34. The left elements of the Socialist Party of America (S. P.), especially that group which is represented by Debs and the socialist propaganda association.
35. I. W. W. of America.
36. I. W. W. of Australia.
37. Workers' International Industrial Union (W. I. I. U.) (America).
38. Socialistic groups in Tokyo and Yokohama (represented by Katayama).
39. Socialistic International Youth.

The question of organization and the name of the party.

13. The Third International's basis has been worked out so that in different parts of Europe groups and organizations of similarly thinking people have been formed which join the same program and practically follow the same tactics. This, first of all, applies to the Spartacans in Germany and the Communist Parties in many other countries.

14. The congress must lay the foundation of a common fighting organ, which will be a uniting link, and methodically lead the movement of the center for the Communist International, which subordinates the interests of the movement in every separate country to the common interests of the revolution on an international scale. The concrete forms for the organizations, the representations, etc., are to be worked out at the congress.

15. The congress shall be called "The First Communist International Congress," of which the different parties will form the sections. Marx and Engels even considered the name of "social-democrat" theoretically wrong. The humiliating bankruptcy of the old "International" demands a new name. In

addition the nucleus of the great movement is already formed by many parties, which have already taken the name of communist.

In view of the above we propose that all affiliated parties and organizations take up, on the order of the day, the subject of calling an international communist congress.

With fraternal greetings.

- (1) The central committee of the Russian Communist Party (Lenin, Trotski); (2) The foreign bureau of Poland's Communist Workers' Party (Karski); (3) The foreign bureau of Hungary's Communist Party (Rudnjanski); (4) The foreign bureau of the German-Austrian Communist Party (Oudo); (5) The Russian bureau for the central committee of the Lettish Communist Party (Rosin); (6) The central committee of the Finnish Communist Party (Sirola); (7) The acting committee for the Federation of the Revolutionary Balkan Social-Democrats (Rakowsky); (8) the Socialist Labor Party of America (Reinstein).

D.

MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

[Severnaya Kommuna, Mar. 8, 1919.]

Seventy-two years ago the Communist Party proclaimed its program to the world in the form of the manifesto written by the greatest teachers of the proletarian revolution, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Even at that early time, when communism had scarcely come into the arena of conflict, it was hounded by the lies, hatred, and calumny of the possessing classes, who rightly suspected in it their mortal enemy. During these seven decades communism has traveled a hard road, of ascent followed by periods of sharp decline, success, but also severe defeats. In spite of all, the development at bottom went the way forecast by the manifesto of the Communist Party. The epoch of the last decisive struggle came later than the apostles of the social revolution expected and wished. But it has come.

We communists, representatives of the revolutionary proletariat of the different countries of Europe, America, and Asia, assembled in Soviet Moscow, feel and consider ourselves followers and fulfillers of the cause, the program of which was proclaimed 72 years ago. It is our task now to sum up the practical revolutionary experience of the working class to cleanse the movement of its treacherous admixtures of opportunism and socialist patriotism and to unite the efforts of all revolutionary parties of the world proletariat and thus facilitate and hasten the victory of the communist revolution in the whole world. Now, when Europe is covered with ruins and piles of smoking wreckage, the greatest instigators are occupied with searchers for those guilty for the war. In their trail follow their servants—professors, members of Parliament, journalists, socialist-patriots, and the other political souteneurs of the bourgeoisie.

For a long span of years socialism predicted the inevitableness of the imperialistic war; it perceived the essential cause of this war in the insatiable greed of the possessing classes in both camps of capitalist nations. Two years before the outbreak of the war the responsible socialist leaders of all countries, at the Basle congress, exposed imperialism as the instigator of the coming war and menaced the bourgeoisie with the threat to bring down on its head a socialist revolution as the retaliation of the proletariat for the crimes of militarism. Now, after the experience of five years, after history has exposed the predatory appetites of Germany and the no less criminal acts of the Allies, the State socialists of the countries of the Entente, together with their governments, continue to try to unmask as the instigator of the war the overthrown German Kaiser. Further, the German socialist patriots who, in August, 1914, proclaimed the diplomatic white book of the Hohenzollern as the holiest gospel of the people, now, following the lead of the socialists of the Entente, with vulgar servility, accuse the overthrown German monarchy, which they served so slavishly, as the main instigator of the war. In that way they hope to force people to forget their own rôle and at the same time gain the good will of the victors. But, alongside the rôle of the overthrown

dynasties of the Romanoffs, Hohenzollerns, and Hapsburgs, the capitalistic cliques of these countries and the rôle of the governing classes of France, England, Italy, and the United States stand revealed in all their immeasurable criminalities in the light of the unfolding events and of diplomatic disclosures.

English diplomacy to the very outbreak of the war did not remove its secret visor. The Government of the "city" was afraid that if it categorically declared its participation in the war on the side of the Entente the government of Berlin would recede and there would not be war. In London they wanted the war, therefore they behaved in such a manner that in Berlin and Vienna they counted on the neutrality of England, while in Paris and St. Petersburg they evidently counted on her coming in.

The war which was prepared by the course of development during decades was unleached with the direct and conscious provocation of Great Britain. The Government of the latter counted on giving support to Russia and France only to such a point as to exhaust Germany also, its mortal enemy, while exhausting them—Russia and France. But the strength of the German military machine was too threatening and required the actual and not an apparent intervention of England in the war. The rôle of the cynical broker which Great Britain had always assumed by an old tradition fell to the lot of the United States. The Government of Wilson was able more easily to reconcile itself to the English blockade, which cut off speculation by the American stock exchange in European blood, since the countries of the Entente rewarded the American bourgeoisie by generous profits for the violation of "international law."

But the enormous military superiority of Germany impelled even the Government of Washington to depart from its position of fictitious neutrality. The United States assumed with respect to Europe as a whole that very rôle which England had played in past wars, and tried to play in this last war with respect to the Continent—that of weakening one camp with the assistance of the other and of intervening in military operations only in order to secure for self all the advantages of the situation. Wilson's stake was not large, as is the method of American lotteries, but it was the last stake and thus secured to him the prize.

The contradictions of the capitalistic system became clear to mankind in the result of the war in the form of actual suffering, of hunger, cold, epidemic diseases, and moral collapse. Thus the academic discussion within the ranks of socialism on the question of the theory of impoverishment and the gradual passing from capitalism to socialism is now being finally decided. For decades statisticians and scholars of the theory of the reconciliation of these contradictions have tried to collect from all the corners of the world actual and fictitious facts to prove the increased well-being of separate groups and categories of the working class. The theory of the impoverishment of the masses was considered to have been buried under the contemptuous voice of the enuchs of the bourgeois pulpit and the mandarins of the socialistic opportunism. At the present moment this impoverishment, which is now not only social but psychological and biological, lies before our eyes in all its terrible actuality. The catastrophe of the Imperialism war has swept aside completely all the conquests of the trade-unions and of parliamentary struggle, while this struggle has outgrown in a similar manner the internal tendencies of capitalism and at the same time all the economic deals and parliamentary compromises, which have been buried in blood and filth.

Financial capital which threw mankind into the whirlpool of war has itself suffered catastrophic changes during the course of this war. The dependence of money tokens on the material foundations of production has been completely destroyed. More and more losing their significance, the means and regulators of capitalistic exchange of goods, and paper money, have become merely the weapon of requisitions, seizure, and in general of military economic oppression. The deterioration of paper now reflects the general mortal crisis of the capitalistic system of exchange of commodities. For free competition as the regulator of production and distribution was pushed to one side in the main fields of industry by the system of trusts and monopolies already during the decades preceding the war, so that by the course of the war the regulating and directing rôle has been wrested from the hands of economic combinations, and has been turned over directly to the military State authorities.

The distribution of raw materials, the utilization of petroleum of the Baku and Roumanian fields, of the coal of Donetz, of Ukrainian grain, the fate of the German shipping and automobile, the guaranteeing to starving Europe of grain and meat—all these fundamental questions of the economic life of the

world are being regulated not by free competition and not by combinations of national and international trusts, but by the direct application of military force in the interest of its further self-preservation.

If the complete subjection of State authority to financial capital brought mankind to the capitalistic shambles, so thanks to this conflict financial capital has completely militarized not only the State but also itself, and is now no longer able to fulfill its fundamental economic functions other than by means of iron and blood.

The opportunists who before the war appealed to the workmen to be moderate in the name of a gradual transition to socialism, who during the war demanded class peace in the name of unity for the cause of national defense are once more demanding of the proletariat self-abnegation, this time in order to overcome the terrible consequences of the war. If this preaching would be accepted by the working masses, then imperialistic development would be reestablished on the bones of several generations, in new and even more terrible forms, with the new perspective of an inevitable world war. Fortunately for mankind this is impossible.

The absorption by the State of economic life, against which capitalistic liberalism protested with such force, has now become an accomplished fact. There can be no return, either to free competition or to the rule of trusts, syndicates, and other economic monsters. The question now is who will now be the mainstay of production, that has come under the control of the State, an imperialistic State or State of the victorious proletariat? In other words will all toiling mankind become the serfs of a victorious world clique which under the name of "League of Nations," with the assistance of "international army," "international navy," will suppress same, feed others, and everywhere impose chains on the proletariat, for the sole purpose of maintaining its own rule—or shall the working class of Europe and of the progressive countries of other parts of the world itself take possession of the disrupted and disorganized economic situation, in order to guarantee its rehabilitation on socialist principles?

The epoch of crisis through which the world is passing can be brought to a close only by the measures adopted under the proletarian dictatorship, which does not look back to the past and does not take into account either inherited privileges or rights of property, but does what is required to save the starving masses, mobilizes to this end all means and force, introduces universal labor service, establishes a régime of labor discipline, in order thus, during the course of several years, not only to heal the gaping wounds inflicted by the war but also to raise mankind to a new height until now unknown.

The national State which gave powerful impulse to imperialistic development became too crowded for the development of the productive forces. The position of the small States became all the more difficult, distributed as they were among the large powers of Europe and all other parts of the world. These small States which came into existence at various times, as fragments of larger States, as small change used to pay for certain services, as strategic buffer States, have their dynasties, their ruling cliques, and their imperialistic pretensions. Their illusory dependence until the war was supported by the same thing that supported the equilibrium of Europe; that is, the constant antagonism between two imperialistic camps. The war destroyed this equilibrium. The enormous preponderance of Germany has forced the small States to seek safety in the magnanimity of German imperialism. Later, when Germany was beaten, the bourgeois of the small States, together with the patriotic socialists, turned to welcome the triumphant victory of the Allies, and in the hypocritical 14 points of the Wilsonian program began to seek guaranties for their future independent existence. At the same time a number of small States grew out from the Austrian-Hungarian monarchy and new States were divided up from the Czar's Empire, and these new States scarcely born are already going at each other's throats over State frontiers. The allied imperialists in the meanwhile suppress combinations of small States, old and new, in order to get possession of them by taking advantage of their mutual hatred and general helplessness. By suppressing and using violence on small and weak peoples, delivering them to famine and demoralization, the allied imperialists, just as did the imperialists of the Central Empires only a short time ago, constantly speak of the right of the nations to self-determination, though this right has definitely been trampled under foot both in Europe and in other parts of the world.

Small people can be guaranteed the possibility of their existence only by a proletarian revolution, which will liberate the productive forces of all countries from the restrictions of national States, will unite people, will guarantee their economic cooperation on the basis of a common economic plan, and will make it possible for the weak and small people to enjoy complete freedom in the administration of the affairs of its own national culture without any detriment to the united and centralized European world economic system.

The late war, which was to a considerable extent a war because of colonies, was at the same time a war with the aid of the colonies. An unprecedented proportion of the population was drawn into the European war. Why did the Indians, Negroes, and Arabs fight on the battle fields of Europe? For their right to remain slaves of England and France. Never before was the picture of the disgrace of the imperialistic State colonies so clear, and never was the problem of colonial slavery raised in such sharp relief. The result has been a series of open uprisings and revolutionary movements in all colonies. In Europe itself, Ireland, which did not take part in the bloody street battles, still remains an enslaved country. In Madagascar and in other places troops of a bourgeois republic have on several occasions aroused in the course of the war uprisings of colonial slaves. In India the revolutionary movement has not ceased for a single day, and recently has led to unprecedented workmen's strikes in Asia, to which the Government of Great Britain has answered with armored motor cars.

Thus the colonial question has arisen to its full stature not only on the maps of the diplomatic congress in Paris, but also in the colonies themselves. The program of Wilson has as its aim, at the very best, a change in the firm name for colonial slavery. The liberation of the colonies is possible only if it is accompanied by a liberation of the working class of the metropolis. The workmen and peasants, not only in Annam, Algeria, and Senegal, but also of Persia and Armenia, will be able to enjoy independent existence only when the workmen of England and France overthrow Lloyd-George and Clemenceau and take State authority into their own hands. In the more developed colonies the struggle not only is in progress at the present moment under the flag of liberation, but it is also taking on a more or less clearly expressed social character. If capitalistic Europe forcibly dragged the most retrograde into the whirlpool of capitalist relations, then the Europe of Socialists will come to the assistance of the freed colonies with its technique, its organization, and its cultural influences, in order to hasten their transition to an orderly organized socialistic economic system.

Colonial slaves of Africa and Asia! The hour of the proletarian dictatorship will strike also for you as the hour of your liberation.

The whole bourgeois world accuses the communist of destroying liberties and political democracy. This is not true. On coming into power the proletariat simply shows how absolutely impossible it is to apply the methods of bourgeois democracy, and so creates the conditions and forms of a new and superior democracy of the worker. The whole course of capitalistic development, particularly in the last period of imperialism, undermined political democracy, not only by dividing the camp into two irreconcilably hostile classes, but also by condemning the numerically large petty bourgeois and workmen proletarian classes to economic benumbing, and also the disinherited lower ranks of the proletariat itself.

The working class of all countries in its historic development has taken advantage of the régime of political democracy in order to organize against capital. The same thing will take place in those countries where the conditions for a working class revolution have not matured. But the broad intermediary masses, not only in the villages but also in the cities, are held back by capitalism, falling behind by whole epochs in respect to historic development. The peasants of Bavaria and Baden are still strongly attached to their village life. The small French wine grower, who has been ruined by the large-scale capitalistic adulterations of wine, the small American farmer who has been robbed and deceived by the banker—all of these people who have been shoved aside by capitalism have been called into the administration of the State under the régime of political democracy. But in reality in all other questions that determine the fate of peoples the financial oligarchy puts through its own decisions behind the wall of parliamentary democracy. This was true particularly in questions of the war, and this is what is taking place now in questions of peace.

To demand of the proletariat that in this last struggle, not for life but to death with capital, it should loyally observe the demands of political democracy,

is the same as to demand of a man who is defending his life and existence from highway robbers that he should observe the scientific and well-guarded rules of the French system of boxing, which rules have been made by his enemy and are not observed by the latter.

When the principles of destruction govern, then the proletariat is obliged to create its own apparatus, which will serve first of all to protect the internal bonds of the working class, guarantee the possibility of its revolutionary intention in the further development of humanity. The old parties, the old organization of trade unions have proven in the persons of their directing leaders incapable of deciding or even understanding the problems which the new epoch has raised. The proletariat has created a new type of organization which stretches out wide over the whole working mass, independent of trade or of the level of political development attained. It is a flexible apparatus which can be constantly renewed, developed, and which can bring within its sphere constantly new forces and open its doors for the proletariat and for the toiling classes of city and village. This organization is the self-government of the working class and represents the most powerful conquest and weapon of the proletariat in our present epoch.

In all countries where the toiling masses live a conscious life, soviets of workmen's, soldiers', and peasants' deputies, are being established and will be established. The most important task at the present moment of the conscious and honorable workmen of all countries is to strengthen the soviets, to increase their authority and to imitate the governmental apparatus of Russia. By means of soviets the working class is able to save itself from the disintegration which is developing in its midst as the result of the infernal anguish of war, hunger, violence produced by the propertied class and the treason of the high authorities. By means of soviets the workmen class can more surely and easily come into power in all those countries where soviets rally around themselves the majority of the toilers. By means of soviets the working class will direct all branches of the economic and cultural life of the country, just as this is taking place at the present moment in Russia.

The collapse of the imperialistic State, from the tsaristic to the most democratic inclusive, goes on simultaneously with the collapse of the imperialistic military system. The armies of many millions mobilized by the imperialists could be kept under only so long as the proletariat submitted to the yoke of the bourgeoisie. The breakdown of national unity means the inevitable disintegration of the army. This took place first in Russia and then in Germany and in Austria. The same also is to be expected in other imperialist countries. The uprising of the peasant against the landlord, of the workmen against the capitalist, of both against the monarchic bureaucracy inevitably leads to the uprising of soldiers against officers and in the next step to the sharp division between the proletarian and bourgeois elements within the army. The imperialistic war which pitted one nation against the other has passed and is passing into civil war which pits class against class.

The outcry of the bourgeois world against civil war and red terror is the most colossal hypocrisy which the history of political struggle has known. There would not be civil war if cliques of exploiters who had brought humanity to the edge of ruin would not oppose every step forward of the toilers, would not organize conspiracies and murders, and would not call in armed assistance from outside in order to maintain or reestablish their predatory privileges. Civil war is forced on the working class by the latter's mortal enemies. The working class must answer blow for blow unless it renounces itself and its own future, never artificially provoking civil war. A communist party strives to shorten its duration as much as possible to reduce the number of victims and, above all, to guarantee victory to the proletariat. This makes necessary the simultaneous disarming of the bourgeoisie, the arming of workmen, and the creation of a communist army to defend the authority of the proletariat and the inviolability of its socialist structure. Such is the red army of soviet Russia, which sprang up and exists as the bulwark of the conquest of the working class against all attacks from within or without. The soviet authority is inseparable from the soviet State.

Recognizing the world character of their mission, the enlightened workmen from the very first stages of the socialist movement worked for its international union. The foundation stone for the latter was laid in 1864 in London in the First International. The Franco-Prussian War, as a result of which sprang up the Germans of the Hohenzollerns, destroyed the First International, though at the same time it gave rise to the development of national workmen's parties. As early as 1889 these parties united at the congress in Paris and created the

Second International. However, the center of gravity of the workmen's movement lay then in the field of national parliamentary activity. The decades of organization and reform work created a whole generation of leaders the majority of whom in words organized the program of social revolution, but in actual practice rejected it and became lost in reformism. The opportunistic character of the leading parties of the Second International was concealed to the very last moment, and led to the greatest collapse in the history of the world at the very moment when revolutionary methods of struggle were required of parties of the working class.

If the war of 1870 dealt a blow to the First International by showing that there was no consolidated force of masses behind its social revolutionary programs, in the same way the war of 1914 killed the Second International when it showed that behind the powerful organization of workmen stood parties who were being converted into submissive organs of the bourgeois State. What is said here refers not only to the socialists—patriots who have now clearly and openly gone over to the camp of the bourgeoisie and have become the latter's favorite confidential delegates, mere wooden people, and the most reliable executioners of the working class—but also to the hazy, irresolute tendency of the center which tries to reestablish the Second International; i. e., the narrowest opportunism and revolutionary impotence of its directing leaders. The Independent Party in Germany, the Majority Socialist Party of France, the group of Mensheviks of Russia, the Independent Labor Party of England, and other similar groups in actual fact are trying to establish themselves in the place which was occupied before the war by the old official parties of the Second International, coming forward, as before, only with ideas of compromise and agreement, paralyzing in every way the energy of the proletariat, dragging out the crisis, and increasing the misery of Europe.

Brushing aside the half-heartedness, lies, and corruption of the obsolete official socialist parties, we communists, uniting in the Third International consider ourselves to be the direct successors of the heroic efforts and martyrdom of a long series of revolutionary generations, from Bebel to Carl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. Just as the First International indicated the road of future development and the Second International gathered together and organized millions of proletarians, so the Third International is the international of open mass action of revolutionary realization. Socialist criticism has sufficiently stigmatized the bourgeois world order. (This last sentence taken from another translation, as evidently omitted by printer in text used for this translation.) The aim of the International Communist Party is to overthrow it and raise in its place the structure of the socialist order. We call on all workmen and workwomen of all countries to unite under the communist flag, which is the flag of the first great victories.

Proletarians of all countries, in the struggle against imperialist barbarism, against monarchies, against privileged classes, against the bourgeois state and bourgeois property [text used here has misprint, but elsewhere word is "property"], and against all kinds and form of class or national oppression, unite.

Under the flag of Workmen's Soviets, of the revolutionary struggle for power and of the dictatorship of the proletariat, under the flag of the Third International proletarians of all countries unite.

E.

PLATFORM OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

[Izvestia,¹ Mar. 6, 1919.]

The contradictions of the capitalistic world system, which were concealed in its interior, showed themselves with enormous force in one gigantic explosion—in the great imperialistic World War.

¹ The *Izvestia* is the official organ of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of Soviets, and up until February, 1918, was published in Petrograd and was also the official organ of the Petrograd Soviet of Workmen's and Soldiers' deputies. After February, 1918, the *Izvestia* was moved to Moscow at the time the government was transferred to that city. Since then it has been the official organ of the Moscow Soviet of Workmen's and Soldiers' deputies. It is also the official organ of the soviet government. (The All-Russian Central Executive Committee is the central legislature of soviet Russia, which elects the people's commissaries.)

Capitalism attempted to overcome its own anarchy by organizing production. In the place of numerous competing enterprises were organized powerful unions of capitalists (syndicates, artels, and trusts). Bank capital united with industrial capital; all economic life came under the authority of this financial capitalistic oligarchy, which on the basis of this power and through its own organization attained in all inclusive domination. In the place of free competition developed monopoly. The individual capitalist became a capitalist member of a capitalistic union. Senseless anarchy came to be replaced by organization.

But in the same measure as the anarchy of the capitalistic method of production came to be replaced by capitalistic organization in individual countries, contradictions became sharper and shaper, as well as the struggle of competition, the anarchy of world economics. The struggle between the greatest organized predatory States inevitably led to the monstrous imperialistic World War. The appetite for profits drove world capital to struggle for new markets, for new spheres for its capital, for new sources of raw material for the cheap labor of colonial slaves. The imperialistic States which divide the whole world among themselves, which converted many millions of African, Asian, Australian, and American proletarians and peasants into mere working cattle, were obliged sooner or later to reveal in this gigantic conflict the actual anarchical character of capital. Thus came the greatest of crimes—the predatory World War.

Capitalism tried to overcome its own social structure so full of contradictions. Bourgeois society is a class society. But capital of the great "civilized" countries wished to suppress social contradictions. At the expense of colonial peoples they had been robbed, capital bribed its own hired slaves and tried to create a community of interests between the exploiters and the exploited, the interests that were directed against the oppressed colonies, the colonial peoples, yellow, black, and red. It enchained the European and American working class to the imperialistic "fatherland."

But this same method of constant bribing, by which one tries to develop the patriotism of the working class and its spiritual enslavement, as a result of the war was converted into its very opposite. Physical exhaustion, the complete enslavement of the proletariat monstrous oppression, impoverishment and degradation, world hunger—these were the last prices that had to be paid for civil peace. It (civil peace) was broken. The imperialistic war was changed to civil war.

The new epoch has been born. It is the epoch of the dissolution of capitalism, of its internal disintegration. It is the epoch of the communist revolution of the proletariat.

The imperialist system is collapsing. Ferment in the colonies, ferment among the small nationalities till now not independent, the uprising of the proletariat, victorious proletariat revolution in several countries, the disintegration of imperialistic armies, the complete inability of the ruling class to direct further the destiny of the people—this is the picture of the present situation in the whole world.

Humanity, whose culture has been subject to disintegration, is now threatened by the danger of complete destruction. There is only one force capable of saving it, and this force is the proletariat. There is no longer left the old capitalistic "order," and it can no longer exist. The final result of the existence of the capitalistic system of production is chaos, and this chaos can be overcome only by that large producing class—the working class. The latter must establish actual order—a communistic order. It must destroy the rule of capital, make wars impossible, wipe out frontiers between States, remake the whole world into a community, which is working for itself, realize freedom and the brotherhood of peoples.

In the meanwhile world capital is preparing for the last battle. Under the cover of the League of Nations and of pacifist chattering it is putting forward its last efforts to cement together the parts of the capitalistic system that are falling apart, and it will use all its force against proletarian revolution that is beginning to flame up in such a way that it can not be restrained.

To this new, grandiose conspiracy of the imperialistic classes the proletariat must answer by acquiring political power, by directing this power against its own enemy and using it as a lever for the economic reorganization of society. The final victory of the world proletariat will mean the beginning of the real history of liberated mankind.

Conquest of political power.

The conquest of political power by the proletariat means the destruction of the political power of the bourgeoisie. The most powerful weapon of authority in the hands of the bourgeoisie is the bourgeois apparatus of State, with its capitalistic army which is under the command of bourgeois-junker officers, with its police and secret police, its prison wardens and judges, its preachers, civil officials, and such. The conquest of political power can not be limited simply to a change in the personnel of the government departments, but must mean the destruction of this parasitic State apparatus and the concentration in one's hand of a real force, the disarming of the bourgeois, of counter-revolutionary officers, and of the white guard, and the arming of the proletariat, of the revolutionary soldiers, and of the red guards of workmen; the removal of all bourgeois judges, and the organization of a proletarian court of law; the destruction of the domination of reactionary officials, and the establishment of new proletarian organs of government. The victory of the proletariat is guaranteed by the disorganizing of hostile authority, and it must mean the destruction of the bourgeois and the building up of the proletarian apparatus of State. **Only after the proletariat shall have triumphed by definitely breaking the opposition of the bourgeoisie will the proletariat be able in a useful manner to force its former opponents to serve it, gradually bringing them, under its own control, to work of communistic construction.**

Democracy and leadership.

Just as every State, so the proletarian State represents an apparatus of compulsion and this apparatus of compulsion is now directed against the enemy of the working class. Its significance consists in this, that it is to break and make impossible the resistance of the exploiters, who will use in this struggle all means to suppress the revolution in streams of blood. On the other hand, the dictatorship of the proletariat which will place this class officially in a position of the dominant class in society represents a transition state. In measure as the opposition of the bourgeoisie is broken, the latter will be expropriated and gradually converted into a working class of society, and the dictatorship will disappear, and the State and the dividing of society into classes will die out.

So-called democracy—that is, bourgeois democracy—is nothing other than a concealed dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The famous general "will of the people" is the same kind of fiction as is the united people. In fact, there exist classes with opposed tendencies exclusive of one another. And as the bourgeoisie is an insignificant minority, so it uses this fiction, this fictitious popular will, in order under the cover of this broad phrase to strengthen its domination over the working class and impose on the latter the will of its own class. On the other hand, the proletariat, which represents the overwhelming majority of the population, will quite openly use the class strength of its mass organizations, of its soviets, in order to abolish the privileges of the bourgeoisie and guarantee the passing to a nonclass communistic society.

The essence of bourgeois democracy consists in a purely declaratory formal recognition of rights and liberties that are not accessible for the proletariat and the half-proletariat elements, because the latter have not the material means, while the bourgeoisie has the full possibility to use its material means, its press, and its organizations for lies and to deceive the people. On the other hand, the essence of the soviet system, of this new type of governmental authority, consists in this, that under this system the proletariat is given the possibility in fact to secure for itself its rights and liberty. The soviet authority will give to the people the best palaces, houses, printing shops, stores of paper, etc., for its press, for its meetings, and its clubs. Only then will the proletarian democracy be really possible.

Bourgeois democracy, with its parliamentary system, allows to the masses participation in the government of the state only in words. In actual fact the masses and their organizations are completely shut off from actual authority and the actual government of the country. Under the system of soviets mass organizations govern, and through the latter the masses themselves, since the soviets bring a constantly increasing number of workmen into the administration of the state, and only thus is the entire working people gradually drawn into the actual work of governing the state. The soviet system thus rests on mass organization of the proletariat in the form of these soviets of revolutionary trade-unions, cooperative societies, etc.

Bourgeois democracy and the parliamentary system, as a result of the separation of executive and legislative authority and the absence of the right to recall representatives, make broader the gulf between the masses and the state. On the other hand, the soviet system, with its right of recall, by uniting the executive and legislative powers, and as a result of the ability of the soviet to be functioning collegiate institutions, establishes a close bond between the masses and the organs of government. This bond is more easily maintained because under the system of soviets elections take place not according to artificially created districts but correspond with groupings resulting from the productive process.

Thus the soviet system guarantees the possibility of an actual proletarian democracy—a democracy for the proletariat and within the proletariat, and a democracy directed against the bourgeoisie. Under this system the industrial proletariat is guaranteed a privileged position as the leading, better-organized, and politically more matured class, under the hegemony of which the half-proletarian elements and the peasant poor elements of the village will be able gradually to raise themselves. These temporary privileges of the industrial proletariat must be used in order to wrest the nonpropertied petty bourgeois masses of the village from under the influence of the village peasant bourgeoisie, to organize them and bring them as collaborators into the work of communistic construction.

The expropriation of the Bourgeoisie and the socialization of production.

The disintegration of the capitalistic system and of capitalistic labor discipline makes it impossible under the present interclass relations to reestablish production on the former basis. The struggle of workmen for increase of wages, even when successful, does not lead to the expected raising of the standard of living, because the increase of prices on all productions of consumption inevitably neutralizes the success. The energetic struggle of the workmen for increase of wages in those countries where the situation is clearly hopeless, because of the elemental bitterness and the tendency to convert the strike into a world strike makes impossible the further development of capitalistic production. Improvement of conditions of workmen can be attained only when the bourgeoisie (has been expropriated—this added by translator as there is evidently an omission here) and the proletariat itself take possession of production. In order to raise the productive power of economic life, in order to break as quickly as possible the resistance of the bourgeoisie which is prolonging the agony of the old form of society and thus creating the danger of the complete disruption of economic life, the proletarian dictatorship must carry out the expropriation of the large bourgeoisie and nobility, and make the means of production and transportation the public property of the proletarian state.

Communism is being born now in the ruins of the capitalistic order; history will not give mankind any other issue from the situation. The opportunists who put forward the Utopian demands for the regeneration of the capitalistic system of economy in order to postpone socialization, are simply dragging out the solution of the crisis and thus creating the direct menace of complete ruin, while the communistic revolution is the best and actually possible means by which the actual productive force in society—the proletariat—and with it society itself, may save themselves.

Proletarian dictatorship does not contemplate any kind of dividing up of the means of production and transportation. Quite to the contrary, its task is to bring about a greater centralization of productive forces and the subjection of all production to a unified plan.

As the first steps on the road to the socialization of the entire economic life are necessary, the socialization of the apparatus of the largest banks, which now control industry; the gaining possession of all economic state-capitalistic organs by transferring them to the proletarian state, governmental authority; the gaining possession of all commercial enterprises; the socialization of syndicalized and "trusted" branches of industry and also of those branches of industry in which the degree of concentration and centralization of capital are such as to make socialization technically possible; the socialization of agricultural farms and their conversion into publicly managed agricultural enterprises.

As for the small enterprises, the proletariat must gradually unite them, taking into consideration their sizes.

In this connection one must emphasize particularly that the small holders of private property may not be expropriated and the small proprietor who did not exploit the labors of others may not be subject to any violent measures. This group will be drawn into the sphere of socialist organization gradually, by example and by practical experience, which will show the advantages of the new order, which, in turn, will free the small farmer and the small bourgeoisie from the economic yoke of the rich farmer and nobility, and from the weight of taxes (particularly as the result of the repudiation of state loans), etc.

The task of the proletarian dictatorship in the fields of economics may be fulfilled only to the extent to which the proletariat will be able to create centralized organs for the administration of industry and to realize workmen's administration. Furthermore, the proletariat will be obliged to use those of its mass organizations which are most closely associated with the process of production.

In the field of distribution the proletarian dictatorship must bring about the proper distribution of products as a substitute for trading; one must call attention to those measures which will have to be adopted to this end: The socialization of the largest trading enterprises; the transfer into the hands of the proletariat of all bourgeois-public, and also municipal, organs of distribution; control over the largest cooperative combinations, the organization of which will still have enormous economic significance through the period of transition; the gradual centralization of all these organs and their gradual conversion into a single whole for the national distribution of products.

Both in the field of production and also in that of distribution all workers of qualified economic experience and specialization must be made use of, after their opposition in the fields of politics will have been broken, so that they will be in a position to serve the new system of production instead of capital.

The proletariat has no intention to oppress the latter (technical experts and specialists); quite on the contrary, the proletariat will be the first to give to them the possibility of developing the most energetic creative activity. The proletarian dictatorship will replace the division into physical and intellectual labor, which is characteristic of capitalism, by a uniting of the two, and thus it will bring together labor and science.

Together with the expropriation of factories, mines, landed estate, etc., the proletariat must also put an end to the exploitation of the population by capitalist house owners, and transfer the larger houses into the hands of local workmen's soviets, and move the workmen into the apartments of the bourgeoisie, etc. In the course of this enormous change the soviet authority must, on the one hand, create an enormous apparatus of administration, becoming more and more centralized; and, on the other hand, it must bring larger groups of the working people to the immediate task of government.

The road to victory.

The revolutionary epoch demands of the proletariat the application of such methods of struggle as will concentrate all its energies, first of all melting of mass struggle with its logical conclusions—direct conflict in open battle with the bourgeoisie, governmental machinery. To this end must be subordinated all other means, as, for example, the revolutionary making use of bourgeois parliamentary institutions.

A necessary preliminary condition for such a victorious struggle is a rupture not only with the out-and-out lackeys of capital and with the executioners of the Communist revolution, such as the right Social Democrats, but also a breaking away from the "Center" (followers of Kautsky), which abandons the proletariat at a critical moment and flirts with its open enemies.

On the other hand, one must form an alliance with the elements of the revolutionary workmen's movement, which, in spite of the fact that formerly they did not belong to the Socialist Party, have not become in general and on the whole supporters of the proletarian dictatorship in the form of soviets, as, for example, the certain elements of syndicalism.

The growth of the revolutionary movement in all countries, the danger that this revolution will be suppressed by a union of capitalistic states, attempts of traitor socialist parties to unite (the forming of a yellow "International" in Berne), in order lackey-like to serve Wilson's league, and finally the absolute necessity of coordinating the proletarian movement—all this leads eventually to the establishment of a genuinely revolutionary and genuinely proletarian communist international.

The international that will be able to subordinate so-called national interests to the interest of the world revolution will by this very reason realize mutual assistance between proletariats of various countries, for without economic and other forms of mutual support the proletariat will not be able to establish the new society. On the other hand, in opposition to the yellow socialist international, the international of the communist proletariat will support the exploited peoples of colonies in their struggle against imperialism, in order to assist the final collapse of the system of world imperialism.

The criminals of capitalism affirmed at the beginning of the World War that all of them was simply defending their own countries. But soon German imperialism revealed its beast-like nature by a series of bloody acts in Russia, the Ukraine and Finland. Now in their turn the powers of the Entente are revealing themselves in the eyes even of the most retrograde groups of the population, for they have turned out to be the world-robbers and the murderers of the proletariat. In agreement with the German bourgeoisie and with socialist-patriots, with hypocritical phrases about peace on their lips, they are trying to crush to the ground, with the help of tanks and uneducated barbarian colonial troops, the revolution of the European proletariat. The white terror of the bourgeois cannibals is cruel beyond description. The sacrifices of the working class can not be numbered; it has lost its best fighters, Liebknecht and Luxemburg.

The proletariat must defend itself at any cost. The communist international calls on the entire proletariat of the world to take part in this last struggle. Arms against arms! Force against force!

Down with the imperialistic conspiracy of capital! Long live the international republic of proletarian Soviets.

F.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP IN THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY.

I, the undersigned, recognizing the class struggle between the capitalist class and the working class, and the necessity of the working class organizing itself politically and industrially for the purpose of establishing communist socialism, hereby apply for membership in the Communist Labor Party. I have no relations (as member or supporter) with any other political party. I am opposed to all political organizations that support the present capitalist profit system, and I am opposed to any form of trading or fusing with any such organizations. In all my actions while a member of the Communist Labor Party I agree to be guided by the constitution and platform of that party.

Name ———. Occupation ———. (If a member of a labor organization give name and number.) Street address ———. Ward ———. City ———. State ———. County ———. Proposed by ———. Age ———. Date ———. Citizen (yes or no) ———. Total amount received from applicant, \$———.

OFFICIAL RECEIPT.

This certifies that ———, has made application for membership in the Communist Labor Party and has paid the initiation fee of \$1 and ——— months dues at the rate of 50 cents per month.

FOR THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY,

By ———

Notice to applicant.—The subdivision of the Communist Labor Party which will consider your application meets: Place ———. Address ———. Date ———.

G.

NOTE.—From the present outlook, State offices in 15 States are affiliated with the Communist Labor Party. If your State office is already affiliated with the Communist Labor Party, then the national office will forward notice of your affiliation to your State office. If your State office is in the control of reactionary officials, then as soon as enough locals in your State join the Communist

Labor Party a State organization will be effected. If your organization is a branch of a language federation, we will forward notice of your affiliation to your translator secretary, or we will organize a new language federation as soon as enough branches affiliate with the Communist Labor Party. In any case send this affiliation certificate to the national office, Communist Labor Party, 3207 Clark Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.

AFFILIATION CERTIFICATE.

Date-----

COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY,
3207 Clark Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.

COMRADES: This certifies that we have indorsed the platform, program, and constitution of the Communist Labor Party, and hereby apply for a charter in that party. The meeting at which affiliation was decided upon was held (date) _____ and we desire our charter to be so dated.

Name of local or branch, _____. Number of members in your organization, _____. State your financial resources, _____. Give date and place of your regular business meetings, _____. Will you arrange a public meeting for a Communist Labor Party speaker, _____.

Secretary, _____. Address, _____. City, _____.

Financial secretary, _____. Address, _____. City, _____.

Organizer, _____. Address, _____. City, _____.

Literature agent, _____. Address, _____. City, _____.

H.

PLATFORM AND PROGRAM COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY.

PLATFORM.

1. The Communist Labor Party of the United States of America declares itself in full harmony with the revolutionary working class parties of all countries and stands by the principles stated by the Third International, formed at Moscow.

2. With them it thoroughly appreciates the complete development of capitalism into its present form of capitalist imperialism, with its dictatorship of the capitalist class and its absolute suppression of the working class.

3. With them it also fully realizes the crying need for an immediate change in the social system; it realizes that the time for parleying and compromise has passed; and that now it is only the question whether all power remains in the hands of the capitalist or is taken by the working class.

4. The Communist Labor Party proposes the organization of the workers as a class, the overthrow of capitalist rule and the conquest of political power by the workers. The workers organized as the ruling class shall, through their government make and enforce the laws; they shall own and control land, factories, mills, mines, transportation systems, and financial institutions. All power to the workers!

5. The Communist Labor Party has as its ultimate aim: The abolition of the present system of production, in which the working class is mercilessly exploited, and the creation of an industrial republic wherein the machinery of production shall be socialized so as to guarantee to the workers the full social value of their toil.

6. To this end we ask the workers to unite with the Communist Labor Party for the conquest of political power to establish a government adapted to the communist transformation.

PARTY AND LABOR PROGRAM.

The Communist Labor Party of America declares itself in complete accordance with the principles of communism, as laid down in the manifesto of the Third International formed at Moscow.

In essence these principles are as follows:

1. The present is the period of the dissolution and collapse of the whole system of world capitalism. Unless capitalism is replaced by the rule of the working class world civilization will collapse.

2. The working class must organize and train itself for the capture of State power. This capture means the establishment of the new working-class government machinery in place of the State machinery of the capitalists.

3. This new working-class government—the dictatorship of the proletariat—will reorganize society on the basis of communism, and accomplish the transition from capitalism to communist commonwealth.

Communist society is not like the present fraudulent capitalist democracy—which, with all its pretensions to equality, is merely a disguise for the rule of the financial oligarchy—but it is a proletarian democracy based on the control of industry and the State by the workers, who are thereby free to work out their own destiny. It does not mean capitalistic institutions of government which are controlled by the great financial and industrial interests, but organs of administration created and controlled by the masses themselves; such as, for example, the Soviets of Russia.

4. The dictatorship of the proletariat shall transfer private property in the means of production and distribution to the working-class government, to be administered by the workers themselves. It shall nationalize the great trusts and financial institutions. It shall abolish capitalist agricultural production.

5. The present world situation demands that the revolutionary working-class movements of all countries shall closely unite.

6. The most important means of capturing state power for the workers is the action of the masses, proceeding from the place where the workers are gathered together—in the shops and factories. The use of the political machinery of the capitalist state for this purpose is only secondary.

7. In those countries in which there is a possibility for the workers to use this machinery in the class struggle they have in the past made effective use of it as a means of propaganda and of defense. In all countries where the conditions for a working-class revolution are not ripe the same process must go on.

8. We must rally all groups and proletarian organizations which have manifested and developed tendencies leading in the direction above indicated, and support and encourage the working class in every phase of its struggle against capitalism.

PARTY AND LABOR PROGRAM (PART 2).

1. The economic conditions in every country determine the form of organization and method of propaganda to be adopted. In order to efficiently organize our movement here we must clearly understand the political and economic structure of the United States.

2. Although the United States is called a political democracy, there is no opportunity whatever for the working class through the regular political machinery to effectively oppose the will of the capitalist class.

3. The years of Socialist activity on the political field have brought no increase of power to the workers. Even the million votes piled up by the Socialist Party in 1912 left the party without any proportionate representation. The Supreme Court, which is the only body in any government in the world with the power to review legislation passed by the popular representative assembly, would be able to obstruct the will of the working class, even if Congress registered it, which it does not. The Constitution, framed by the capitalist class for the benefit of the capitalist class, can not be amended in the workers' interest, no matter how large a majority may desire it.

4. Although all the laws and institutions of government are framed and administered by the capitalists in their own interests, the capitalists themselves refuse to be bound by these laws or submit to these institutions whenever they conflict with these interests. The invasion of Russia, the raids into Mexico, the suppression of governments in Central America and the Caribbean, the innumerable wars against working-class revolutions now being carried on—all these actions have been undertaken by the administration without asking the consent even of Congress. The appointment by the President of a Council of National Defense, the War Labor Board, and other extraconstitutional governing bodies without the consent of Congress, is a direct violation of the fundamental law of republican government. The licensing by the Department of Justice of anti-labor strike-breaking groups of employers—such as the National Security League, the American Defense Society, the Knights of Liberty, the American Protective League—whose express purpose was the crushing of labor organization and all class activities of the workers, and who inaugurated

in this country a reign of terror similar to that of the Black Hundreds in Russia—was entirely opposed to the principles of the American Government.

Moreover, the war and its aftermath have demonstrated that governing power does not reside in the regularly elected, or even the appointed officials and legislative bodies. In every State, county, and city in the Union, the so-called "police power" is shown to be superior to every law. In Minnesota, Wisconsin, and many other States, so-called public safety commissions and similar organizations were constituted by the authority of the governors, made up of representatives of chambers of commerce and employers' associations, which usurped the powers of legislatures and municipal administrations.

6. Not one of the great teachers of scientific socialism has ever said that it is possible to achieve the social revolution by the ballot.

7. However, we do not ignore the value of voting, or of electing candidates to public office—so long as these are of assistance to the workers in their economic struggle. Political campaigns, and the election of public officials, provide opportunities for showing up capitalist democracy, educating the workers to a realization of their class position, and of demonstrating the necessity for the overthrow of the capitalist system. But it must be clearly emphasized that the chance of winning even advanced reforms of the present capitalist system at the polls is extremely remote; and even if it were possible these reforms would not weaken the capitalist system.

PARTY AND LABOR PROGRAM (PART 3).

1. In America the capitalist class has never had a feudal aristocracy to combat, but has always been free to concentrate its power against the working class. This has resulted in the development of the American capitalist class wholly out of proportion to the corresponding development in other countries. By their absolute control of the agencies of publicity and education, the capitalists have gained a control over the political machinery which is impossible to break by resorting to this machinery.

2. Moreover, in America there is a highly developed labor movement. This makes it impossible to accomplish the overthrow of capitalism except through the agency of organized workers.

Furthermore, there is in America a centralized economic organization of the capitalist class which is a unit in its battle with the working class, and which can be opposed only by a centralized organization of the workers.

3. The economic conditions of society, as Marx foretold, are pushing the workers toward forms of organization which are, by the very nature of things, forced into activity on the industrial field with a political aim—the overthrow of capitalism.

4. It is our duty as communists to help this process, to hasten it by supporting all efforts of the workers to create a centralized revolutionary industrial organization. It is our duty as communists who understand the class struggle to point out to the workers that upon the workers alone depends their own emancipation and that it is impossible to accomplish this through capitalist political machinery, but only by the exercise of their united economic power.

PROGRAM.

1. We favor international alliance of the Communist Labor Party only with the communist groups of other countries, those which have affiliated with the Communist International.

2. We are opposed to the association with other groups not committed to the revolutionary class struggle.

3. We maintain that the class struggle is essentially a political struggle—that is, a struggle by the proletariat to conquer the capitalist state, whether its form be monarchical or democratic-republic, and to replace it by a governmental structure adapted to the communist transformation.

4. Communist platforms, being based on the class struggle, and recognizing that this is the historical period of the social revolution, can contain only one demand: The establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

5. We favor organized party activity and cooperation with class conscious industrial unions, in order to unify industrial and political class-conscious propaganda and action. Locals and branches shall organize shop branches to conduct the communist propaganda and organization in the shops and to encourage the workers to organize in one big union.

6. The party shall propagandize industrial unionism and industrial union organization, pointing out their revolutionary nature and possibilities.

7. The party shall make the great industrial battles its major campaigns, to show the value of the strike as a political weapon.

8. The party shall maintain strict control over all members elected to the public office, not only the local organizations, but the national executive committee. All public officials who refuse to accept the decisions of the party shall be immediately expelled.

9. In order that the party shall be a centralized organization capable of united action, no autonomous groups or federations independent of the will of the entire party shall be permitted.

10. All party papers and publications indorsed by the party and all educational and propaganda institutions indorsed by the party shall be owned and controlled by the regular party organization.

11. Party platforms, propaganda, dues, and methods of organization shall be standardized.

SPECIAL REPORT ON LABOR ORGANIZATION.

The purpose of the party is to create a unified revolutionary working-class movement in America.

The European war has speeded up social and industrial evolution to such a degree that capitalism throughout the world can no longer contain within itself the vast forces it has created. The end of the capitalistic system is in sight. In Europe it is already tottering and crashing down, and the proletarian revolutions there show that the workers are at the same time becoming conscious of their power. The capitalists themselves admit that the collapse of European capitalism and the rise of the revolutionary working class abroad can not help but drag American capitalism into the all-embracing ruin.

In this crisis the American working class is facing an alternative. Either the workers will be unprepared, in which case they will be reduced to abject slavery, or they will be sufficiently conscious and sufficiently organized to save society by reconstructing it in accordance with the principles of communism.

(II) 1. By the term "revolutionary industrial unionism" is meant the organization of the workers into unions by industries with a revolutionary aim and purpose; that is to say, a purpose not merely to defend or strengthen the status of the workers as wage earners, but to gain control of industry.

2. In any mention of revolutionary industrial unionism in this country there must be recognized of the immense effect upon the American labor movement of the propaganda and example of the Industrial Workers of the World, whose long and valiant struggles and heroic sacrifices in the class war have earned the respect and affection of all workers everywhere. We greet the revolutionary industrial proletariat of America, pledge them our whole-hearted support and cooperation in their struggles against the capitalist class. Elsewhere in the organized labor movement a new tendency has recently manifested itself, as illustrated by the Seattle and Winnipeg strikes, the one big union and shop committee movements in Canada and the West, and the numerous strikes all over the country of the rank and file, which are proceeding without the authority of the old reactionary trade-union officials, and even against their orders. This tendency, an impulse of the workers toward unity for common action across the lines of craft divisions, if carried to its logical conclusion, would inevitably lead to workers' control of industry.

3. This revolt of the rank and file must not be allowed to end in the disorganization of the ranks of organized labor. We must help to keep the workers together and through rank and file control of the unions assist the process of uniting all workers in the one big union.

4. With this purpose in view, the communist labor welcomes and supports, in whatever labor organization found, any tendency toward revolutionary industrial unionism. We urge all our members to join industrial unions. Where the job control of the reactionary craft unions compels them to become members of these craft unions, they shall also join an industrial organization, if one exists. In districts where there are no industrial unions our members shall take steps to organize one.

III. To labor, and labor alone, is industry responsible. Without the power of labor industry could not function. The need of the hour is that labor recognize the necessity of organization and education. This can not be achieved by attempting to influence the leaders of the recent convention of the American Federation of Labor. It can only be done by getting the workers on the job to come together and discuss the vital problems of industry.

3. Because of the industrial crisis created by the World War, together with the break down of industry following the cessation of hostilities and the interruption of the processes of exchange and distribution, there is great dissatisfaction among the workers. But they can find no means of dealing with the situation. Their unions have refused to take any steps to meet the grave problems of to-day, and, moreover, they obstruct all efforts of the rank and file to find some way by which it becomes immediately necessary to find some way by which the workers can act.

4. We suggest that some plan of labor organization be inaugurated along the lines of the shop-steward and shop-committee movements. These committees can serve as a spur or check upon the officials of the unions; they will necessarily reflect the spirit and wishes of the rank and file and will educate the workers on the job in preparation for the taking over of industry.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

We recommend the following measures:

1. That all locals shall elect committees on labor organization, composed, so far as is possible of members of labor unions whose functions shall be:

(a) To initiate or support the creation of shop committees in every industry in their district; the uniting of these committees in industrial councils, district councils, and the central council of all industries.

(b) To propagandize and assist in the combining of craft unions, by industries, in one big union.

(c) To bring together in the centers of party activity—locals and branches—delegates from factories and shops to discuss tactics and policies of conducting the class struggle.

(d) To propagandize directly among the workers on the job the principles of communism and educate them to a realization of their class position.

(e) To find a common basis for the uniting of all existing economic and political organizations passed on the class struggle.

(f) To mobilize all members who can serve as organizers to fill the demand for men and women who can organize bodies of workers along the lines indicated above.

(g) To direct the activities of local party organizations in assisting the workers whole-heartedly in the industrial battles and making use of these battles as opportunities for educating the workers.

2. That a national committee on labor organization be elected by this convention, which shall cooperate with the local committees above mentioned. In addition, the national committee shall be charged with the task of mobilizing national support for strikes of national importance and shall endeavor to give these a political character.

(a) It shall collect information concerning the revolutionary labor movement from the different sections of the country and from other countries and, through a press service to labor and socialist papers, shall spread this information to all parts of the country.

(b) It shall mobilize on a national scale all members who can serve as propagandists and organizers who can not only teach but actually help to put into service the principles of revolutionary industrial unionism and communism.

I.

FRAINA ON MASS ACTION.

The class power of the proletariat arises out of the intensity of its struggles and revolutionary energy. It consists, moreover, of undermining the bases of the power and morale of the capitalist state, a process that requires extra-parliamentary activity through mass action.

Mass action, being the proletariat itself in action, loosens its energy, develops enthusiasm, and unifies the action of the workers to its utmost measure.

It is this concentration of proletarian forces that makes mass action the method of the proletarian revolution.

Moreover, mass action means the repudiation of bourgeois democracy. Socialism will come not through the peaceful, democratic parliamentary conquest of the state, but through the determined and revolutionary mass action of a proletarian minority.

The proletariat will never conquer unless it proceeds to struggle after struggle; its power is developed and its energy let loose only through action. Parliamentarism, in and of itself, fetters proletarian action; organizations are often equally fetters upon action; the proletariat must act and always act; through action it conquers. The great merit and necessity of mass action is that it frees the energy, while it coordinates the forces of the proletariat, compels the proletariat to act uncompromisingly and reject the "rights" of any other class; and action destroys hesitancy and a paltering with the revolutionary task.

(8) Revolutions march from action to action; action, more action, against action, supplemented by an audacity that shrinks at nothing, these are the tactics of the proletarian revolution. * * *

Mass action is the dynamic impulse of the revolutionary proletarian struggle, whatever the specific form it may assume; in the actual revolutionary period, mass action unites all forms of struggle in one sweeping action against capitalism, each contributing its share as integral phases of the general mass action, as in the proletarian revolution in Russia. In a crisis, the state rigidly controls all the available forces of normal action; parliaments become impotent, and a "state of siege" prevails that can be broken through only by revolutionary mass action, equally during war and in any revolutionary situation.

Mass action is dynamic, pliable, creative; the proletariat through mass action instinctively adapts itself to the means and tactics necessary in a prevailing situation. The forms of activity of the proletariat are not limited and stultified by mass action, they are broadened, deepened, and coordinated. Mass action is equally a process of revolution and the revolution itself in operation.

KARL RADEK—THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALISM FROM SCIENCE TO ACTION.

What does dictatorship mean? Dictatorship is the form of government by which one class forces its will ruthlessly on the other class.

And the stronger capitalism is developed in a country, just so much more ruthless, just so much wilder, will the defensive struggle be; just so much bloodier the proletarian revolution; and just so much more ruthless the measures by means of which the victorious working class will hold down the defeated capitalist class.

The harsh face which the Russian revolution shows to the international proletariat is the same face which, blackened with powder, the international proletariat will itself proudly wear in the near future. He who is frightened at this face or turns away from it, as from a Medusa's head, will turn away from the proletarian revolution and away from socialism. But the Russian revolution not only shows the European proletariat the battles which it must fight its way through if it does not want to rot away in the trenches but also the forms—the symbol—by which it will conquer. What form will the dictatorship of the proletariat take?

The form of soviets—that is, the representation of the workers in the factory, in the city, in the country, and in the nation.

The soviet government is not a democratic form of government, it is the form of government of the workers; it shows its class character clearly, does not veil it with democratic phrases, but it is at the same time the form of government in which the will of the revolutionary working class can express itself clearly, unmistakably, and ruthlessly.

K.

FROM THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY.

The great social revolution that saved Russia from the bloodthirsty clique of international imperialistic highwaymen, that threw into dust the thrones of a number of czars and kings, revealing the chauvinistic rottenness of the old socialist parties of Europe, also found its echo here in America.

The revolutionary elements of the American Socialist Party, which lately were known under the name of the "left wing," broke away from the old party at the convention held August 31, 1919, after a failure of inducing the old party to adopt the revolutionary communist platform.

The delegates of the "left wing," who arrived from all corners of the country to the convention held in Chicago from August 31 until September 4, 1919, established the Communist Labor Party of America, that adopted the platform of the Third International brought forth in Moscow March 6, 1919.

We attach below the fundamental principles and the program of the Communist Labor Party. We appeal to all Russian workingmen and also to those members of the old party who became tired of playing the part of voting cattle in the hands of political bosses, that they learn our program, that they familiarize themselves with it, and that they join us and help us to carry it into effect, supporting thereby the revolutionary Third Communist International and also the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic.

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY OF AMERICA.

The Communist Labor Party is established upon the following principles:

"1. The present is the period of the dissolution and collapse of the whole system of world capitalism. Unless capitalism is replaced by the rule of the working class world civilization will collapse.

"2. The working class must organize and train itself for the capture of State power. This capture means the establishment of the new working-class government machinery in place of the State machinery of the capitalists.

3. This new working-class government—the dictatorship of the proletariat—will reorganize society on the basis of communism and accomplish the transition from capitalism to the communist commonwealth.

Communist society is not like the present fraudulent capitalistic democracy—which with all its pretensions to equality is merely a disguise for the rule of the financial oligarchy—but it is a proletarian democracy, based on the control of industry and the state by the workers, who are thereby free to work out their own destiny. It does not mean capitalist institutions of government, which are controlled by the great financial and industrial interests, but organs of administration created and controlled by the masses themselves; such as, for example, the soviets of Russia.

4. The dictatorship of the proletariat shall transfer private property in the means of production and distribution to the working-class government, to be administered by the workers themselves. It shall nationalize the great trusts and financial institutions. It shall abolish capitalist agricultural production.

5. The present world situation demands that the revolutionary working-class movements of all countries shall closely unite.

6. The most important means of capturing state power for the workers is the action of the masses, proceeding from the place where the workers are gathered together—in the shops and factories. The use of the political machinery of the capitalist state for this purpose is only secondary.

7. In those countries in which there is a possibility for the workers to use this machinery in the class struggle they have in the past made effective use of it as a means of propaganda and of defense. In all countries where the conditions for a working-class revolution are not ripe the same process must go on.

8. We must rally all groups and proletarian organizations which have manifested and developed tendencies leading in the direction above indicated and support and encourage the working class in every phase of its struggle against capitalism.

PROGRAM.

1. We favor international alliance of the Communist Labor Party only with the communist groups of other countries, those which have affiliated with the Communist International.

2. We are opposed to association with other groups not committed to the revolutionary class struggle.

3. We maintain that the class struggle is essentially a political struggle—that is, a struggle by the proletariat to conquer the capitalist State, whether its form be monarchical or democratic-republican—and to replace it by a governmental structure adapted to the communist transformation.

4. Communist platforms, being based on the class struggle and recognizing that this is the historical period of the social revolution, can contain only one demand—the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

5. We favor organized party activity and cooperation with class-conscious industrial unions, in order to unify industrial and political class-conscious propaganda and action. Locals and branches shall organize shop branches to

conduct the communist propaganda and organization in the shops and to encourage the workers to organize in one big union.

6. The party shall propagandize industrial unionism and industrial union organization, pointing out their revolutionary nature and possibilities.

7. The party shall make the great industrial battles its major campaigns to show the value of the strike as a political weapon.

8. The party shall maintain strict control over all members elected to public office—not only the local organizations but the national executive committee. All public officials who refuse to accept the decisions of the party shall be immediately expelled.

9. In order that the party shall be a centralized organization, capable of united action, no autonomous groups or federations independent of the will of the entire party shall be permitted.

10. All party papers and publications indorsed by the party, and all educational and propaganda institutions indorsed by the party, shall be owned and controlled by the regular party organization.

11. Party platforms, propaganda, dues, and methods of organization shall be standardized.

All those who desire to join the Communist Labor Party, or who intend to establish new branches of the party, are requested to apply to the secretary of the Chicago section, A. Practor, 204 North Clark Street, Chicago, Ill., or to the secretary of the control committee, A. Wagenknecht, 3207 Clark Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.

[Communist Labor Party News, November, 1919.]

THE THREE PARTIES—WHICH ONE IS YOURS?

Three parties are right now seeking your support. Your support means added power. Each party wants more power. To which party are you going to add strength?

You realize that alone you are helpless before the organized strength of the capitalist class. You know that you must join with your fellow workers to achieve your emancipation. You feel that all together the workers are strong.

Which one of the three parties is your party? Which one is the best instrument for the expression of the principals and tactics you believe in? Which party can you depend upon not to support the capitalist State and betray you when the crisis comes? Which party has the form of organization that gives you the best opportunity to express yourself and to function for your class? Which party has the proper tactic to avoid becoming a mere sect under the control of a clique of leaders? Which party has a policy that will result in a great working-class movement, competent to achieve victory?

Here they are; make your choice:

THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY.

Accepts the principles of communism.

Affiliates with the Third International.

Holds that employing class and working class have nothing in common.

Considers existing political state a ruling class instrument, whose sham democracies are useless to the working class.

Teaches that workers must develop their own power, abolish the existing political state and under their own dictatorship work out their problems.

Deems ballot box campaigns for this purpose of secondary importance. Makes the great industrial struggles its major campaigns.

Participates in political campaigns for purpose of propaganda. Has only one demand: The dictatorship of the proletariat. One slogan: All power to the workers.

Propagandizes industrial unionism. Points out its revolutionary nature. Organizes shop committees. Actively helps to build the one big union.

Is the logical outgrowth of the revolutionary left wing movement. Was started in obedience to the decisions of the left wing conference and the mandates of the old party's revolutionary membership.

Starts without machine politics or clique control. Permits no autonomous federations or groups. Develops highly centralized organization, capable of united action. Organizes its membership as one homogeneous mass, competent to meet the revolutionary situation.

Has a policy of inclusion. Constantly offers unity to all organizations that agree on the fundamental principles of communism.

Has a nation-wide organization, steadily growing in membership and power.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

Agrees with the Communist Labor Party on fundamental principles. (Not even the most orthodox C. P. member has yet denied this.)

Differs from the Communist Labor Party in origin, form of organization, and policy.

Originated when the national left wing conference refused to surrender itself to the complete domination of the central executive committees of a few language groups.

Is the logical product of those that bolted from the left wing. Started as a third party by the Russian-Michigan group in violation of the decisions of the left wing conference.

Began as a compromise between three political machines—the Michigan machine, the Russian federation machine and the Fraima, Ferguson, Ruthenberg machine—under absolute clique control of "leaders."

Has practically autonomous federations, each a complete party within itself, whose executives have power any time they please to split their federation away from the party without action from rank and file.

Has no centralized organization, capable of meeting the revolutionary situation, but two heads, an executive council and a central executive committee, which are already at loggerheads with each other.

Builds its membership, not as one homogeneous mass, but as a loosely federated group of parties with nationalistic antagonisms, which must inevitably break apart.

Has a policy of exclusion. Constantly refuses unity conference, since its officials are determined to perpetuate their clique control.

Can not now show one-third of the membership of which it once boasted.

THE SOCIALISTIC PARTY.

Rejects the principles of communism. Refuses to affiliate with the Third International.

Holds that employing class and working class have some common interest in establishing "freedom" and "democracy."

Considers existing political state as a fit instrument through which the working class can emancipate itself. Teaches workers to place their faith in election of politicians, to secure "reforms" through the political state and establish industrial democracy by making a motion.

Deems political machinery all sufficient. Supports industrial organizations only to garner votes.

Has a multitude of "immediate demands." Continues its vote-chasing tactics. Favors cooperation with the bourgeoisie. Balks at the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Antagonizes the I. W. W. Denies the revolutionary significance of industrial unionism. Caters to reactionary A. F. of L. officialdom.

Will inevitably dicker, deal, and compromise with liberal organizations, labor parties, and nonpartisan leagues for political pie.

Is controlled by reactionary leaders, who called the Chicago police to their support at the national convention, and who still pull the controlling wires that move the puppets with new names.

Has officials that openly voice their hope that the Russian revolution will not succeed, because it did not come by the "ballot-box route."

Is the counterpart of the Kerenskys of Russia and the Scheidemanns of Germany, who turned the machine guns upon our Bolshevik and Spartacan comrades.

Has lost nine-tenths of its membership since last May.

DECIDE.

If you still have faith in the palaver of politicians and distrust the workers on the job; if you actually believe that the cooperative commonwealth will spring full-orbed from the ballot box; if you are afraid to join hands openly

with the Bolsheviks and the Spartacans in the Third International, then stay where you belong, in the old Socialist Party.

If you are the kind of communist that blindly follows leaders, organized in a little clique for party control; if you are willing to waste your energies building a party that has within its very form of organization the seeds of its own destruction; if you are opposed to unity of all true communist forces, then you should join the Communist Party, until experience teaches you its costly lesson.

But if you want a party that is solidly based on communist principles; if you want a party that is uncompromising in its revolutionary tactics, and that at the same time has a form of organization and a policy that makes possible the developing of a working-class organization, militant and victorious, then you should at once join the Communist Labor Party.

Do not delay. The laggard is lost. The compromiser is shoved aside. Make your choice. Take your stand now with the Bolsheviks and the Spartacans in the Third International. Become a member of the Communist Labor Party, and get busy on the job among your fellow workers. That is the road to workers' power.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATION.

I. INTERNATIONAL AFFILIATION.

The Communist Labor Party of the United States of America declares that its purpose of organizing the workers for the conquest of the state for their class can only be accomplished in unity with such national parts of the international labor movement as have never lost sight of nor ever betrayed the great historic struggle for communism against capitalism.

It further declares that such unity must be one of principle and action rather than one of organization only.

The great war of the capitalist powers for imperialism has thrown the nations of the earth into the final struggle between the working class and the capitalist class. The revolutionary workers organizations the world over have suddenly been driven out of a period of revolutionary theory and propaganda into a period of revolutionary action. The success of such action, though agreed upon to fit national conditions and though applied by the workers of each nation nationally, depends upon the united action of all the workers of all the countries, fused into one great revolutionary force by the all-uniting spirit of international class solidarity.

We hereby declare ourselves one in principle and action with all the parties and organizations already affiliated with the Third International formed at Moscow, and send them our heartiest greetings.

We pledge ourselves to work upon the lines and according to the program determined upon by the first Congress of the Third International, and hereby instruct our national executive committee to immediately take steps for the affiliation of the Communist Labor Party of the United States of America with the Third International.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

SEPTEMBER 4, 1919.

Reconvened at 2 p. m. Sang the International.

A contribution to the convention of \$10 was received from the first Russian Communist Branch of Chicago, and their request for the first charter was referred to the N. E. C. to be elected.

It was decided to adjourn at 7 p. m.

The platform committee reported on paragraph 9, previously referred back. After rejecting a proffered amendment, the paragraph was stricken out and the platform as previously amended was adopted as a whole.

A communication from Harrison George, No. 13158, Leavenworth, political prisoner, was read. It was decided to send this comrade our greetings and that copies of his letter be furnished all the delegates.

A communication from Comrade W. D. Haywood was received stating that it was impossible for him to address the convention. Secretary instructed to reply.

It was decided to elect a labor committee of seven. Carney, Sprunk, Bauer, England, Gitlow, Swabeck, and Richardson were chosen, after ruling by the chairman that convention rule covering the size of committees applied only to convention committees and not to permanent committees.

The committee on unity (special conferring) was instructed to draft a statement, addressed to the delegates of the communist convention, and distribute them to the delegates.

The report of the committee on international relations was read, considered serialim, and adopted as a whole.

The report of the committee on agriculture was read and adopted. Greetings from the executive committee of the Bronx Left Wing, urging unity, was read and ordered into the record.

A communication from Comrade J. van Entheysen anent definition of "communism" was filed.

Comrade Sophor, substituting for W. D. Haywood, addressed the convention on class war prisoners. The address was greatly appreciated by the delegates.

It was decided to reconsider the report of the committee on agriculture. Report was referred back to the committee.

The report of the constitution committee was read and considered serialim.

Article 1, section 1, previously cared for by the convention.

Article 2, sections 2 and 3, adopted as read and section 4 stricken out.

Article 3, section 1: It was decided to refer the whole article back to committee.

Article 4, section 1: (a) Adopted as read. (b) amended to read "five-sevenths," (c) adopted as read, (d) stricken out, (e) adopted as read, (f) and (g) cared for elsewhere.

DEFENSE COMMITTEE,
COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY, STATE OF NEW YORK.
New York, N. Y., December 6, 1919.

WORKERS AND FRIENDS: The organized labor movement of America is now engaged in a bitter struggle for its existence. In almost every industrial struggle now going on, the organized power of the Government is being used against the organized workers. In the steel strike the reign of brutality instigated by the steel magnates was backed up by judges, police, State constabulary, militia, and Federal troops.

When the miners, after a period of long and considered deliberation, went out on strike to better their conditions, they found the Government stubbornly opposing them. The United States Government went into court applying for an injunction against the miners on the ground that their strike was illegal. Judge Anderson thereupon issued the injunction and prevented the miners' organization and their officers from conducting the strike and the same time prohibiting the use of the organization's funds for the conducting of the strike. Troops were ordered to all the mining districts to prevent picketing, strike meetings, and to protect the scabs and armed guards of the mine owners.

During this time a libelous and pernicious campaign is being conducted by the labor haters of the country against what they term "the red menace." In this campaign all of the capitalist newspapers are active. Plots are hatched and reported as true when they have not an iota of fact in them. Persons are branded as traitors, and the gullible mob that swallows without thought what the lying press prints, are spurred on by deeds of violence.

In New York this campaign is being carried on by the Lusk legislative committee. On November 8 last 1,600 to 2,000 men were seized without proper warrants and for no just cause. Headquarters of radical organizations were raided, property destroyed, and the heads of innocent men split open. The reign of lawlessness and violence indulged in by the Lusk committee in its "raids" should awaken the organized-labor movement to the fact that the same brutal tactics will soon be employed by the capitalist class in its labor-hating campaign against the organizations of the workers.

On the night of the "raid," two men prominent in the labor movement were arrested. They were charged with "criminal anarchy" and jailed. After 12 days' confinement in the Tombs they were finally released on bail to the amount of \$15,000 each. The two men are Jim Larkin and Benjamin Gitlow.

ACCEPTANCE.

COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY,
New York City.

COMRADES: I hereby accept appointment on the committee of one hundred of the Communist Labor Party, and will do my best to raise \$100 before January 1 for the \$10,000 organization fund.

Signed, _____.

Address, _____.

O.

RAILROAD WORKERS—FIGHT ON.

You are out on strike.

For a long time you were promised redress of your grievances, and you waited—you waited until this great truth dawned upon you: That the only power to force redress of your grievances is your own strength and not the "good will" of Mr. Wilson, Mr. Hines, or Mr. Railroad President.

You relied upon promises while the coal miners were striking, though uniting with them you could have both won.

You relied upon promises while the steel workers were striking, though uniting with them you could have both won.

Now that conditions became unbearable to you, you have gone out on strike. And now you find all those who promised you redress lined up against you. Lined up with your railroad president you find "your" Government and the officers of your union.

The collective bargaining, the "sacred" contract, you find to be a bill of sale between the exploiting railroad magnate and the salve contractor in the disguise of union officials, agreeing to deliver you, body and soul, for a certain time at a certain price. The railroad magnate retains full control over his economic strength, his industry, and he uses this control to increase in all ways he can his profits. But the workers, through the "sacred" contract, give up control of their strength, their power; give up their right to strike and become helpless slaves. And if the slaves revolt the exploiting capitalists, and the union officials in the guise of slave contractors, combine in their denunciation of such "unlawful" strikes.

In this hellish work to repress the working class, the capitalists, of course, make full use of the governmental machine, namely, Congress, the military force, the police, the spies.

As the strike proceeds, you railroad men become convinced that you are faced by the united front of all the parasites living upon your toll, sweat, and blood.

Look what is going on about you! Listen to the curses that are being heaped upon your heads by the prostituted capitalist press, because you dared to take your fate into your own hands. Listen to the gnashing of teeth on the part of the railroad magnates and the "leaders" of your brotherhoods, because you, by mass action, tied up the former's profits and cast aside the latter.

Look how the Government seeks to find and hound those who self-sacrificingly devote their energies to your cause.

All the powers of darkness have joined hands to combat you because they realize full well that your present revolt threatens them with disaster. These vultures understand that such a strike as yours, a strike that paralyzes the railroads, the main artery of production, a strike against the will of the union "leaders" who are considered lawful because they are the servants of your capitalist masters—such a strike deals a powerful blow to their domination.

Fight on then, you railroad workers! Keep up the battle! Avoid compromise!

Remember that the meaning and purpose of your struggle is not merely a slight betterment of your slave conditions. These slight betterments were occasionally secured for you by your union "leaders." Have these crumbs helped you any?

Do not content yourself with crumbs from the sumptuous table of your masters. Fight on for more than crumbs. Fight on for the seizure of all the

means of production, all the factories and mills, all the mines and railroads. All of these belong to you. All of these are the product of your labor. But all of them were grabbed by your exploiters, the capitalists, who maintain their grip upon you with the aid of the Government.

To own the industries you must unite your forces with those of other workers into one big union. Abandon your old, rotting, conservative unions with their treacherous leaders who sell you out to your enemies.

Create a new organization, a real working class revolutionary organization, with which you can lay hold of the governmental powers, which at present are being used by the capitalist class to enslave you and bleed you to death.

All power and all industries to the workers!

COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY.

THE RED RAIDS.

The capitalist Government of the United States in a mad hysterical rage is trying to stave off the inevitable collapse of capitalism. Ignorant, vicious, and corrupt officials are persecuting thousands of men and women who have declared their allegiance to the revolutionary working-class movement. The prostitute capitalist press in bold headlines praises every czarist act on the part of the stupid agents of the Government. We are informed that "thousands of alien reds who have plotted against the free and democratic institutions of the Republic" will be deported to Europe. "The communist movement in the United States is an alien movement," shout the intellectual ignoramus of the capitalist class. "Out of the country with them!" Raids follow raids and arrests follow arrests. Capitalism, seeing its impending ruin in Europe and afraid for its existence in America, calls for the speedy extermination of the communist movement.

The Communist Labor Party has not been exterminated! Despite the hard blows inflicted upon it, the movement to bring about communism in the United States through the rule of the workers will go on. To the comrades in jail and those on Ellis Island and elsewhere awaiting deportation the party sends its warmest greeting. The democracy and the liberty of the United States about which the capitalist politicians boast is now nakedly exposed in all its hideousness. It is the liberty and democracy of the plunderbund that wallows in luxury and wealth while the workers starve and are miserably exploited.

The Government through its stupid and brutal hirelings is to-day hounding the foreigners like the worst criminals because they do not appreciate the "gratitude" of the American exploiter in giving them jobs and paying them wages. The boasted institutions of America and its fabulous wealth, amounting to billions of dollars have been built on the sweat and blood of the foreign-born worker. In the basic industries where brawn and muscle are essential it is the workers from Russia, Italy, Sweden, etc., who are employed. The industrial security of the entire country depends upon the willingness of the foreign-born workers here to remain on the job and produce. The foreign-born workers who give their lives in industry so that America can boast of its millionaires have a perfect right to participate in the revolutionary struggles of the workers in America. And when the time comes, and all indications point to the fact that it is coming soon, the foreign-born workers will play a very important part in the overthrow of American capitalism.

Most of the workers now held for deportation will be more than pleased to be shipped out of the country where there is no semblance even of capitalist law, where governmental anarchy reigns supreme, and where it is dangerous for one even to think. Send the workers back! Each and every one of them will be a propagandist abroad! There they will willingly inform the workers of the autocracy of the American Government, the brutality of its persecution, and the lawlessness of its officials. Through them the American revolutionary movement expects to obtain the united support of the revolutionary movement abroad.

We urge the stupid politicians of the capitalist class to proceed. The steel workers' strike was smashed when they sought redress in the form of a little more wages and the right to collective bargaining. Every so-called guarantee of the American Constitution was denied the steel workers. Their meetings were broken up. Their homes were entered by the State constabulary. Soldiers were ordered to shoot them if they attempted to picket. The steel-mill owners were permitted to hire armed murderers from the criminal classes of the country, and these armed murderers were permitted to brutally assault and kill

steel workers. The mine workers, numbering 450,000, were treated in almost the same fashion. All the power of the organized Government was used to force the miners back to work. While the capitalists through their Government are determined to ruthlessly wipe out every attempt on the part of the workers to organize and better their conditions, they are unable to stop the ever-rising cost of living, a fact that stalks in every workers' home and sows unrest and revolution where least expected.

The institutions of no Government are secure where, on the one hand, there are a few who own millions and billions of dollars of wealth, while the vast majority of the people must work for wages that are inadequate to meet an enormously high cost of living.

Millions of dollars are spent and thousands of workers' lives are lost in a futile attempt to overthrow the workers' government of Russia. The workers of Russia have for two years demonstrated what a workers' government can accomplish. They have successfully resisted the capitalist forces of the world. The campaigns of Kolchak, Denikin, and Yudenitch, characterized by their atrocities, have been crushed. The attempts of capitalism in America to revive the corpse of the Czar Nicholas in the United States will also mean the end of capitalist rule here.

The capitalist politicians and their intellectual supporters brand the Communist movement and the Communist Labor Party in particular as an illegal movement because they claim it is opposed to law and order. What law and order is the Communist Labor Party opposed to? Is it that almost religious reverence of the ballot box as a means for expressing any political opinion and of changing of the form of government? Almost all the staunch pretenders of the belief in the ballot box are to-day denying that principle. Men who have been elected to office by a majority vote have been denied the right to assume office because their political views differ with the views of those in power. The case of Berger elected to Congress in Wisconsin is one instance, and the ousting of the five Socialist assemblymen from the New York State Legislature is another. Numerous cases of like nature all over the country can be mentioned. It is not to be assumed that the Communists entertain the foolish pretensions that the Socialists do about the ballot box and parliamentary action. It is foolish for a party that is organized to overthrow capitalism and its institutions to expect a class entrenched in power to release that power because a majority of the electorate have voted against them. No ruling class ever willingly gave up its rulership in the past, nor will any ruling class do so in the future. The political activities of the Socialist Party, their loud pronouncements in support of the liberty and democratic institutions of the capitalist Republic brands them as the willing tools of the capitalist class, who will do everything in their power to keep intact the parliamentary structure of the capitalist political state when it is threatened.

At the present time there is no semblance of a unified Government harmoniously working through all its branches. Appointed bureaucrats, responsible to no popular will, assume autocratic power and trample underfoot all the guaranties, so called, of liberty and democracy. Private organizations supported by private capital are permitted to assume the functions of the State and proceed to commit violence. The newspapers openly preach murder, hatch plots, and lie about the movement of the workers. To have an opinion is a crime. To publish a paper in opposition to the opinion of the capitalist class is criminal anarchy. The entire structure of our Government is in a mix-up, various departments opposing one another. One has but to take a cross-section of the country—jails jammed full of political prisoners, thousands awaiting deportation, politicians calling for the blood of radicals and union men, and an enormously wealthy capitalist class, and you have a picture of the political situation of America.

The Communist Labor Party realizes that the only way out of the capitalist anarchy now reigning supreme is through the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the rule of the working class. Capitalism in Europe is fast crumbling to pieces, and American capitalism, dependent upon Europe, will meet the same fate. The Communist Labor Party will continue its fight. There will be no compromise with the capitalist class. There will be no let-up in the struggle until we are victorious. Millions of workers will in the next year get the message of communism. As members of the third international we will accomplish our task. The sham democracy—the dictatorship of the capitalist class—will be the ruin from which will rise the dictatorship of the proletariat—the rule of the working class.

THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY.

R.

UNITY RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY UNANIMOUS VOTE OF THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY CONVENTION.

"Be it resolved, That the Communist Labor Party extends a standing invitation to the Communist Party to meet, on a basis of equality, in unity conference, and that we hereby instruct our national officials and committees to accept every such invitation from the Communist Party, or from any other revolutionary working-class organization."

Communists, compel your officials to answer.

WHY DO THEY SUPPRESS THIS?

On September 6, at the first meeting of the N. E. C. of the Communist Labor Party, the following letter was drafted, mimeographed, and over 100 copies were distributed to the delegates at the Communist Party convention.

Not only have the officials of the Communist Party failed to answer this communication but they have suppressed it. You will not find it published with the other "documents" in their official paper.

FINAL COMMUNICATION TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY, ISSUED BY THE N. E. C. OF THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY.

CHICAGO, ILL., September 6, 1919.

To the delegates and members of the Communist Party.

COMRADES: The Communist Labor Party convention by unanimous vote adopted the following resolution:

"Be it resolved, That the Communist Labor Party extends a standing invitation to the Communist Party to meet, on a basis of equality, in unity conference, and that we instruct our national officials and committees to accept every such invitation from the Communist Party or from any other revolutionary working-class organization."

The convention has now completed its work and has adjourned. Obedient to these instructions from the convention, the national executive committee of the Communist Labor Party addresses this letter to you.

Comrades, the organization of two Communist Parties is a crime. We have made every effort possible, short of turning traitor to the membership that sent us here, to avoid this deplorable situation; but our repeated attempts to unite all revolutionary communist hosts seem to have been thwarted for the time being by certain elements in your convention.

As far as we can discover there is no fundamental difference of principle between us. The platform, program, and resolutions that our convention adopted are uncompromisingly revolutionary. They conform to the Left Wing program and are in strict accord with the principles laid down by the Communist International of Moscow. We are affiliating with the Third International.

We are confident that the great majority of your delegates and your membership agree with us in this. Why, then, should we remain apart?

We hereby announce that we are ready at any time to meet your representatives to consider the question of unity on a basis of equality.

If certain elements in your party make this impossible, we invite all individuals or groups who may agree with us in our desire to unite all the communist elements of the United States into one party of communist socialism to join forces with us.

All who agree on the fundamentals of communism, all who desire to affiliate with the Third International of Moscow, are welcome in the Communist Labor Party.

Comrades, let us unite against our common foe.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY.
 JACK CARNEY.
 MAX BEDACHT.
 L. E. KATTERFELD.
 EDWARD LINDGREN.
 ALEXANDER BILAN.
 A. WAGENKNECHT, *Executive Secretary.*

To date no answer has come from the officials of the Communist Party to this straightforward request for a unity conference. Their only proposition is that we should disband and apply as individuals for admission to "their" party. They refuse to meet with our organization on any equal basis. They assume an attitude of superiority toward the membership of the Communist Labor Party, and deny our comrades the same respect as Communist that they demand for themselves. The only unity that they consider is the unity offered by the Pope of Rome: "Join my church, and then there will only be one church." We demand that we meet on an equal basis of comradeship.

Since the officialdom of the Communist Party has suppressed this unity offer, it is our duty to give it publicity and to carry it direct to the rank and file of the Communist Party. Let every comrade help with this task and show this article to as many members of the Communist Party as possible. When the membership of the Communist Party finally learns how it is being deceived by its leaders, it will make short shrift of those that now stand in the way of uniting all communist elements of the United States under one banner, and a United Communist Party will emerge to rally the revolutionary hosts.

S.

THE THREE PARTIES.

I.

All over the world the old socialist movement is breaking in two over a fundamental difference of principle.

First there are those that look upon the capitalist political State as a fit instrument through which the working class can gradually bring about reforms that will ultimately result in the cooperative Commonwealth. These look upon municipal and government ownership as "steps toward socialism." They emphasize "immediate demands" in political platforms. Their best known world spokesman is Scheideman. They control the Second International.

Then there are those that consider the capitalist political State with its sham democracies as but an instrument of the ruling class to keep the working class in subjection. They hold that no reforms can be achieved through this instrument that will seriously endanger the power of the ruling class, and that to emancipate themselves the workers must organize their own power, abolish the existing capitalist political State, and, under their own dictatorship, develop the instruments with which to build the industrial republic. Their best known world spokesman is Lenin. They are organized in the Third International.

These two viewpoints are fundamentally opposed to each other. Now that their adherents are shooting at each other with machine guns in Europe, they can no longer remain together even here. Those that believe in prolonging the existing political State and those that want to abolish it do not belong in the same party. One or the other has to get out.

Every member must now make his choice between petty bourgeois reform socialism, as exemplified in the officialdom of the old Socialist Party, and the revolutionary principles of proletarian international communism.

II.

Early this year it became apparent that the revolutionary element of the party in this country had become the majority. The very logic of world events had changed the views of tens of thousands of comrades. The overwhelming mass of the membership indorsed the principles of the "left wing" and elected their candidates for party offices by tremendous majorities.

In order to retain control of the party organization machinery for the moderates, the reactionary officialdom of the Socialist Party suppressed these election returns, expelled nearly 40,000 members, suppressed the membership motions to reverse their acts, suppressed the referendum by which the membership had voted 10 to 1 to join the Third International, and mobilized the Chicago police against their comrades in the emergency convention in Chicago.

Over 50 regularly elected delegates were kept out of the Germer convention by the Chicago police under Germer's personal orders. Every possible effort was made by these delegates to secure seats in that convention, and win the official

control of the party's organization machinery for the party's revolutionary majority. But when the Germer convention proceeded to do business without even waiting for a report from their contest committee every left-wing delegate that had already been seated withdrew and joined with his excluded comrades.

These delegates, representing a majority of the party membership, then met at the call of the N. F. C. that has been elected by referendum held the legal emergency convention of the Socialist Party and transacted the business for which the membership had sent them.

Then and there was discarded the outgrown shell of old reactionary officialdom and compromising tactics that had been hampering the revolutionary development of the party. Then and there was the party transformed into a party of communist socialism in accord with the mandates of the party's revolutionary membership. As an outward token of this inward transformation that had already taken place, the name of the party was changed to Communist Labor Party, and the hammer and sickle of the Bolsheviks was adopted as the party's official emblem.

Let now the dead old party bury its dead. Let us leave the opportunist reform elements in the old Socialist Party and the International of Scheidemann. Let us gather the revolutionary proletarian elements in the Communist Labor Party, and set our faces toward the new day, toward the rising sun of the communist international.

III.

Why are two parties of Communist Socialism now emerging out of this glorious hour? Why is there a schism in the Communist ranks?

The germ was planted by the old N. E. C. when they expelled part of the left-wing elements and left others in the party. Sensing the danger in this situation, a conference was held in Chicago between representatives of the expelled units and the left-wing forces still in the party, and it was agreed to carry on the fight within the party for party control by the revolutionary membership until it had reached its logical climax in party convention. The expelled units were to keep themselves intact, ignore their expulsions, and reenter the party at the first opportunity.

Within two weeks the Michigan-Russian Federation coalition violated this joint agreement and began boosting for a separate party.

The question was again debated at the national left-wing conference in New York, and again the majority decided to carry on the struggle within the party until the natural climax in convention. The Michigan-Russian convention call was turned down and a motion by Fraina adopted instructing the left-wing council to "call a conference in Chicago for September 1 of all revolutionary elements willing to unite with a revolutionized Socialist Party or with a Communist Party organized by the left-wing delegates seceding from the convention of the Socialist Party to be held August 30."

The issue arose for a third time at the new N. E. C. meeting held in Chicago July 26. Fraina and Ruthenberg were again present and again opposed the Russian-Michigan convention call. Again they agreed to carry on the fight within the party until the emergency convention. They voted specifically to instruct A. Wagenknecht, the executive secretary, to rent a separate hall for the emergency convention to convene on August 30.

Within a week they flopped. The left-wing national council, which has bitterly fought the Michigan-Russian coalition, split and by majority vote abjectly capitulated before the organized power of the central executive committee of the Russian Federation.

As late as August 2 the following statement, signed by Ruthenberg and Fraina, appeared in the *Revolutionary Age*:

"Should the emergency convention rule in favor of the shameful acts of the present autocratic national executive committee, then the left-wing delegates to this convention shall immediately organize a new Communist Party, representing the vast majority of the present Socialist Party."

Nothing there about going to the convention called by the "organization committee" of the Communist Party, but a provision was adopted to "include such Federation groups as might want to join with the left wing on September 1." (*Revolutionary Age*, Aug. 2, p. 6.)

Then the *Revolutionary Age* turned a somersault and began to play its financial masters' tune by abusing as "centrists" all those that did not join it in its flop.

IV.

Those left-wing delegates that were not keeled over the Russian Federation machine carried the original program, three times agreed to in conference by Rutheberg and Frajna, through to its logical conclusion at the emergency convention and did all in their power to bring about unity between the two Communist groups.

We sent a committee of five to meet with the Communist Party organization committee even before the Communist Party convention began, but were merely told to wait.

Later the Communist convention, under the absolute control of the Russian Federation machine, refused even to elect a committee to confer with us on unity. Then their English-speaking delegates went on strike and threatened to bolt, and the second day they condescended to elect a conference committee.

But they did not even consider uniting the two organizations. Their only answer to our invitation was that we might apply for admission to their convention as individuals; that their credentials committee would seat those that it approved as delegates; and that the rest of us would be permitted to occupy a special section in their convention hall to look on.

We did not demand that all our delegates should be seated. But we did insist that if we met in joint convention it should be on an equal basis of communist comradeship. We suggested that the two conference committees should act as a joint credentials committee to go over the rosters of both conventions and see whether there were irreconcilable elements, leaving those open of discussion. This fair offer was turned down by the Communist Party, and we were told again that we could only come to them as individuals giving them the absolute power to select only those that they pleased.

Our convention then elected a different committee, who personally invited the Communist convention to meet us informally in a joint session, where the rank and file of the two bodies could talk over the heads of their officials, discuss with each other the problem of getting together and avoid the crime of organizing two parties of communism. This offer met with the same answer as the others.

When it became apparent that the officialdom of the Communist Party would succeed in preventing unity during the conventions, the Communist Labor Party convention adopted the following resolution:

"Be it resolved, that the Communist Labor Party issues a standing invitation to the Communist Party to meet, on a basis of equality, in unity conference; and

"That we instruct our national officials and committees to accept every such invitation from the Communist Party or from any other revolutionary working-class organization."

This motion was adopted without one dissenting voice. It expresses the official position of the Communist Labor Party on the question of unity to-day. We stand ready at any time, anywhere to meet on an equal basis of comradeship. All that agree with us on the principles of communism, all that desire to affiliate with the Third International, for the purpose of uniting all Communist elements here in the United States into one powerful working-class party.

V.

If there was any fundamental difference of principle between the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party, then we would not favor unity of the two, for a lasting unity can be achieved only on the basis of agreement on fundamental principles.

That such agreement on principles is a fact will be evident to any one that compares the platforms, programs and manifestos of the two parties. Both conventions based their pronouncements squarely upon that of the Third International. Both are in accord with the left-wing program of New York. Both are worthy of expressions of the principles of international communism.

Because of this fundamental agreement some comrades make the mistake of assuming that the issues between them are merely questions of personality and ambitions of "leaders." If that were true, it would make but little difference which party wins the Communist comrades to its ranks.

But there is a very serious difference between the two parties in their form or organization, a difference that must be thrashed out if the parties meet in unity conference, a difference that should be noted by every comrade before he joins either party.

The Communist Party is being organized as a federation of units that are almost entirely independent of each other. The Communist Labor Party is being organized as one homogeneous mass.

The Communist party has copied from the old Socialist Party its form of autonomous foreign federations. Each federation is a practically independent unit. Federation branches pay dues direct to translators in Chicago. Once a month these translators turn over the party's share. They and their central executive committee have power at any time, by simply withholding the dues, to split their entire organization away from the party, and smash the party to pieces. The Communist Party has within its very form of organization the seeds of its own destruction.

The Communist Labor Party has solved this problem by simply having the foreign-speaking branches pay their dues through the same channels as the English-speaking branches. They will thus learn to consider themselves as inseparable parts of the local and State organization instead of mere foreigners in a strange land. Our language federations will be encouraged in their work with a far more generous share of the dues than in the Communist Party, but their secretaries and executive committees will have no power to split them away from the party unless the membership itself demands it.

The Communist Party is developing an organization divided against itself on nationalistic lines. The Communist Labor Party is putting all, foreign as well as American born, on an equal footing of comradeship within its ranks, on a basis of true internationalism.

A party organized like the Communist Party could hold together easily as long as it fought the reactionary Socialist Party officialdom. It may last while it contests with the Communist Labor Party for the affiliation of the communist elements of the old party. But when its campaign settles down to the steady grind of literature distribution and the humdrum task of winning members, one at a time, then the discordant elements within its ranks must inevitably assert themselves, and bring about more splits perhaps a final smashup.

Why build a party on such a basis that a few leaders have the power at any time to tear down what you build? Especially when you know that some of these leaders frankly state that they believe the proper tactic is to bring about situation within the party that will result in split after split, so as to preserve a simon pure nucleus of "leaders" to rally the proletarian hosts on the morn of the revolution?

The Communist Labor Party does not follow this policy of "exclusion." It adopts a policy of inclusion, and holds that all that agree on fundamental principles should be kept united in one party. It places its reliance not so much on a nucleus of leaders, as upon the development of clear vision among the great mass of its membership. It will exert itself to educate all its members, and to hold and make proletarian warriors out of all that join it, unless they actually prove traitor to the working class.

The existence of two communist parties is a crime. But it is far better to have two parties, one of which is being built upon a sound basis so that it can live and grow, than to have only one party built on such a basis that it must surely die. Already signs of disintegration can be discerned in the Communist Party. They will become more evident as the weeks go by, unless the officials of the Communist Party see their error, come into unity conference with the Communist Labor Party and adopt the form of organization that experience teaches to be necessary for a revolutionary working-class party.

VI.

It is futile to try "boring from within" the Communist Party. Any member that joins that party with the idea of thereby forcing unity, merely strengthens the position of the officialdom that is opposed to unity by paying his dues to them.

Only by refusing to pay dues until they agree to a unity conference can the membership of the Communist Party force their officials to act. Refuse to pay dues to the Communist Party officials. Adopt resolutions instructing them to unite with the Communist Labor Party. Threaten that you will bolt the Communist Party unless they accept the unity invitation before November 1. That is the way to get action. That is the road to unity.

Comrades not yet affiliated with either party can help to bring unity by joining at once the Communist Labor Party which demands unity and is doing all it can, without turning traitor to the membership, to make unity a fact.

If you agree with our platform and program, if you indorse the fundamental principles of communism, if you desire to clasp hands in communist comradeship

ship with the Bolsheviks and the Spartacans in the Third International, and if you believe that all comrades in this country that stand on these fundamental principles should be in one party, then join the Communist Labor Party at once.

Join now, and help with the tremendous task that confronts us. Help develop the organization, help fashion the instruments with which to reach America's 30,000,000 wageworkers with the message of emancipation, and rally them to the banners of international communism to establish the world-wide workers' republic.

To this task the Communist Labor Party calls you. Answer to-day, comrade!

T.

FROM THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL.

[Amsterdam Subbureau.]

AMSTERDAM, *March 20.*

COMRADES:

We have learned with the utmost indignation how ruthlessly the ruling class of America is persecuting you. The brutality with which it strikes at the best workers for the cause, flogs and tortures, imprisons and deports hundreds of brave men and women, fills our hearts with the same bitter feeling of being powerless to assist you against your cruel oppressors, as we so often experienced when in former days the sad stories reached us of the suffering of the Russian revolutionaries.

But at the same time the heroic way in which you are bearing up under the blow fills us with admiration and with confidence in the future of the American working class. We know you are as yet only a vanguard; we know how American capitalism, by combining the brutality of the former Russian autocracy with the hypocrisy that is the proper gift of the Anglo-Saxon bourgeoisie, has succeeded till now in misleading the masses of the workers.

But we also know that persecutions have always been in the great epochs of the proletarian class struggle "the seed of the church." So it was with czarism; so after the promulgation of the antisocialist law in Germany under the rule of Bismarck; so in Russia after the terrible reaction of the years 1907-1910. Socialism always arose triumphant out of all persecutions. And so will communism in our own days. Far from striking fear in the hearts of the fighter pledged to the revolution, the white terror in America will arouse in thousands of workers consciousness of the class war and the true nature of bourgeois democracy. It will turn the thought of thousands and thousands to the principles of communism and make them realize that there is neither freedom, nor justice, nor any hope of a better life for the masses as long as the capitalist class owns and controls the machinery of production.

The social revolution is making great strides in Europe; the light that has arisen in Russia floods the west; the ideas of the mass struggle, the soviet system, and the dictatorship of the proletariat as means of realizing the reorganization of production on communist lines gain daily in strength and sweep onward like an irresistible flood. In the whole of central Europe capitalism is waiting for its deathblow; in the Latin countries—France, Italy, and Spain—it is considerably weakened, being undermined by economical and political difficulties. Till now Anglo-American capitalism stands almost unshaken, powerful, and strong. Great Britain still relies on her colonial empire; she hopes to be able to avert the revolution by offering to the classes some slight betterment of their lot by lightening the chains a little of the exploited hundreds of millions of her colored subjects. Well, we think Britain will soon be disappointed in her hopes. Revolt already raises its head in Egypt and in the Indies.

As for the United States, the employing classes hope to retain their power by widening the chasm between a small aristocracy of labor, led by treacherous leaders, and the masses of the workers. They hope to retain it by fooling and buying the minority, by coercing and victimizing the vanguard of the masses.

It is the glorious task of American communists to carry on on broader lines the task that the I. W. W. first took in hand, to lead the masses against capitalism; to become the nucleus, the heart, and the brain of a strong and determined working-class movement.

The arising of such a movement is of the utmost importance for international communism and for the cause of the social revolution. We all know that the world revolution can not triumph as long as Anglo-American capitalism remains

in power, and we have reason to believe that the decisive struggle between capitalism and communism will be waged on the American Continent. Nothing short of the fall of American capitalism will mean the end of that gigantic historical drama of which the World War seems to have been the prologue. The ruling classes of America know this, and that is why they try to crush communism before it has taken hold of the masses; they want to violently tear it out before it has deeply struck root into the American soil. But you, comrades, will not let them commit this crime; you will not let them destroy your organization or compel you to desert it; you will find ways and means to shift your methods of action; you will place your organization beyond the reach of your enemies and carry on, undaunted, the agitation amongst the masses; you will rally these to the flag of communism, to the world-wide, uncompromising class war. And when the economic crisis that is spreading over the world reaches your country; when the revolutionary storm, kept back neither by mountain ranges nor broad oceans, rages over the American Continent; when millions of starving workers no longer, like in former times, cry out for bread, but for power, then you will lead the way to the general attack on the capitalist system. Your persecutions, your martyrdom to-day, your heroic struggle against fearful odds, all of this will design you for leaders of the masses, just as the fortitude and determination of the Russian Bolsheviks designed them to take the lead in the revolutionary struggle of 1917.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE AMSTERDAM
SUBBUREAU OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

COMMUNIST UNITY IMPERATIVE.

Lately a dispatch made the rounds of the daily press according to which the Letts are reported to have captured a courier from Russia carrying letters to the American Communist Parties, advising them to unite. A detailed report of the contents of these letters, printed in the New York World of March 29, leaves very little doubt that the letters are genuine. Though they have been edited by the reporter, they in substance give a clear résumé of the conditions.

"The concentration of American bourgeois forces," the document relating to the question of unity reads, "has increased to an unprecedented extent and the struggle demands unprecedented sacrifices. The split is not caused by any profound differences of opinion as regards the program. At bottom are but certain disagreements as to tactics, principally questions of organization. Under such circumstances the split has not the slightest justification and should be liquidated at once.

"In so far as both parties stand on the platform of the Communist International—and of this we have not the slightest doubt—a united party is not only possible but absolutely necessary, and the executive committee insists on this being immediately brought about."

As a basis for unity, the report continues, the Communist International and the orders of its executive committee should be taken. These orders, together with the fundamental principle of the Third International are summed up in the following nine points:

1. The communists should strive to unite all elements which recognize the seizure of power by the working class through workers' councils, and the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship.

2. There should be a complete break with the old Socialist Parties, though individual members of those parties should be accepted as members of the communist organization.

3. The stage of verbal propaganda has passed and the time for decisive battles has arrived. Revolutionary mass action must be organized as a first essential.

4. Cooperating to hasten the process of dissolution of all craft unions, the party must strive to establish the closest connection with the one big union movement. Supporting the industrial unions in their everyday strikes for direct demands, the party should strive to deepen and widen the struggle and convert it into a struggle for final revolutionary aims.

5. Supporting the formation of factory committees, which are to serve as the nucleus for soviet management when the revolution is achieved.

6. The chief function of the so-called national (foreign) federations is to prepare foreign workers to take places in the English-speaking communist movement. Though the sudden and complete break-up of these federations is undesirable, they must be subjected to their real purpose.

7. During the revolution the absolute control over the affairs must be secured for the working class by an unlimited dictatorship of the proletariat.

8. Establish large newspapers that will give real news from a communist viewpoint.

9. Establish underground organizations, even though it may be possible to function legally, for the purpose to carry on direct revolutionary propaganda among the masses.

The united parties should be known as the United Communist Party of America.

The Communist Labor Party stands ready to unite upon the above basis with all communist elements in the United States. It insists, however, that the form of language federations which the united party should agree to is not that of autonomous federations, which subject the party to their control and incidentally give control of the party to unscrupulous persons who sell the welfare of the communist movement for personal aggrandizement.

[Communist Labor, May 15, 1920.]

THE WINDS OF REACTION.

NEWS OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY CONVENTION.

Here we have another straw which shows which way the wind is blowing. It's the Socialist Party in convention. And the wind blows toward reaction.

Engdahl, Krause, and others who are now and have been attempting to save the Socialist party from committing, had a hard time of it at the convention. They do not realize that as a revolutionary entity this party is not only already dead, but also buried. This Engdahl-Krause faction attempted to buck the reactionary machine which had slated Hillquit for chairman for the first session. Engdahl got 29 votes and Hillquit 91.

John M. Work, formerly of the Socialist Party national executive committee and one of the faithful inner ring who helped to "rid" the Socialist Party of communists last fall, broke the ice and showed which way the river was flowing when in Saturday's New York Call he stated that he favored "a working agreement" with the Labor Party, the Non-Partisan League, liberal aggregations, and everything that is for "freedom and liberties." In this he was supported by delegates from Wisconsin, California, and other States.

In Sunday's New York Call Victor Berger had his say. Let's quote him: "His (Lenin's) Communist Society—apparently based upon the 'dictatorship of the proletariat'—is already a miscarriage. * * * It was therefore a serious mistake for the American Socialist Party to vote to affiliate with the Communist International in Moscow. * * * And every American Socialist will agree with me that we have seen enough of 'dictatorship' in this country to last us forever. We have had the dictatorship of Wilson * * * Burleson * * * Palmer * * * the mob * * * the American Legion. We do not desire any more dictatorships. * * * The platform should be in harmony with these ideas. We should use as few revolutionary phrases as possible. Let us discard the Marxian verbiage that has become so hackneyed by continuous repetition the last 30 years. * * * It is not necessary that it (the platform) should explain the entire theory of Socialism or give an account of its philosophy. Let us see whether the party has the courage and stamina not to bow down before the revolutionary phrase."

All this Berger said in Sunday's Call, and we guess that is plenty to prove that the Socialist Party is backing up at a lively gait, isn't it?

But we have not quoted the oracle of the Socialist Party yet. That's Hillquit. The Socialist Party opened its presidential campaign in Madison Square Garden, New York, Sunday, May 9. In the heyday of his party this immense auditorium, which seats about 12,000 people, would have been too small for such an event. Yet here was Hillquit, appearing again in public for the first time in two years; here was every Socialist Party leader in harness, helping the Socialist Party stage a comeback; and plus the enthusiasm created by the national convention, how many turned out to see the show? The Call reports 5,000, and you can bet that that's stretching it a few. Well, Hillquit spoke. He is reported to have uttered the following words:

We quote the New York Call: "The turning of the accusations of the belief in force and violence upon the Democratic administration with a logical visualization of that, by Hillquit, and his assertion that the Socialist Party was now

the 'only conservative force in American politics' was accepted with enthusiastic approval."

We quote the New York Times: "In this campaign the Socialist Party has the advantage of being the only conservative force in American politics," said Mr. Hillquit. "We are practically alone in upholding the somewhat antiquated American ideal of government of the people, by the people, and for the people. The Democratic and Republican Parties are revolutionary organization trying to overthrow constituted American Government by force and violence."

These words were supposed to have been said in sarcasm. Taking this for granted, what meaning can we derive out of this bit of wit? Read it any old way, and in the end it means nothing but this, that Hillquit understands the Socialist Party to be a party which desires to go back to the good old times when the working class was not revolting and when, as a consequence, the capitalistic state did not care a whoop how much free speech the workers exercised. Have you been Rip Van Winkling it for two years in Saranac Lake, Hillquit? Can't you understand that the revolution is on? And when the revolution is on, do you expect the capitalist state to give quarter to allow free speech and free press? It is the capitalist state, not sensing danger, which allows these freedoms. It is the capitalist state, sensing danger to its rule, which takes them away. The workers' state must destroy the capitalist state to grant the workers' rights. Do you really expect the capitalist state to grant the workers' rights while the revolution is on or imminent? Fool that you are! Or knave!

There are many other noises which came out of the convention, which show that the wind is blowing the Socialist Party into the field of reaction. Tuesday's session was replete with reactionary noise. The adoption of a platform was the order of business.

The Engdahl faction, the faction which counseled the present C. I. P. members to stay in the party and "win" it for revolutionary socialism, now knows just what "staying in" means. It means nothing more than lending financial and moral support to the counterrevolutionists who have firmly decided to keep the S. P. label, no matter how many members it costs them. Either the Engdahl faction or the Hillquit faction will have to leave, and as the Hillquit faction owns the party machine only one guess is needed as to who will leave the party—but here let us state our definite conclusion, Engdahl, Kruse, Tucker, and all the rest of that faction are real centrists, otherwise they would not stay in the Socialist Party. That they are not communists their every move in convention has proven.

As we said, the question of adopting a platform was up Tuesday of convention week. The contest was between supporters of the Hillquit draft and the Engdahl draft. The Hillquit draft was a pure vote-catching contrivance, which did not even breathe the Socialist spirit of the early days, much less the spirit of the workers in revolution. The Engdahl draft consisted of a declaration of principles adopted at the S. P. emergency convention last fall, when the party was compelled to vie somewhat with the seceding comrades who were meeting in convention just below the S. P. convention. Engdahl had taken this declaration and had added to it a clause reading as follows: "In the final struggle of the workers for political supremacy in order to facilitate the overthrow of the capitalist system all power during the transition period must be in the hands of the workers in order to insure the success of the revolution."

Around this clause the storm centered. The right wingers brought into play all their cunning, all their invectives, all their strength. Hillquit vehemently declared that this clause was not socialist doctrine. One right winger warned that acceptance of this clause would get the delegates nothing but terms in the penitentiary. Claessens called the Engdahl draft a fraud and a fake. Berger repeated his assertions made in Sunday's Call, namely, that he wanted no proletarian dictatorship, for he had had enough of dictatorships by Burleson, Palmer, and Wilson. Solomon, one of the expelled New York assemblymen, took advantage of the occasion to declare himself a 100 per cent American.

James Oneal, in summing up for the conservative group, attacked the word "dictatorship" and declared that the time and conditions that favored the Russian revolution must be studied before any attempt was made to adopt Russian methods here.

"Let it go through the country that you favor a dictatorship of the proletariat and you will cease to be a political party," he said. "Adopt such a reso-

lution, and you must do your work underground, for you will be driven underground by Sweet at Albany and the politicians at Washington.

"Bourgeois democracy, with all its shams and illusions, permits in normal times an honest and fair discussion. To espouse the dictatorship program would turn every such democracy into an absolute autocracy."

There you have it. "Bourgeois democracy * * * permits in normal times an honest and fair decision." We deny this. We claim that bourgeois democracy is bourgeois democracy, then it is class democracy—ruling class democracy. Now, then, does Oneal claim that we have normal times at present? If these are normal times, then we want him to tell us about the honest and unfair decisions which bourgeois democracy is granting the S. P. Is the Albany ouster an honest and fair decision? Has Oneal received an honest and fair decision from the ruling class in the case of the Rand School? Was it honest and fair of the ruling class to count out socialists elected in New York City? Has the ruling class been honest and fair in trying to jail Kruse, Engdahl, Tucker, Germer, Berger? And if these are not normal times (and they are not), then what becomes of the bourgeois democracy that Oneal shouts about? We take it for granted from Oneal's statement that then bourgeois democracy is not honest and fair. If bourgeois democracy is not honest and fair in times that are not normal, then what is the stand of the Socialist Party? Just this: The stand, then, of the Socialist Party is not to overthrow bourgeois democracy, which in reality is capitalist-class dictatorship, and to establish in its place a workers' dictatorship, but the stand of the Socialist Party is to cry for the good old times of long ago, to try to reestablish normal times so that bourgeois democracy might again have an opportunity to be honest and fair.

On Thursday of convention week the Socialist Party nominated Debs for President and Stedman for Vice President. From what we gained out of the nomination speeches the right-wingers seemed very satisfied to nominate Debs, for he was where he could not make a campaign. Debs, free, might talk for the Bolsheviks, for sovietism, even for the dictatorship of the proletariat while campaigning, for, after all, Debs is ruled by his sympathies. But Debs behind prison bars is a safe candidate. This the right-wingers made especially evident when they nominated Stedman as the vice presidential candidate. They said in effect that he really would be the preidential candidate, for he would be the one to make the campaign and tell the people what the Socialist Party stood for. Stedman, it will be remembered, threatened last fall to leave the Socialist Party if it decided to affiliate with the Third International. Stedman, a typical right-wing Socialist and reactionary, will lead the Socialist Party in campaign, and it is by Stedman the Socialist Party must be judged, and not by Debs.

Oratory flowed profusely while nominating speeches were made, and many gems were uttered by those who could get the floor. This one from Hillquit topped them all: "The Socialist Party of the United States has not changed and does not intend to change." Hillquit wanted the delegates to believe that he felt peeved because of the abundance of praise the New York papers bestowed upon the party for remaining conservative, and wanted also to assure the delegates that the S. P. was as revolutionary as ever; that the present convention did nothing to make it more conservative. Very well, then, the Socialist Party is just as it always was and it has not changed its stand. That's just what is the matter with it. The general world situation is not what it always was and has changed considerably. The World War has created the period of capitalist dissolution. We are living in revolutionary times. And the Socialist Party does not know it! Yes; we believe Hillquit. The Socialist Party has not changed, and does not intend to change. Because of this it is indicted as nonrevolutionary by the revolutionists here and abroad.

Friday's session marked the convention undelibly as Menshevik. Remember the cartoon we published a few issues ago, in which the Socialist Party was pictured as a woman grabbing at a bit of everything and not knowing what she really wanted? That's the S. P. to a T. The question of international relations was decided at Friday's session. We print the resolution upon international affiliation elsewhere. Study it and then read again the letter to the Independent Labor Party of England written by the Amsterdam subbureau of the Third International which appears in this issue.

The report of the committee on international relations reads in part: "To participate in movements looking to the union of all true Socialist forces in the world into one international, and to initiate and to further such movements whenever the opportunity is presented," and that "no formula for the attainment of the Socialist commonwealth be imposed or exacted as a condition of affiliation with the Third International.

The adoption of these clauses means but one thing. That is that the Socialist Party of the United States is truly hypocritical. We admire the honest stand of Berger, who frankly claims that there is a wide difference in principle between old-line Socialists and Communists, and that because of this the S. P. should not seek to affiliate with the Third International. But Hillquit and his wing are of slicker clay. They do not want to subscribe to the principles laid down by the Third International, they want to affiliate with the Third International, they want to organize a Fourth International—and so you see every element in the party, from Engdahl to Berger, receives a sop and yet received nothing.

Says Hillquit: "Down with Parliament, up with the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of Soviet power is no slogan for Socialism." And again: "Marxian Socialists could not accept a program and conditions which sought to disarm, disfranchise, and outlaw opponents." No use commenting. A minority report was proposed by Engdahl which only reaffirmed the allegiance of the S. P. to the Third International. Hillquit won 90 to 40.

The question of unity also received attention this day. It was proposed to invite all locals, states, and federations back into the S. P., and that dues, stamps, or other evidence of membership in the C. L. P. and C. P. be recognized as evidence of good standing in the S. P. during the time involved since the split. This was voted down, and a resolution adopted welcoming the return of all locals, states, and federations who left the party last fall because of tactical differences on the basis of the S. P. platform and constitution. This same resolution lays the beginning of compromise with labor and liberal bodies. We publish it elsewhere so as to acquaint communists with the real color of the organization which now asks their return into this counter-revolutionary camp.

How completely the yellows in the S. P. controlled the convention is shown in the election of the national executive committee and international delegates. The national executive committee is composed of Mailly and Oneal, of New York; Melms, of Wisconsin; Henry, of Indiana; Brandt, of Missouri; Hagel, of Oklahoma; and Roever, of Massachusetts. International delegates, Lee, Oneal, and Cannon. International secretary, Hillquit. The Engdahl-Kruse centrist faction did not win a single office. It thinks it is left wing, but it's not. It will be kicked around by both reactionary and revolutionary groups because it belongs to neither one.

That settles the Socialist Party. The doubters gave it another chance in convention. This chance proved it reactionary to the core. The issues are clear, in fact were long before the split last fall. And now that Hillquit has said, "the Socialist Party has not changed and will not change"—what more is there to say? That settles the Socialist Party.

NO UNITY WITH ANTIREVOLUTIONARY PARTY.

[Declaration of the N. E. C. of the C. L. P., adopted May 1, 1920.]

Some members of groups of members of the Communist Labor Party have been approached by members of the Socialist Party on the question of unity. They wish unity, at least for the time and the purpose of a political campaign in the interest of Eugene V. Debs for President of the United States on the ticket of the Socialist Party.

In this connection the national executive committee of the Communist Labor Party issues the following statement:

The differences between the Communist Labor Party and the Socialist Party are fundamental ones and there is no common ground for unity.

The leaders of the Socialist Party realize this and state so in their individual and official utterances. Still they acquiesce in the attempts of some in their ranks to bring about unity. This stamps the whole attempt as one of the

Socialist Party's contemptible opportunistic tricks to gather support for its candidate by selling its principles for votes. After election, again adhering to these opportunistic tactics, it sells out these voters by remaining true to its reactionary principles which betray the workers' cause.

The State is, and has always been, an instrument in the hands of the ruling class. The capitalist state, therefore, is and must be an instrument of capitalist rule and exploitation. By changing the personality of the operator of this machine of capitalist rule and exploitation the character of this machine can not be changed. The Socialist Party, therefore, organizing for and aiming at the capture of the capitalist state, does not aim at a proletarian revolution, but only aims for a chance to operate the machinery of the capitalist state in the interest of the rule of capitalism, in the name of the workers, and under the pretense of socialism.

The Communist Labor Party realizes the character of the capitalist state. It realizes that democracy, freedom, liberty, and political rights are empty phrases, and that the workers must organize for and aim at, not the capture, but the destruction of the capitalist state and the setting up in its place of a proletarian state, the setting up of a proletarian dictatorship as an instrument of the proletarian revolution.

The conception of the capture and use of the capitalist state is essentially counter-revolutionary and adherents to it strips a party of revolutionary character or intent. The second conception, that of abolishing the capitalist state and supplanting it with a workers' state, is essentially revolutionary in character and must guide the activities of a proletarian revolutionary organization. The first is the conception of the Socialist Party. The second is that of the Communist Labor Party. There is no bridge between the two. Not even a personality like Debs can bridge over the chasm between revolutionary and anti-revolutionary conceptions. The question is one of principles and not one of personalities. Debs can not create revolutionary prestige for the Socialist Party by accepting that party's nomination for President, but he loses his revolutionary prestige by allying himself with an essentially anti-revolutionary party.

Comrade Debs, in an interview concerning the question of unity, is reported as saying that the Third International is not an issue because it does not exist as yet, but is a Russian institution only. This statement is so illogical and bare of all sense that we can not believe Comrade Debs to have made it.

The Third International is not an international in point of number of affiliations. Its international character must be manifested in its principles. In affiliations the Second International surely was international, but in principle and spirit it was rotted with nationalism to the core.

The principles of the Third International, however, are those of the international proletarian revolution. The fact that certain "Socialist" Parties can not or will not affiliate with it does not make the Third International unacceptable or rob it of its international character, but it makes undesirable and impossible any alliance with such "Socialist Parties" as can not or will not affiliate with it.

There will be no unity because there can not be any. Debs as the candidate for any political office on the ticket of the Socialist Party is as unacceptable for the revolutionary workers of the United States as he would be as the candidate of a Labor Party or of any other bourgeois party.

Our members stand instructed, not by the national executive committee, but by the principles our members promised to adhere to when they affiliated with the Communist Labor Party, not to heed the siren call of vote-hungry Socialist Partyites, but to strictly adhere to the principles of communism by ceaselessly working for the proletarian dictatorship and working against any political party and its candidates who stand for the capitalist dictatorship.

Our members will refuse any dealings and conferences of any kind with representatives of the Socialist Party. The comrades will answer such insults upon their intelligence and upon their integrity as revolutionary socialists with the contempt such approaches deserve.

The national executive committee of the Communist Labor Party herewith notifies its membership that it was not officially represented at any conference held in Atlanta with Debs and that whatever anyone may have said in favor of campaign unity between the Communist Labor Party and the Socialist Party at such conference is the direct opposite of the position of the Communist Labor Party. Members of the Communist Labor Party whose love for Debs overshadows their loyalty to communist principles should, in justice to our

party and to themselves, resign from the Communist Labor Party. Discipline will be invoked in all cases where members support candidates of the counter-revolutionary Socialist Party.

THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

PROGRESS IN C. L. P. AND C. P. UNITY.

As we reported in a recent issue of Communist Labor, the party subcommittee presented a counterunity proposition to the conference committee of the Communist Party in answer to the Communist Party's unity program, which in short was "no immediate unity but a unity convention some time in the future."

To inform the membership we reprint this counter unity proposition of the Communist Labor Party. It will be noted that we are in agreement with a joint call for a convention, but that together with this we demand immediate working unity.

"1. We recognize that there is no fundamental difference of principle between the Communist Labor Party and the Communist Party and we agree to send out a call for a joint convention on the basis of the Communist Party manifesto and program and to elect a convention committee for this purpose.

"2. We realize that the constitution of both parties are impossible of application under present conditions and agree to new organization forms adapted to the circumstances.

"3. We favor immediate working unity as far as this can be effected pending the convention. For this purpose the two national executive committees and the two national offices shall be merged, and propaganda and organization work, as well as defense activities, shall be conducted in common, but the language federations of both parties shall be allowed to continue upon their old basis until the convention."

The C. P. subcommittee agreed to report this counterproposition to the N. E. C. of the C. P., which was to take place soon, it was claimed.

COMMUNIST PARTY ANSWERS.

To this counterproposition the subcommittee of the central executive committee of the Communist Party sent our party the following answer:

FEBRUARY 9, 1920.

"To the N. E. C. of the Communist Labor Party.

"Reply of the C. E. C. of the Communist Party to unity proposition:

"On clause 1: As to the difference in fundamental principles the C. P. can not consistently join in or subscribe to a declaration that there are no such differences between the C. P. and the C. L. P., although it could not object to such a statement coming from the C. L. P.

"On clause 2: As to the basis for a joint convention the C. P. holds that tentative acceptance of its manifesto and program and also of those parts of the constitution setting forth the fundamental relationship of the language federations within the party is necessary. It is understood that underground form of organization and conditions of membership effecting representing in the joint convention are to be made the same in the C. L. P. as in the C. P. to insure equal basis of representation. It is further understood that the joint convention will be arranged as soon as possible within the next six months.

"On clause 3. As to immediate consolidation of the central executive committees of the two organizations to conduct together the work of defense, organization, and propaganda while the federations would continue as heretofore, the C. E. C. of the C. P. positively decided against such consolidation as inconsistent with the fundamental principles of the C. P., and as impracticable in the present situation. The C. P. holds that the only road to organic communist unity is a joint convention.

"For any further explanations and conference the undersigned will be glad to meet with the representatives of the C. L. P. at any agreed time and place."

REPLY OF THE C. L. P.

Due to circumstances uncontrollable by either committee, the above communication from the C. P. was several weeks in reaching the N. E. C. of the

C. L. P. After its receipt the N. E. C. of the C. L. P. met and made the following reply:

NEW YORK CITY, March 9, 1920.

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA.

COMRADES: The national executive committee of the Communist Labor Party learns with regret that the central executive committee of the Communist Party has again refused the opportunity to unite all communist forces in the United States under one banner.

No other interpretation can be placed upon the proposal by the central executive committee of the Communist Party to hold a convention in view of their insistence that "as a basis for the convention tentative acceptance of the Communist Party constitution setting forth the fundamental relationships of the language federations within the party is essential."

The form of language federations has been one of the essential points of differences between the two parties. The fact that a small clique through their control of autonomous federation groups controlled the Communist Party convention in Chicago prevented unity of all communist elements there. But now that governmental persecution has forced both parties to ignore the constitutions that they adopted last fall; now that the Communist Party membership is violating those very provisions of the Communist Party constitution regarding federations, it is senseless and silly to bring up acceptance of those provisions as an essential preliminary to unity of communist forces. The assumption is justified that they are trotted out rather as an obstacle to unity, so as to perpetuate the small clique control of the Communist Party by the present majority of the Communist Party's central executive committee.

The Communist Party committee maintains that cooperation in the work of defense, organization, and propaganda is "impracticable" and "inconsistent with the fundamental principles of the Communist Party." But we know that the great mass of the Communist Party's membership desire immediate cooperation of all communist forces in these endeavors to meet the forces of reaction. We know that in this attempt to postpone even the consideration of unity to a distant convention, the holding of which is very problematical, the majority of the Communist Party's central executive committee (a bare majority of one) does not represent the will of the Communist Party's membership, and we appeal to this membership to enforce its will.

We ask the membership not to be lulled into inactivity with the promise of a unity convention six months hence. Our acceptance of the convention proposal was conditional upon an immediate uniting of all communist forces to fight the common foe. Those that want unity can achieve it at once much easier than six months from now. Right now is the time to unite into one mighty army all comrades that will hold aloft the banners of the Third International. The persecutions have disrupted the old organization forms. The membership is now in a state of flux. New organization forms are being molded and built, adapted to the new conditions. While this process is going on all that are worth while can be united into one organization—will naturally unite into one organization.

But if we wait six months; if we first go through a long period of steam-roller building and wire pulling to control convention delegates (as some of the Communist Party's central executive committee's majority have already started to do against members of their own party); if we now once more build two communist organizations until they become set and rigid, and then pit them against each other in a convention, a unity of communist forces will be almost impossible to attain. If the golden opportunity to unite now is allowed to pass, if the chism in the communist ranks is perpetuated, as the present majority of the central executive committee of the Communist Party seems to desire, then those responsible for it will convict themselves of actual treason to the Communist International.

We stand ready at any time to discuss with the central executive committee of the Communist Party the problem of the immediate merging of the communist hosts to bring into one great fighting organization all those who are for the Soviets and the proletarian dictatorship, as recommended by the executive committee of the Communist International. We hope sincerely that this consummation may yet be achieved.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY.
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY.

NEW YORK, March 19, 1920.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY.

COMRADES: Your reply to our proposal to hold a joint convention for the purpose of achieving unity of the Communist elements of this country has been received and has had the careful consideration of our committee.

We will not concern ourselves with the various charges and insinuations in your statement. These are evidently not intended to be taken seriously, but are included merely for the purpose of propaganda, since they do not affect the issues at stake. Our committee has, however, again considered your proposal for immediate unity between your committee and ours and has rejected this proposal by the decisive vote of nine to four. The reason for this rejection is that our committee does not believe that unity attained through such committee action would attain the permanent Communist unity which we earnestly desire.

As evidence of its desire to achieve such permanent Communist unity our committee has adopted the following statement, which it submits for your consideration and acceptance:

1. We accept the basis of Communist unity proposed by the Third International, inasmuch as it relates to the rank and file, but we maintain that the central executive committee of a Communist Party must be in agreement also on questions of tactics and organization, and since such would not be the case if we merged the central executive committee of the Communist Party and the national executive committee of the Communist Labor Party, we object to such a merger.

2. We reaffirm our desire to have the unity of both parties achieved through a joint convention.

3. We are ready to set the date for the joint convention at the earliest possible date and not later than _____.

4. The constitutional relations of the federations to the party must enter as a part of the call for the joint convention, subject, of course, to changes by the convention.

5. In the meantime we favor co-operation between the two parties whenever desirable and practical through the central, district, and local committees of both parties, subject to the control and approval of the respective central executive committees.

We have elected a joint convention committee of three members with instruction to meet with a similar committee of your organization and to arrange a convention on the following basis:

1. The joint call for the convention must include our manifesto, program, and constitutional relations of the federations to the party.

2. Apportionments of delegates on the basis of dues stamps sold by each organization for the months of October, November, and December, the total number of delegates from both organizations not to exceed 35. Books of both organizations to be open to the opposite committee members.

3. The election of delegates to be by membership action and to be conducted secretly and to be as nearly as possible alike for the two organizations.

4. The quorum to call the convention to order to consist of two-thirds of the delegates elected by each organization.

For ourselves we have adopted the following plan for the election of delegates:

1. We will appoint delegates to our districts on the basis of dues stamps purchased during October, November, and December.

2. A convention of each district shall be called in which the subdistricts shall be represented by one delegate for each 200 members on the basis of dues stamps purchased for October, November, and December. This convention to elect our delegates and alternates.

3. Nominations for delegates to the district conventions shall be secured from the members by the group organizers. Nominees must be members in the district in which they are nominated. The names of all nominees shall be presented to members for vote by the group organizers. The district conventions may elect any party member irrespective of districts.

If your committee really desires unity between the Communists of the United States and is not merely using the plea for unity as a convenient method of propaganda against the Communist Party of America, we trust you will take immediate favorable action on this proposal and elect your convention committee to confer with our committee.

Faternally submitted.

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA.
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY.

MARCH 25, 1920.

TO THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY.

COMRADES: We see nothing in your last communication which brings us nearer to unity. In answer we but repeat:

1. We are willing to join in a convention call upon the basis of your manifesto and program because we see no essential difference between yours and that of the Communist Labor Party.

2. If there is a joint call for a convention, then there should be an immediate uniting of working forces, for we desire a convention composed of one party and not one composed of two contending factions. No one that has any sincere desire for unity will propose the criminal waste of energy involved in continuing for three months to build two rival systems of underground organization.

We do not want a convention where two hostile groups caucus against each other to win the steamroller championship. Another split of Communist forces might be the outcome of a convention such as that. We desire to bring about unity now, so that when the convention is held the delegates will not attend as members of the Communist Party or the Communist Labor Party caucus, but will meet as Communists, determined to organize our common strength against our common foe.

3. This is definite—that the Communist Party's constitutional form of language federations as a basis for the joint call for the convention can not be acceded to by us. If we understand your position upon this point, it is that you wish us to go into convention with you with the admission that your form of language federation organization is correct and daring us to attack and change it. In other words, you hold the fort and we are invited to make the attack. Your constitutional form of language federations has already broken down and has been eliminated in great part by the new methods you have been forced to adopt to prosecute Communist work. You are violating your own constitutional form of language federation. Why ask us to accept it as a basis for a convention call when you recognize it as obsolete.

We are not insisting upon our form of non-autonomous language federations as a basis for the convention call. We on the other hand can not accept your form of federations as provided for in your obsolete constitution as a basis for the convention call. We want the question of language federations to go before the convention without prejudice. Unless you can do this and confine the convention call to the principles as enunciated in the manifesto and program, then progress toward unity can not be made.

If you think your last communication needs elucidation, we would be glad to hear from you further or enter into conference.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY,
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY.

MARCH 28, 1920.

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY.

COMRADES: At a meeting of the national executive committee of the Communist Labor Party, just held, it was decided to add the following definite proposals to our correspondence for unity:

1. That the joint convention be held as soon as possible, but not later than two months from the time of agreement by the joint convention committees.

2. That the matter of language federation form must go before the convention without prejudice and to that end we propose an agreement upon the following statement:

"It is agreed that the form of language federations as provided for in the constitution of both parties shall be accepted as a basis for discussion at the convention. Both parties agree to accept the decisions of the convention upon this question and will not permit any difference of opinion regarding this question to cause another split in Communist ranks."

3. That the convention shall be composed of 35 delegates. We hold that the two parties today are of equal strength and that therefore each party should have an equal number of delegates. We have decided, however, to give the Communist Party an advantage in number of delegates because of its claim of a greater membership. On the other hand we claim that membership numbers will not be considered by us to be the only nor main test of strength. A division of delegates, 15 for the Communist Labor Party and 20 for the Communist Party will be agreed to.

4. That no member of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party nor of the National Executive Committee of the Communist Labor Party shall be a delegate, but that these officials shall have a voice without vote upon the convention floor.

5. Joint convention committee.

Executive Secretary.

The above communication was presented to the joint convention committee elected by the Communist Party by the joint convention committee elected by the Communist Labor Party. A conference was then had at which no agreement was reached as to a basis of representation for the joint convention. It was eventually decided that the C. P. joint convention committee go back to its executive to secure a mandate for an agreement upon a 12 to 23 basis of representation, whereas the C. L. P. joint convention committee was to return to its executive to decide whether or not to accept a 12 to 23 basis of representation or to base representation upon the average dues purchased in the months of March, April, and May. At the C. L. P. national executive committee the following decision was reached, which was communicated to the C. P. executive.

MARCH 31, 1920.

TO THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY,
New York City.

COMRADES: The national executive committee of the Communist Labor Party has decided upon an apportionment of delegates to the proposed joint convention of 13 for the Communist Labor Party and 22 for the Communist Party.

This decision is final, and our joint convention committee is authorized to proceed with arrangements only if this is accepted by you. An immediate answer is requested.

Fraternally, yours,

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY.

APRIL 7, 1920.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY.

COMRADES: You will find attached our proposal for the joint call for the convention as approved by our committee.

The statement of the various points is, I feel sure, in accordance with the agreement which we reached in our conferences. In regard to the point about which there was no definite agreement, that of representation, our committee has the following to say:

Our proposal to you was that we would grant you one-third of the delegates, or 12 out of the 35, if the apportionment was to be made arbitrarily or that we would accept any months sales of dues stamps which you might select as the basis for the apportionment. We much preferred the latter course because we believed, and still believe, that the arbitrary apportionment gives you a much larger representation than you would be entitled to if dues stamps sales were the basis. However, since our committee agreed to the arbitrary division, we will stand behind it.

We have decided, in view of certain representations made to us by various units of our organization that the number of delegates was too small, to increase the size of the convention to 50 delegates, and agree to give you 18 delegates, leaving 32 for our organization. In this we are conceding a little more than the one-third we offered and practically meeting the proportion of 13 to 22, which you proposed.

We make this concession in the hope that there will be no further haggling about the matter.

Our committee is under instructions to hold this proposal open for five days for your acceptance and in the absence of such acceptance to withdraw from all further negotiations.

Fraternally, yours,

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY.

P. S.—While not included in the joint call, it is understood by our committee that the provision in regard to cooperation during the period before the convention is agreed upon in the form stated in our original proposal.

Signature of other two members of our committee can be obtained later. I am sending proposal without these to expedite matters.

(Together with the above communication the C. P. sent the following form for a joint convention call:)

JOINT CALL FOR THE COMMUNIST CONVENTION.

In harmony with the position of the Third International that all parties which agree upon the following fundamental principles should unite:

1. Class war of the workers without any compromise with bourgeois and social patriotic parties.

2. Mass action of the working masses as a means to conquer power.

3. Dictatorship of the proletariat.

4. Soviet constitution as the proper basis for proletarian democracy.

The Communist Party of America and the Communist Labor Party, through their respective executive committees, agree to unite the two parties in a joint convention, called upon the following basis:

1. The Communist Labor Party accepts as a basis for this joint call the manifesto and program of the Communist Party.

2. Both parties agree that the form of organization of the federations and their relations to the party shall be determined by the convention and neither group will on account of any decision of the convention on this question again split away from the united party.

3. The convention is to consist of 50 delegates, of which the Communist Party is allotted 32 delegates and the Communist Labor Party 18 delegates.

4. The convention is to be held as early as possible and not later than June 15.

5. The method of electing delegates is to be by membership action and to be conducted secretly. The details to be as nearly alike, considering the organization facts as they exist in both parties.

6. The joint convention committee shall have power to supervise the election and shall arrange all other details of the convention, subject to control by their respective executive committees.

7. It is understood that the purpose of the convention is not to negotiate about the question of unity but to adopt a manifesto, program, and constitution for the united party and to make decisions on such other questions as properly come before it.

APRIL 9, 1920.

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,

Joint Convention Committee, Communist Party.

COMRADES: The ultimatum which you issue, namely, that we accept your latest proposals within five days or you will discontinue all further negotiations, is entirely uncalled for and unprincipled in the circumstances.

You presume to dictate a new representation for the convention to us. You presume to dictate to us the form and wording of the joint call. All this was reserved specifically for the deliberations of the joint convention committee as per previous agreement. We interpret your latest communication as not conducive to unity. It seems to breathe not a spirit of unity but a passion for dictatorial control.

It is physically impossible for the national executive committee of the joint convention committee of the Communist Labor Party to either give answer to or to accept your latest proposal within five days. Every member of both committees, except the undersigned, is in the field, and the majority of them are more than a thousand miles from this city.

Might we recall to you the fact that you have consumed whatever time you needed in making answer to proposals in regard to unity sent you by us? You promised an answer Thursday, April 1, to our last proposal. Your answer arrived eight days later. In every instance you have taken the time you wanted and needed to discuss the steps toward unity among yourselves. Now you place a five-day limit not upon an answer from us but upon our acceptance of your terms—your new representation basis.

The national executive committee and the joint convention committee of the Communist Labor Party will hold a meeting to discuss your latest communication just as soon as the committeemen can be reached and transported.

Comradely, yours,

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY.

At this point in the negotiations a split occurred in the Communist Party. As will be remembered, certain persons more intent upon a career for themselves than upon the building of a strong communist movement, by controlling a language federation block used the power so gained to split the left-wing convention, to split the executive council of the left wing, all of which eventually led to a split in left-wing ranks and the organization of two communist parties. These careerists controlled the organization convention of the Communist Party, refused unity at the time both the conventions of the C. P. and C. L. P. were in session, knowing full well that such unity would end their control. Immediately after the organization conventions of both communist parties the membership of the C. P. began to make demands for unity with the C. L. P. These membership demands were ignored until about the first of the present year when they became the subject of controversy in the central executive committee of the C. P. Negotiations for unity were begun with the C. L. P. as above reported. Throughout the negotiations the aim of the careerists was not to unite with the C. L. P., but to absorb it and to clear the field for unopposed control. As unity negotiations proceeded the careerists realized that the rank and file of the C. P. were tiring of their control. Fearing that a joint convention with the C. L. P. would result in a majority of delegates in opposition to their control, the careerists began a movement to depose those district officials which opposed the controllers. A meeting of the central executive committee of the C. P. was held to which all district organizers and federation representatives were invited. There the question of deposing district organizers was debated for several days, with the result that the careerists, who had a majority upon the committee, maintained their right to depose subordinates, whereas the minority of the central executive committee held that such action should not be taken before the convention, knowing full well that the majority contemplated this action in order to control the convention and so continue in control of the united party. As neither side would compromise, the minority withdrew from the meeting, taking with it most of the district organizers and federation representatives present.

Following this split in the Communist Party, these letters were received by the national office of the C. L. P. The first is from the majority faction of the C. E. C. of the C. P. and the second from the minority faction:

APRIL 20, 1920.

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY.

DEAR COMRADE: This is to notify you of a change in our joint convention committee; it consists now of ———.

We are very anxious to know what you have done in the matter or when you expect to take action.

You can meet me at ———, and I would like very much to see you there as soon as you can come. I want to give you a new address for communicating with us also.

Fraternally, yours,

ACTING SECRETARY COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA.

APRIL 22, 1920.

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY.

DEAR COMRADE: Regarding the pending negotiations between the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party for a unity convention, it will be of interest to you to know that a division has taken place in our organization over a factional controversy and that at the present time the executive secretary, a minority of the central executive committee, the Polish Federation, the South Slavic Federation, the Ukrainian Federation, the German Federation, the Estonian Federation, and the district organizers of Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, and Boston no longer recognize the authority of the majority group of the central executive committee.

In addition to the above, the Jewish Federation has withdrawn from relations with the majority of the central executive committee and assumed a position of neutrality in the factional struggle.

While from the above statement it might seem that the Russian, Lithuanian, and Lettish Federations are supporting the majority of the C. E. C. of our organization, as well as the Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and New York district organizers, this is not the case, and all the evidence goes to show that the larger part of the party will be united with our group. Negotiations are pending for the inclusion of both groups in the one convention.

It might be desirable that we discuss the situation personally. If you wish to do this I would be glad to make an appointment. I am leaving the city to-day but will return next Tuesday.

Fraternally, yours,

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA.

To the above communication from the "minority" faction, the C. L. P. answered as follows:

APRIL 26, 1920.

DEAR COMRADE: The national executive committee of the Communist Labor Party has authorized its joint convention committee to act in all matters pertaining to the question of unity.

In answer to your communication of April 22, in which you inform us of the split in your party and in which you state that your group desires to negotiate for unity, we can only answer that our subcommittee stands ready to meet a like committee from your faction to begin negotiations.

Fraternally,

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY.

Several meetings were held between representatives of the C. L. P. and representatives of the "minority" group as represented by _____. At these conferences agreement was reached not to negotiate with the "majority" group of the C. E. C. of the C. P., those who attempted to continue their control in opposition to rank and file desires. It was also agreed to hold a unity conference between the C. L. P. and the "minority" group and the following call and basis were agreed upon:

CALL FOR A UNITY CONFERENCE BETWEEN THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

In harmony with the position of the Third International, that all parties which agree upon the following principles shall unite:

1. Class war of the workers without compromise with bourgeois and social patriotic parties.
2. Mass action of the working class as the means to conquer power.
3. Dictatorship of the proletariat.
4. Soviet constitution as the proper basis of proletarian democracy—

The Communist Party and Communist Labor Party agree to meet in unity conference called for the purpose of uniting the two parties. The basis of this conference shall be:

1. The principles of communism as stated in the manifesto and program of the Communist Party are accepted as the basic principles upon which the two parties are in agreement.
2. Each party shall call a national convention which shall resolve themselves into a unity conference for the purpose of discussing unity between the two parties. Until unity is agreed upon the delegates of each party shall vote as separate units and decisions must be reached by agreement.
3. If, in such preliminary discussion, an agreement for uniting the two groups of delegates is reached, then the delegates from the two parties shall unite and proceed with the work of adopting a manifesto, program, and constitution and the election of officers for the united party.
4. In order to facilitate the work of the unity conference, a joint committee consisting of three members from each party shall meet one week before the conference to draft a manifesto, program, and constitution to be submitted to the unity conference.
5. It is understood that each party assumes the obligation to meet the expenses of its delegates. Should the two parties unite into one convention this obligation will be assumed by the united party.
6. Arrangements for the unity conference shall be made jointly by the executive secretary of the Communist Labor Party and the executive secretary of the Communist Party.
7. It is understood by both parties that the method of electing delegates is to be by membership action and is to be conducted secretly.

To members of the C. L. P.:

It is understood that it will take some time before the unity conference can be held. Delegates must be elected by each party, and this in itself will consume weeks. In the interim between now and the unity conference, we call upon

all members to actively prosecute the work of the party and to show no laxity in duties. The stronger the C. L. P. is now built, the stronger the united party should unity ensue. The stronger the C. L. P. is now built, the better the chances for a united party, as a result of the unity conference.

To the press and all communists:

Through newspaper dispatches from Washington, D. C., we learn that several lawyers appeared before the Department of Labor Saturday, April 24, to defend deportees belonging to the Communist Labor Party. We understand that Mr. Post, of the Department of Labor, informed several attorneys, among them Mr. Recht, that the question as to whether membership in the Communist Labor Party was sufficient ground for deportation would come before that department last Saturday.

The national executive committee of the Communist Labor Party, upon hearing from Mr. Recht in the matter, immediately informed him by written statement that we had decided not to send an attorney to Washington to appear in our behalf, and that submission of our platform and program was the only defense we intended to make. This decision was reached because we fully understood that no attorney, except he be a confirmed communist, could make a defense of our principles.

We therefore declare that the attorneys who appeared before the Department of Labor did not appear in the name of nor with the consent of the Communist Labor Party. None of them had a mandate from our party to defend us. None of them were engaged to do so.

We are not responsible, therefore, in any way for the statements made at this hearing or the conclusions reached, and we repudiate such as are not in harmony with communist principles.

COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY.

[Illinois Law Review, March, 1920.]

ABRAMS V. UNITED STATES—FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND FREEDOM OF THUGGERY IN WAR TIME AND PEACE TIME.

[By John H. Wigmore.¹]

SYLLABUS.

"CONSTITUTIONAL LAW—FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND PRESS NOT TO COVER DISLOYAL LANGUAGE.—The acts of printing and disseminating, during the war with Germany, pamphlets containing disloyal, scurrilous, and abusive language about the form of Government of the United States, also language intended to incite, provoke, and encourage resistance to the United States in the war, etc., were not within the protection of the freedom of speech and of the press guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States, first amendment.

"WAR—EVIDENCE SUSTAINING CONVICTION UNDER ESPIONAGE ACT.—In the prosecution of five Russians, nondeclarant aliens, for conspiracy to violate the espionage act as amended by act of May 16, 1918, evidence held to support conviction as tending to prove that defendants were guilty as charged in both the third and fourth counts of the indictment, alleging, respectively, that they published language intended to incite, provoke, and encourage resistance to the United States in the war with Germany and that during such war they incited and advocated curtailment of ordnance and munitions."

Two judges dissenting.

The minority opinion in *Abrams v. United States*, decided on November 10, 1919 (40 Sup., 12), represents poor law and poor policy; and I wish to point out its dangerous implications.

I. THE RUSSIAN BOLSHEVIK PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA.

1. The present revolutionary government of Russia—the Workers' Soviet, captained by Lenin and Trotski—represents the introduction of a dictatorship of force and violence. It is not a movement of genuine liberty lovers but a régime of destruction of property, overthrow of religion, and enthronement of

¹Professor of law in Northwestern University; formerly colonel, judge advocate, United States Army, on the staff of the Provost Marshal General.

class hatred. Lenin's own statement at the third soviet conference has been frequently quoted: "Among 100 so-called Bolsheviks there is one real Bolshevik, 39 criminals, and 60 fools." Even the so-called soviet constitution, existing on paper, has been suspended and its place usurped by self-appointed communist commissars. The actual power is wielded by a handful of unscrupulous men, who maintain their position solely by cruel and ruthless terrorism. Assassination, wholesale massacres, shocking cruelties, and robberish confiscations have marked their incumbency for two years past.

This is well enough known to all but those who have not wilfully blinded themselves. Suffice it to emphasize the correct understanding by quoting the indignant words of a young American Red Cross captain recently returned from Russia.² He describes the horrors of civic destruction which were revealed to the Denikin forces on entering Kiev after its evacuation this winter by the bolshevik government:

"Not long ago Kiev was captured by the volunteer army after a reign of Bolshevism since February 1. Only to-day are the people beginning to find just what that reign has meant.

"Every window in my car is closed and it's a pretty sick little bunch who are sitting around in a blue haze of tobacco smoke, trying to talk about anything other than what they have seen to-day and to-night.

"I am an American citizen, but to-night I'm ashamed. I'd be ashamed if I were British or French; in fact, I'd be ashamed to be a citizen of any nation which is called civilized.

"How we as Americans, how any nation, can stand by and let horrors such as are being perpetrated by the Bolsheviks continue is unthinkable, and my only solace is that surely you at home don't know about it. It's a crime to civilization; and if the awful sickness which has Russia in its grasp is not quickly stopped God help the world!

"I am ashamed for America, for myself, and every civilized man, woman, or child in the world. If only I could get what I know and have seen into every morning paper throughout the world, I would be glad to cash in and feel that I had fulfilled my mission in life, for surely an army sufficiently large to end the reign of terror would make its appearance over night."

2. This government of shrewd assassins knows that its only hope of long-continued safety in power is to upturn all other civilized countries into the same seething ruin of anarchy. This is obvious logic.

Accordingly it preaches this doctrine of civic destruction to kindred spirits everywhere. The program in brief is sufficiently summarized by Mirsky, an anarchist pamphleteer:

"We must consciously hasten the elementary course of battle of the working class. We must turn the small strikes into general, and turn the latter into an armed revolt of the laboring masses against capital and the State. During this revolt we must, at the first convenient chance, begin the immediate seizure of all means of production and all products of consumption and make the working class in fact the master of the public wealth. Simultaneously we must mercilessly destroy all remnants of State authority and class rule, destroy the jails and police stations, after having liberated those imprisoned; destroy all judicial acts regarding private property, all field fences and boundary lines, burn the certificates of debt; in short, we must take care to wipe off the face of the earth everything that reminds of the right to private property. To blow up the barracks, the gendarme and police administrations, to shoot to death the most eminent military and police chiefs, must be an important concern of the revolted working people."

This doctrine, therefore, has for a year and more been the subject of propaganda in many languages and many countries. It is an aggressive propaganda, easily paid for by the vast sums of confiscated property;³ and it is systematically

² Capt. Jay Alkire, of Phoenix, Ariz. (New York Times, Dec. 21, 1919).

³ A more elaborate and even more fiendish program is contained in a circular officially issued by the Bolshevik Government and translated in the Review for Jan. 24, 1920.

"If peace is signed the Bolshevik idea, properly expressed, is that every agreement shall become a scrap of paper and the world revolution will begin. The Soviet Government is using more money for propaganda than for any other purpose. They are spending millions stolen from Rumania when that country moved its gold to Petrograd at the time of the German invasion and other millions which comprised the bank deposits of Russian merchants. They even are importing and drilling Hindus for spreading their propaganda in India." (Lieut. A. W. Killefoth, formerly Intelligence Section, United States Army, in New York Times, Jan. 31, 1920.)

Numerous details of the system used in foreign countries are given in the Review for Jan. 24, 1920. "Moscow Campaign of Poison."

pushed by agents located in the other countries. Its positively militant meaning has been well stated by Mr. Walter Duranty, cabling from Riga:*

"Are we or are we not at war with the Bolsheviks; and if so, how is that war being conducted and to be conducted in the future? The documents seized on the Red courier, just published, can be taken to establish the fact that, whether or not we believe ourselves at war with the Bolsheviks, the Bolsheviks are certainly at war with us. True, they are not attacking with armed troops—not yet—but they want to, and their present mode of warfare is all the more dangerous because of its insidious and internal revolutionary character. When sappers tunnel a mine under an enemy's position they can not be said to be actually fighting with him, yet their motives are the reverse of friendly, and their purpose is to blow him sky high at a given moment."

3. History is here merely repeating itself. This is just what the French revolutionary government undertook to do a century and a quarter ago. They very nearly did effect disastrous results in England. The parlor bolsheviks and pink radicals of that day encouraged the cause of the terror, much as they are doing with us to-day. But Edmund Burke's eloquent analysis of the fallacies of the revolutionists helped to stem the tide in England. In the times that have now come we need once more to peruse the warnings of his words, uttered a hundred and thirty years ago:*

"In the meantime a system of French conspiracy is gaining ground in every country. This system, happening to be founded on principles the most delusive, indeed, but the most flattering to the natural propensities of the unthinking multitudes, and to the speculations of all those who think without thinking very profoundly, must daily extend its influence. * * * Never shall I think any country in Europe to be secure whilst there is established in the very center of it a State (if so it may be called) founded on principles of anarchy, and which is in reality a college of armed fanatics for the propagation of the principles of assassination, robbery, rebellion, fraud, faction, oppression, and impieté. * * * They may be tolerably safe at present, because the comparative power of France for the present is little. But times and occasions make dangers. Intestine troubles may rise in other countries. There is a power on the watch qualified and disposed to profit on every conjuncture, to establish its own principles and modes of mischief, whenever it can hope for success. * * *

"The French have begun their general operations by seizing upon those territories of the Pope the situation of which was the most inviting to the enterprise. Their method of doing it was by exciting sedition and spreading massacre and desolation through these unfortunate places, and then, under an idea of kindness and protection, bringing forward an antiquated title of the Crown of France and annexing Avignon and the two cities of the Comtat to the French Republic. * * *

"As to Switzerland, it is a country whose long union, rather than its possible division, is the matter of wonder. Here I know they entertain very sanguine hopes. * * * Switzerland and Germany are the first objects of the new French politicians. * * * Considering the other States of Europe, so far as they may be any way affected by this astonishing revolution, if early steps are not taken in some way or other to prevent the spreading of this influence, I scarcely think any of them perfectly secure. As to England, there may be some apprehension from vicinity, from constant communication, and from the very name of liberty, which, as it ought to be very dear to us, in its worst abuses carries something seductive. It is the abuse of the first and best of the objects which we cherish. * * *

"From all these considerations, and many more that crowd upon me, three conclusions have long since arisen in my mind—

"First, that no counter-revolution is to be expected in France from internal causes solely.

"Secondly, that the longer the present system exists, the greater its power to destroy discontents at home and to resist all foreign attempts in favor of these discontents.

"Thirdly, that as long as it exists in France it will be the interest of the managers there, and it is in the very essence of their plan to disturb and distract all other governments, and their endless succession of restless politicians will continually stimulate them to new attempts. * * *

* New York Times, Dec. 29, 1919.

* "Reflections on the French Revolution," Everyman ed., pp. 256, 299, 307, 313.

"I wind up in a full conviction within my own breast and the substance of which I must repeat over and over again, that the state of France is the first consideration in the politics of Europe, and of each State, externally as well as internally considered."

4. These efforts to undermine government in other countries began many months ago in the United States. They were in full force in 1918.

There was nothing spontaneous, nothing American in them. They were engineered by alien agents, who relied primarily on an appeal to the thousands of alien born and alien parented of their own races earning a livelihood in this country. These alien agents had been freely admitted to our shores, as to an asylum of safety. They were receiving the full protection of our Government and laws in their livelihood, if they chose to pursue one. Not satisfied to do this, they set themselves to destroy that which nourished them.

The five individuals who combined in printing and distributing the circulars involved in *Abrams v. United States* had lived in this country for from five to ten years, without applying for naturalization. Four took the witness stand voluntarily, of whom three avowed that they were "rebels," "revolutionists," "anarchists"—did not believe in government in any form, and had no interest whatever in the Government of the United States.

So much for the personality of the men who up to August 27, 1918, published and distributed some 5,000 of these circulars, printed in Yiddish.

II. THE CIRCULARS THAT URGED CURTAILMENT OF MUNITIONS BY GENERAL STRIKE.

1. What did these circulars say? The vituperative epithets may be passed over—"plutocratic gang in Washington," "split in the face of the false, hypocritical military propaganda," and the rest of it. The appeal was to the "workers of the world," the "tollers of America," and especially to the "workers in the ammunition factories." It alluded to the President's dispatch of a body of troops to Russia, and it called upon the workers to "Awake!" "Rise!" "Put down your enemy and mine! You are producing bullets, bayonets, cannon, to murder not only the Germans, but also your dearest, best, who are in Russia and are fighting for freedom." And the practical action which it urged was this: "Workers, our reply to the barbaric intervention has to be a general strike. An open challenge only will let the Government know that not only the Russian worker fights for freedom, but also here in America lives the spirit of revolution." "Workers, up to fight!" "In order to save the Russian revolution we must keep the armies of the Allied countries busy at home." "We, the tollers of America, who believe in real liberty, shall pledge ourselves, in case the United States will participate in that bloody conspiracy against Russia, to create so great a disturbance that the autocrats of America shall be compelled to keep their armies at home and not be able to spare any for Russia." "If they will use arms against the Russian people to enforce their standard of order, so will we use arms."

The specific and concrete actions here urged are reducible to these: (1) A concerted general strike, or cessation of work; (2) particularly by workers in war-munitions factories; (3) with such armed violence that the American troops remaining in the United States would be kept at home to oppose this violence and to preserve civic order.

These three things stare out in plain words. Only the willfully blind could refuse to see them.

2. What provisions of law would be violated by the action thus urged?

Under the espionage act of 1917 it is a crime (1) to "incite, provoke, and encourage resistance to the United States in said war"; (2) to "urge, incite, and advocate curtailment of production of things and products, to wit, ordnance and ammunition necessary and essential to the prosecution of the war." It is also a crime to utter "scurrilous and abusive language about the form of Government of the United States, or to bring that form of Government into contempt, scorn, contumely, and disrepute." But no stress was laid on this offense in the majority opinion of the Supreme Court.

That the first two unlawful acts were specifically and exactly committed by the publication of these circulars is obvious.

III. THE INTERPRETATION OF THE CIRCULARS IN THE MINORITY OPINION.

What was the attitude of the Supreme Court?

The majority of seven of the Supreme Court held that there was "competent and substantial evidence before the jury, fairly tending to sustain the verdict of

guilty in the third and fourth counts" (representing the first and second offenses above described). There is here nothing further to say as to the majority opinion.

The minority of two held that there was no proof of intent to commit such offenses. We are here concerned with the minority opinion.

It is shocking in its obtuse indifference to the vital issues at stake in August, 1918, and it is ominous in its portent of like indifference to pending and coming issues. That is why it is worth analysis now.

(1) As to the intent to provoke resistance to the United States in the war, the minority opinion says that "there is no such hint at resistance to the United States," because that statutory resistance must be "some forcible act of opposition to some proceeding of the United States in pursuance of the war," and none such is evident.

(2) As to the intent to curtail production of munitions, the minority opinion admits that "it seems too plain to be denied," but that to make the conduct criminal the statute elsewhere requires an intent to "cripple or hinder the United States in the prosecution of the war," and that this additional intent was not proved.

And, as to both the foregoing, the minority (in a passage which is, however, so unclear that its exact point is difficult to gather) further say that a restriction of free speech is warranted only by "the present danger of immediate evil, or an intent to bring it about"; and that "the surreptitious publishing of a silly leaflet by an unknown man, without more," could not involve any "present danger" to the "success of the Government armies."

2. Now, as to this interpretation of the intent of the circulars, and of the danger of the acts urged in the circular, argument is useless. The opposite interpretations of the majority and the minority were due, not to genuine ambiguities in the language, but to differences of temperament and attitude toward the issues involved. A preexisting attitude of the minority disinclined them to interpret the facts as the majority did.

You can not argue with a state of mind. But you can point out its nature and its portent.

Let us look a moment at the military situation of America in August, 1918, to see what issues the minority opinion attitude contemplated with such indifference.

IV. CURTAILMENT OF MUNITIONS IN AUGUST, 1918, AS A "PRESENT DANGER" TO THE FIGHTING FORCES.

1. By March, 1917, intelligent America had realized what was at stake in the European contest. A ruthless military caste had inspired the German nation to dominate the world by force, at any cost of life, treasure, honor, and decency. No need to rehearse its revealing incidents—the "scrap of paper," the burning of Louvain, the devastation of Belgium, the bombing of field hospitals, and the torpedoing of hospital ships, the *Lusitania*, the *Sussex*, the enslavement and debauchery of women civilians, the "sunk without a trace," the bayonetting of the wounded, the crucifixion of prisoners—the countless unscrupulous inhumanities which marked every step of Germany's warfare.

One day, on a station platform in Belgium, a group of civilian Belgian laborers were being entrained for deportation to Germany. The weeping families were there to say farewell. A wife clung to her husband at the door of the railway car. The guard bade her loose him. She still wept on his shoulder. The German guard, impatient, straightway plunged his bayonet into her bosom, and she fell in death. The witness, an agent of the American relief commission, saw the wife's still quivering corps as the train moved off.

It does not matter whether or not this particular piece of ruthless savagery was ordered by the Oberst or by Hindenburg or by the Kaiser. It does not matter whether it happened once or twenty times or a thousand times. For it was typical.

The whole spirit and conduct of the German cause, from start to finish, was the egoistic brutal will to bruise, smash, and destroy every other interest, however worthy in itself, which interfered in the slightest with the most trifling will of the German.

That was the issue before the civilized world. And it was a supreme moral issue. There was but one side to take; and America took it. In the inspiring words addressed by the provost marshal general to America's newly selected citizen soldiers:

"There never was a war to which men could give themselves with greater confidence and devotion! There never was a war in which a man had less excuse for holding back! There never was a time when a man could be more desirous to be known as a soldier!"

And by the summer of 1917 our millions of fellow citizens were devoting their energies and staking their all against the fearful odds of Germany's power, in the spirit nobly voiced by Lowell, 60 years ago:

"Better that all our ships and all their crews
Should sluk to rot in ocean's dreamless ooze,
Each torn flag waving challenge as it went,
And each dumb gun a brave man's monument,
Then seek a peace as only cowards crave:
Give me the peace of dead men or the brave!"

2. But by March, 1918, it had become plain that this issue was going against civilization. Russia and Roumania were lost; Italy strapped; the entire German forces concentrated on the western front. On March 28 the first German spring offensive began. In April came the second, May 27 the third, June 9 the fourth. By this time the darkness was settling. Anyone who was in Washington, Paris, or London in those three months knew how gloomy the future seemed. Marshal Haig had his "back against the wall." The fight was without real hope; it was simply a struggle to preserve self-respect and moral truth in defeat and death.

3. Yet a supreme effort was now made to furnish all possible man power. The British released all shipping. Our own levies were doubled in size and hastily rushed over the Atlantic. Instead of the program of 100,000 a month we sent 250,000 in April and 300,000 in June, July, and August.

The Americans arrived in time to save from the worst. The fifth German offensive of July 15 was blocked, due to the presence of a slender margin of reserves furnished by nearly 100,000 American troops. But this salvation was a salvation only from the worst. Had the war stopped then, only the present generation at most would have been saved. Germany's military autocracy would have held Belgium and the entire Balkan Isthmus to the Orient. Her complete world triumph would have been postponed for only a few years.

The civilized world's task was now to use this fortunate breathing space to turn defensive into offensive, and to gain a real victory. Two million American troops were in France or on their way; 2,000,000 more were in training; and 2,000,000 more were in sight, under the new man-power act of August 30.

What remained was to supply them with munitions. On this supply depended the future of this tremendous issue. The zeal and driving power of 10,000 planners, managers, and foremen were being spent night and day on this production; and the skill and vigor of 100,000 workers were engaged in it. How was it faring?

4. Rifles, machine guns, artillery, and ammunition had been slow in their starting pace. The needful speed was not reached until the summer of 1918.¹ Only by the spring of 1918 were rifles being turned out at 200,000 a month. Machine guns were coming at 10,000 a month in April and 25,000 a month in August. Units of artillery rose from 100 a month in May to 300 a month in September. But, for the enlarged American Army that was to be ready to continue the initial successes of the allied offensive of July-October, 1918, the supply never equalled the need, until the end of September. About that date the huge and dogged labors of the munition workers began to show the results. It became plain then that safety was in sight. If the pace of the summer were

¹ "The War with Germany: A Statistical Summary," by Col. Leonard P. Ayres, Chief of the Statistics Branch of the General Staff (Washington, 1919).

The authoritative book of Col. Réquin, "America's Race to Victory," just come to hand as we go to press, contains the following significant passage at page 172:

"Thus by June, 1918, the problem of raising an army was solved by Congress; that of transportation, thanks to the cooperation of Great Britain; that of training, by the close collaboration of the Allies; and that of organization, through the activity and authority of Gen. March. Unfortunately, the same can not be said of the problem of armament; and one hardly dares to think what the consequences would have been if, on the one hand, the French war factories had not been able to meet the needs of the American Army in 1918, and if, on the other hand, America had not continued her war supplies to the Allies. * * * With a few more months of work the forces of the United States would have rallied to the support of her millions of men to make Germany feel the full weight of America under arms. But those 'few more months' meant 1919, and already the trend of the war foreshadowed a decision before winter."

kept up, the American forces soon to be available for the field would be adequately supplied throughout the coming campaign with the needed quantity of munitions: On October 4 a memorable conference took place in the little town of Trols, between Marshal Foch and the American Secretary of War. Assurances were then given as to the shipment of munitions; and the allied forces could confidently look forward, for the first time, to a decisive victory in the spring offensive of 1919. It was on the next day after this conference and this assurance that the first German request for peace was sent.

But until that momentous happening, and all during the spring, summer, and early fall of 1918, the feverish tension was unbroken. There was danger in a single day's lapse at a single factory or a single workbench. What nerved each man to his task was that thought that on his performance, multiplied by that of every other man, depended the fate of America and her allied civilized nations.

5. It was during this same crucial August, 1918, then, that Abrams and his band of alien parasites, and a hundred other such hands, were doing all in their power to curtail this production and cripple our fighting men. Every load of rifles less meant more hopelessness for the cause of world morality and world safety.

To incite the curtailment of munitions production, and to urge it by such violence as would keep our troops at home to suppress the violence, was a plain offense against the law. But it was more than this; it was cowardly and dastardly. It meant a treacherous hamstringing of our citizen soldiers in the fields of France. Who does not recall the heartrending stories of Brusiloff's gallant Russian troops forced to retreat amidst Galician snows because of the shortage of rifles and ammunition? Who has not heard of the annihilation of the heroic British regiments in the Flanders fighting of 1915 through lack of artillery and shells? If there had been no law at all on the subject, the attempt to cut off munition supplies would have been a dastardly act, morally repulsive to the best sentiments of every well-wisher of the great cause.

6. The point is that this situation did not impress the minority opinion as one of "present danger" in August, 1918. The national agonies of those six months from April to October were apparently unsensed by the minority opinion. It was blind to the crisis, blind to the last supreme needs of the fighters in the field, blind to the straining toil of the workers at home, obtuse to the fearful situation which then obsessed the whole mind and heart of our country.

The minority opinion pooch-poochs the danger:

"Nobody can suppose that the surreptitious publishing of a silly leaflet by an unknown man, without more, would present any danger that its opinions would hinder the success of the Government arms."

But this is dallying with the facts and the law. None know better than judges that what is lawful for one is lawful for a thousand others. If these five men could, without the law's restraint, urge munition workers to a general strike and armed violence then others could lawfully do so; and a thousand disaffected undesirables, aliens and natives alike were ready and waiting to do so. Though this circular was "surreptitious" the next ones need not be so. If such urgings were lawful, every munitions factory in the country could be stopped by them. The relative amount of harm that one criminal act can effect is no measure of its criminality, and no measure of the danger of its criminality. To put forward such a palliation is merely to reveal more clearly the indifference to the whole crisis.

What we are here concerned with is that state of mind. In a period when the fate of the civilized world hung in the balance, how could the minority opinion interpret law and conduct in such a way as to let loose men who were doing their hardest to paralyze the supreme war efforts of our country?

V. THE INVOCATION OF FREEDOM OF SPEECH.

1. But this attitude of mind, operating subconsciously, must, in consciously and openly justifying itself, invoke some distinct legal principle of universally acknowledged soundness. That is the natural process, deep in human nature, for all of us.

What was this saving principle? The constitutional right of freedom of speech.

We are reminded in the minority opinion that, after all, truth is the great desideratum, and that truth can only be expected to emerge through the unpleasant processes of freedom of speech. "Free trade in ideas" is recommended

as the panacea. Our anxious, overstrained patriotism is soothingly pointed away from the disagreeable war situation (there was no "present danger"!); and our minds are recommended to dwell upon the civic blessings of truth—that ultimate truth which will some day emerge through the leasurably comparison of what now may only be the obvious seeming truths. "Men may come to believe, even more than they believe the very foundations of their conduct, that the ultimate good desired is better reached by free trade in ideas; that the best test of truth is the power of the thought to get itself accepted in the competition of the market."

This apotheosis of truth, however, shows a blindness to the deadly fact that meantime the "power of the thought" of these circulars might "get itself accepted in the competition of the market," by munitions workers, so as to lose the war; in which case, the academic victory which truth, the "ultimate good," might later secure in the market, would be too "ultimate" to have any practical value for a defeated America.

This disquisition on truth seems sadly out of place. To weigh in juxtaposition the dastardly sentiments of these circulars and the great chime of world justice for which our armies were sacrificing themselves, and then to assume the sacred cause of truth as equally involved in both, is to misuse high ideals. This opinion, if it had made the law as a majority opinion, would have ended by our letting soldiers die helpless in France, through our anxiety to protect the distribution of a leaflet whose sole purpose was to cut off the soldiers' munitions and supplies. How would this have advanced the cause of truth?

Under the circumstances, the opinion could better have fixed its vision upon Flanders field, in solemn homage, and used the great name of truth as Lowell did, in his Commemoration Ode on the fallen soldiers of his college:

"Many loved Truth, and lavished life's best toll
Amid the dusk of books to find her,
Content at last, for guerdon of their toll,
With the cast mantle she hath left behind her.
Many in sad faith sought for her;
Many with crossed hands sigher for her;
But these, our brothers, fought for her,
At life's dear peril wrought for her,
Tasting the raptured sweetness
Of her divine completeness.
Those love her best who to themselves are true,
And what they dare to dream of, dare to do."

VI. FREEDOM OF SPEECH; ITS PROPER LIMITATIONS.

1. However, the minority opinion does go through the forms of reasoning, though in elliptical fashion, and without definite formulation of rule for the principle of freedom of speech; and we must meet this issue raised by the invocation of freedom of speech.

Out of its indefiniteness, the following two points of issue seem tangible:

(a) If restriction of speech is lawful at all (the minority opinion implies), it is only when in war time there is "the present danger of immediate evil, or an intent to bring it about," and no such danger here existed. Here, of course, we come back to the minority opinion's blindness to the danger. To argue about seeing that danger is useless; the dangerous thing to the country is that there are responsible persons who did not and do not see the danger.

(b) But (apart from this danger question) the fundamental assumption of the minority opinion is that the principle of freedom of speech does apply to protect these particular circulars, because "expressions of opinion and exhortations were all that were uttered here." It is this fundamental assumption that is thoroughly erroneous. As thousands of well-meaning persons are obsessed by it, an attempt to clear it up is worth while.

2. The dilemma or conflict of principles is this: The United States may (admits the minority opinion) constitutionally "punish persuasion to murder," yet it may not punish a mere "expression of opinion or exhortation" concerning an unlawful or deleterious act, as here. This contrast between persuasion to lethal deed and persuasion to mere change of opinions, is inherent in the situation. We have to face it if any workable rule is ever to be formulated.

"Free trade in ideas," says the minority opinion, is vital—"the best test of truth is the power of the thought to get itself accepted in the competition of

the market." Very well; but does "free trade in ideas" mean that those who desire to gather and set in action a band of thugs and murderers may freely go about publicly circularizing and orating upon the attractions of loot, proposing a plan of action for organized thuggery, and enlisting their converts, yet not be constitutionally interfered with until the gathered band of thugs actually sets the torch and lifts the rifle? Certainly not, they concede. Then, where is the dead line to be drawn at which freedom of speech does not become identical with freedom of thuggery?

That is where the champions of freedom of speech give us no solution.

What is that solution?

We must distinguish here the abnormal and the normal situations.

3. The abnormal situation is presented in time of a foreign war.

Where a nation has definitely committed itself to a foreign war, all principles of normal internal order may be suspended. As property may be taken and corporal service may be conscripted, so liberty of speech may be limited or suppressed, so far as deemed needful for the successful conduct of the war. The normal rights to life, liberty, and property are certainly no less important civilly than the normal right to expression of opinion; and all rights of the individual, and all internal civic interests, become subordinated to the national right in the struggle for national life.

Menenius Agrippa's old fable becomes applicable; and Herbert Spencer's philosophy supplies its modern basis.* When the internal life of the whole body is endangered by an external enemy the normal functions of any particular organ may have to be sacrificed. If the soldier in the trenches has to put up with ague and indigestion and pneumonia and wounded limbs for the sake of victory, so the nation must be ready to suspend specific internal functions if that temporary derangement will assist in saving the national life.

The analogy of the internal régime of the army shows that this is perfectly consistent with intelligent action based on ample deliberation. Freedom of speech is limited for all military men. And yet enough is left of "free trade in ideas" to secure effective responsible leaders, as every military man knows. All conceivable reasoning views, however opposed in tenor, get represented. I have been amply acquainted with the methods of military councils. I have observed as much or greater clash of extreme and opposed opinions in staff military discussions as in, say, the academic freedom of a law faculty. I could give plenteous illustrations to show that theoretical limitation of freedom of speech is perfectly consistent in military practice with "free trade in ideas"—with that "power of the thought to get accepted in the competition of the market," of which the minority opinion is so tender.

Furthermore, any other solution in a national war by a democracy stultifies itself. The modern war—our latest, and let us hope, our last war—is fought by the nation itself; and in general consensus of citizen views against the war must mean a failure in the war itself. Whether the forces be filled by enlistment or by conscription, an unwilling citizenry will soon deplete the forces. I was personally near enough to the center of man-power recruitment to realize keenly that the raising of the nearly 5,000,000 men, whose battle array ultimately gave Germany its quietus, was due to the popular conviction favoring the prosecution of the war. Had the popular conviction disfavored it, the last 3,000,000 or so would never have been got into uniform, and America's part in the war would have ended ignominiously. The conclusion is that when a nation has once decided upon war it must stop any further hesitation, or it will fail in the very purpose of the decision. That is sound psychology for the individual, and it is equally sound for the nation.

Hence, the moral right of the majority to enter upon the war imports the moral right to secure success by suppressing public agitation against the completion of the struggle. If a company of soldiers in war time on their way to the front were halted for rest in the public highway, and a disaffected citizen, going among them, were to begin thus to harangue: "Boys! this is a bad war! We ought not to be in it! And you ought not to be it—" the state would have a moral right to step promptly up to that man and smite him on the mouth. So would any well-meaning citizen, for that matter. And that moral right is the basis of the espionage act in its application to these circulars.

* "[The secondary great law] is that where the group is endangered by external enemies, there shall be such sacrifice of individuals as is required to preserve, for the aggregate of individuals, the ability thus to act and receive the results of actions. Hence, for purposes of defensive war, there is justified such contingent loss of physical integrity as effectual defense of society requires: supposing always that effectual defense is possible." Herbert Spencer, "Justice," chap. iii.

This leaves it to the constituted authorities to do their own reasoning as to the proper time for termination of the war. Here (as above pointed out) there is ample certainty of adequate pro and con discussion of reasons among the responsible authorities themselves. Parliamentary privilege alone would guarantee this; I challenge anyone to find a freer, more vituperative latitude for tongue lashing of the Government's war plans than is found in Senator Chamberlain's speech of December 30, 1917, delivered in the very midst of the war preparations. There is no real need for that discussion which comes from abusive pamphleteering and yellow-press hammering by the irreconcilable minority of extremists. They lost their case once for all when the Nation's representatives voted against it.

And in a tremendous national crisis, where the majority has decided that an external war is necessary, the spirit of true sport dictates acquiescence by the defeated faction. I am here preaching only what experience has shown practicable, and what I and many others have already practiced. We opposed entering the Spanish War of 1898. Neither the Cuban insurrection, nor Gen. Weyler's policy of reconcentrado, nor the blowing up of the U. S. S. *Maine*, seemed to us to call for a war by America against Spain. The American people were being incited and misled into war by an ignoble newspaper agitation, not based on defensive necessity. And we freely so argued in speech and in print. But when that war was once declared by Congress we closed our mouths. The Nation's representatives had decided against us. And so long as the war continued, we refrained from hampering the responsible authorities in giving the utmost effect to that decision.

So on all these grounds when war is once nationally decided upon public speech against the rightness of the war may justly be limited or suppressed. And it must be limited or suppressed in a war like that one which has just brought victorious relief to the civilized world.

4. The normal situation in time of peace is different. Here the "free trade in ideas" may be left to signify unlicensed ventilation of the most extreme views, sane or insane, on any subject whatsoever. The only problem is, as above noted, to draw the dead line between "persuasion to murder" (in the phrase of the minority opinion) and discussion of the theoretic right and wrong of murder.

Where is the line to be drawn?

The minority opinion and its congeners seem to go upon the assumption that when in any utterance there is an "expression of opinion" as such that expression of opinion should include and condone and immunize an "exhortation" to illegal acts with which the expression of opinion may culminate. For example, in this view if I circularize my associates thus, "I want and urge you to go to Washington and kill any two of the Supreme justices," that utterance may constitutionally be made punishable, in spite of "freedom of speech." But if I precede that incitement by a preambular form of reasoning, thus: "The Government of the United States is capitalistic; it was founded on force; it embedded in the Constitution the foul grip of the property holders of 1789, who have never since let go; it provided a Supreme Court which will nullify any statute that attempts to free the people from that tyrannous clutch; those justices have ratified the verdicts of juries (packed by those same capitalists) which sent to jail such heroes as Debs and Goldman and have upheld the statute which deported our sainted leader, Berkman, and hundreds of other innocent persons; there is no hope of freeing the Nation from the incubus of this Constitution until these pusillanimous judges are terrorized and shown what the future portends for them; and the hope of happiness for the down-trodden multitudes of this doomed country can never revive unless these judges are made to feel that the safety of their lives depends upon right decisions; as the only way to give effect to these views, therefore, I urge you to go to Washington and kill any two of the Supreme Court justices."

If this preamble of opinion and reasoning be employed, it saves and immunizes the murderous incitement in which it culminates—an incitement which would by itself have been punishable.

Such seems to be the underlying notion of the minority opinion.

If it is not, let some one who supports that minority opinion come forward and provide us with some concrete illustration of what it does mean. Judged by the Abrams case, it goes the above length and no less. If such horrific and absurd consequences are not meant, it is time that its defenders clarify its meaning with some canon which the friends of law and order can accept.

5. It may be confessed that not much light is obtained from orthodox expositions. Herbert Spencer, for example, contents himself with this: "Freedom

of speech does not include * * * freedom of speech for prompting the commission of injuries to others." But obviously this ignores the difficulty, because the question is not merely whether the law forbids speech which incites another person to an illegal act, but whether it may also forbid speech incites to an act which may in itself be legal but may still have admittedly deleterious consequences.

Meanwhile the following suggestion is made as assisting in drawing the dead line at a workable place:

The problem as a whole includes always two persons and three or four stages of conduct, (a) A's expression of opinion on a subject, (b) ending in A's exhortation or incitement of (c) B to do an act (d) having consequences deemed deleterious. Suppose a law is passed forbidding A to exhort or incite B to a certain act. If this act is per se illegal, there is virtually no difficulty; a statute may concededly forbid exhortation to do an illegal act. But the act may not in itself be illegal; it may merely have deleterious consequences. For example, the munition workers' cessation of work might be in itself legal; it was the consequences that were deleterious by curtailment in war time of indispensable war material. The legislature must be permitted to take measures to prevent such consequences. The problem is how to define the scope of statute which may thus aim to prevent these consequences while leaving sufficient play for the constitutional sanction of freedom of discussion.

The following would do it:

A statute does not abridge constitutional freedom of speech if it forbids A's exhortation of B to do a specific act which would have consequences deemed by the legislature to be deleterious to the Commonwealth. But a statute does abridge such freedom which forbid A's expression of opinion to B that a specific act and its consequences ought not to be prevented by law or forbids A's exhortation to B to join in removing that legal obstacles by the usual legislative methods.

The crux of this proposal is in the scope permitted by the last clause. A just and sufficient "free trade in ideas" is guaranteed by leaving A free to exhort B to help change public opinion and the law by the usual methods, while keeping him unfree to exhort B to personal action toward those consequences so long as they remain under the formal disapproval of the legislature.

For example, take the prohibition measures. It is yet lawful for A to drink intoxicating liquor from his domestic stock, and for B to drink from it at A's invitation. Suppose that a statute should forbid A to invite B to his house for the purpose of so drinking; and suppose that an indignant A circularizes his friends arguing for the folly of such a restriction and urging them to come to his house for the purpose. Could this circular be protected by constitutional freedom of speech? Certainly not. It defies the practical enforcement of the law, and invites to action having precisely the disapproved consequences. Let A, however, if he pleases, argue with his friends that the restriction is excessive, and let him persuade them to appeal to the legislature for a repeal of the statute. But, so long as it remains law, let him not be licensed to undermine its operation on the pretext of freedom of speech. The pretext is needless, for he is still at liberty to discuss the wisdom of the law and to seek to change it by usual methods of changing the public opinion to sounder judgment. And that is all that the right of freedom of speech exists for, in the last analysis.

VII. FREEDOM OF SPEECH AS A SPURIOUS PROTECTION TO VIOLENCE PROPAGANDA.

1. After all, is not this tenderness for the right of freedom of speech an over-anxiety? Is not this sensitive dread of its infringement an anachronism? Has not the struggle for the establishment of that freedom been won, and won permanently, a century ago? Do we not really possess, in the fullest permanent safety, a freedom and a license for the discussion of the pros and cons of every subject under the sun? Simply as a matter of "free trade in ideas," is there not in Anglo-America to-day an irrevocably established free trade in every blasphemous, scurrilous, shocking, iconoclastic, or lunatic idea that any fanatical or unbalanced brain can conceive? And is there any axiom of law, constitution, morals, religion, or decency which you and I can not to-day publicly dispute with legal immunity?

I firmly believe that in these days the tender champions of free speech are, like Don Quixote, fighting giants and ogres who have long since been laid in the dust. John Huss, in his day, five centuries ago, was genuinely in need of a freedom-of-speech right. Galileo suffered for lack of it. Through the long

centuries its evolution was landmarked by other champions or victims—Martin Luther, Algernon Sidney, Hugh Latimer, Michael Servetus, William Prynne, John Milton, Jeremy Taylor, Voltaire, John Wilkes, Thomas Paine, Thomas Erskine, Charles James Fox, William Hone—some demagogues, some divines, some scholars, some statesmen; and all of them shatterers of orthodoxy. But when the nineteenth century dawned, the struggle had been won.* The principle was established. And, in Anglo-America, at least, there never has been a time since the 1820's when it was really in danger. Anglo-America has arrived permanently at the development in which the Apostle Paul found blasé Athens, where "all spent their time in nothing else but either to tell or to hear some new thing," and the apostle could dispute with impunity their official idolatry and their orthodox superstitions. The careers of Henry Labouchère, the free lance of political scandal—of Bernard Shaw, the cap-and-bells charlatan of social heterodoxy—and of Robert Ingersoll, the theological bear balter—have demonstrated that for at least two generations past, in Anglo-America, there is no opinion, however false and absurd in itself, or however nauseous to orthodox hypocrisy by its very truth, that can not be uttered and reiterated and blatantly paraded with legal impunity.

Time does settle some things. The emotional conditions of religious and political intolerance and persecution out of which emerged a perception of the need for "free trade in ideas" have long since quieted down. It is an anachronism to imagine that they continue, and to argue as though we were still living in the days of Huss and Gallileo and Latimer.

2. And so the danger now is rather that this misplaced reverence for freedom of speech should lead us to minimize or ignore other fundamentals which in to-day's conditions are far more in need of reverence and protection. Let us show some sense of proportion in weighing the several fundamentals. No single political principle can override all the others. It will not do to let freedom of speech obscure for us the demands of other elements of liberty and safety. Edmund Burke has warned us of this, in times of similar sentimental excesses:

"I flatter myself that I love a manly, moral, regulated liberty as well as any gentleman of that society, be he who he will. * * * But I can not stand forward and give praise or blame to anything which relates to human actions and human concerns, on a simple view of the object, as it stands stripped of every relation, in all the nakedness and solitude of metaphysical abstraction. Circumstances (which with some gentlemen pass for nothing) give in reality to every political principle its distinguishing color and discriminating effect. The circumstances are what render every civil and political scheme beneficial or noxious to mankind. * * * Is it because liberty in the abstract may be classed amongst the blessings of mankind that I am seriously to felicitate a madman, who has escaped from the protecting restraint and wholesome darkness of his cell, on his restoration to the enjoyment of light and liberty? Am I to congratulate a highwayman and murderer, who has broke prison, upon the recovery of his natural rights? This would be to act over again the scene of the criminals condemned to the galleys, and their heroic deliverer, the metaphysic night of the sorrowful countenance."

3. The truth is that the constitutional guarantee of freedom of speech is being invoked more and more in misuse. It represents the unfair protection much desired by impatient and fanatical minorities—fanatically committed to some new revolutionary belief, and impatient of the usual process of rationally converting the majority. The period is one of changing views in multifarious fields. Institutional reconstruction on a wide scale is due in the coming generation—reconstruction on a wider scale than at any time since three generations ago. Certain leaders of thought—some idealists, some materialists—see only red when their own particular doctrines are balked of immediate general acceptance. Impatient of that "free trade in ideas" which the minority opinion assures us will exhibit ultimately the "power of the thought to get itself accepted," these fanatical leaders invoke club law. They call for "direct action" (this cowardly euphemism for brutal mob violence must now be familiar to all readers of recent periodical literature). And when their urgent propaganda of

* Anyone may refresh his memory of many of the landmarks in the following works: W. E. H. Lecky, "History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe," Vol. II, chap. iv; "The History of Persecution," Henry Jephson, "The Platform: Its Rise and Progress," Andrew D. White, "Conflict between Religion and Science."

club-law meets lawful interference, they invoke the sacred constitutional guarantee of "freedom of speech." It is simply a profanation of that term.

"What can be more unprofitable," exclaims Carlyle, "than to stretch out the old formula and law phraseology, so that it may cover the new, contradictory, entirely uncoverable thing! Whereby the poor formula does but crack, and one's honesty along with it! The thing that is palpably hot, burning, wilt thou prove it, by syllogism, to be a freezing mixture? This stretching out of formulas till they crack is, especially in times of swift change, one of the sorrowfullest tasks poor humanity has."

4. But the sorry feature is that so many "good people of the village" (as Confucius terms them) are led astray, to condone the disciples of violence by favoring this fetish appeal to "freedom of speech." These good people show more touchiness in this tender doctrine than they do to all the claims of all other fundamentals put together. They exalt it above the institutions which constitute their country; and many of them saw it so flaming large that they were ready to let it endanger their country's very existence. They match the fanatical obsession of John Knox, who once exclaimed,¹⁰ "One mass is more fearful to me than if 10,000 armed enemies were landed in any part of the realm!" In their view, one interference of the authorities with freedom to preach resistance to the war was more fearful than news of a German invasion of our National Capital. And one interference in America with the preaching of genuine bolshevist police assassination would be more shocking than the news of Lenine and Trotzky enthroned in London and Paris.

5. The reason, then, that we should view the minority opinion with apprehension is that it is symptomatic. Hundreds of well-meaning citizens—"parlor bolsheviks" and "pink radicals, as the phrase goes—are showing a similar complaisant or good-natured tolerance to this licensing of the violence propaganda. If such treacherous thugery as these circulars, designed to hamstring our boys in France, and issued amidst the anxieties and agonies of wartime, could be calmly condoned by those who sit on high, what may we expect in peace-time, now that the easy moments have returned, and the forces of impatient fanaticism are let loose upon our constitutional Government?

6. The portent of the minority opinion is an unpleasant one. It leaves us to infer that little indeed would be safe from licensed turbulence, if the doctrines of that opinion were generally sanctioned by courts. This "free trade in ideas" may violently upturn—what? Well, even the entire constitutional fabric itself. Why? Because, calmly says the minority opinion, "that at any rate is the theory of our Constitution. It is an experiment, as all life is an experiment. Every year, if not every day, we have to wager our salvation upon some prophecy based upon imperfect knowledge. While that experiment is part of our system, I think that we should be eternally vigilant against attempts to check the expression of opinions that we loathe and believe to be fraught with death, unless they so imminently threaten, etc.

"The Constitution is an experiment!" And "while that experiment is part of our system!"

In the transcendental realms of philosophic and historical discussion by closet jurists, these expressions might pass. But when found publicly recorded in an opinion of the supreme guardians of that Constitution, licensing propaganda which in the next case before the court may be directed against that Constitution itself, this language is ominous indeed.

EXHIBIT No. 17.

FRAINA'S AMSTERDAM ARTICLE.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

[By Louis C. Friano.]

The following is a translation of the first two of a series of articles appearing in the Communist organ, *The Tribune*, from the pen of the revolutionary agitator, Louis C. Friano:

The title of these articles in *The Tribune* is "The American Revolution."

¹⁰ Lecky, "Rationalism," II, 49, quoting a Life of Knox.

[From the Tribune, Mar. 4, 1920.]

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION—THE WHITE TERROR.

The democracy of America has become a fact in the bourgeois significance of the word * * * that democracy, more than that of any other nation, has strongly assisted in promoting the development of capitalism. It was an oligarchy where the proletariat "mass" was excluded. This democracy continued to exist for two reasons: (1) The American form of government discouraged the making of radical changes; (2) the negro and the foreign workers, who form about 70 per cent of the industrial proletariat in the chemical, iron, steel, textile industries, and the mines, have practically no franchise, and are not able to participate at elections. In the course of evolution American democracy became easily converted into a circle of imperialism. When industry developed, power in the Federal Government became more and more concentrated and more and more a merciless autocracy. This was a process that developed after the Civil War, and has become much more perfect since. In 1900, and afterward, imperialism became definite and prevailed. To-day imperialism is the dominating factor in the United States. It is the usurper of all prevailing class interests, not excluding the domineering trade unions, in a centralized State control of industry and labor, for the furtherance of an aggressive imperialism. Taking into consideration that since 1900 imperialism has had the power in the Executive of the United States, in spite of an apparent prevailing liberal democracy, the action of the Union in the war, and its cruel oppression of the opposition, became unavoidably a fact in the development of American imperialism. The extremely coarse and disgusting form of this oppression is caused by another fact, viz, the great percentage of foreign workers among the industrial proletariat. The policy of the American Government against the industrial proletariat has been a colonial policy, equally merciless, as the policy of Great Britain in India and Egypt, or of France in Morocco. The United States has practically not known any colonial development, such as other peoples. It has, however, evolved a colonial policy within its own frontiers, the great undeveloped West and the enormous number of immigrants. These immigrants were treated on the whole exactly as a colonial power treats its oppressed peoples.

Although this is not altogether correct at present, America may, nevertheless, still be characterized as consisting on the one hand of an Anglo-Saxon ruling class and on the other hand of a mass of industrious slaves, made up of foreign workers and negroes. This circumstance is the reason of the especially cruel manner of suppressing industrial revolution by the American Government, making use of machine guns against strikers; the burning of women and children by the military police at Sudlow; suppressing strikers by force of arms. During the war there prevailed a hard oppression. Hundreds of men and women were thrown into prison for no other reason than that they had given utterances to their opinions in public. Eugene Debs was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment for making a speech against the war and for showing his agreement with the Bolsheviks. Rose Pastor Stokes was sentenced to 10 years for writing a letter to a newspaper in which she stigmatized the American Government as a body of profiteers. Tens of members of the I. W. W. were arrested for leading strikes and about 200 officials and members of the committee of the I. W. W. are now imprisoned undergoing sentences varying from 3 to 20 years for being engaged in strikes. Then there was the torturing of conscientious objectors in the prisons, the attacks by the sum upon the I. W. W., and the lynching of three of the members.

Cruel as was the oppression during the war, it is now worse, almost incredible. Within two months after the armistice an economic crisis developed in the States. Strikes broke out with a grand purpose, these being on the verge of revolutionary action. The Government employed troops to suppress these strikes. The agitators were arrested. The Left Wing of the Socialist Party, now the Communist Party, assumed amazing proportions and carried on an intense communist action by means of its national organ, The Revolutionary Century. The bourgeoisie felt, though it exaggerated, the menace of bolshevism and unchained terror upon our movement. The 1st of May, 1919, was a red May Day in America. In numbers of cities collisions took place with the police and the military; everywhere meetings were suppressed and demonstrations broken up; this was particularly the case at Cleveland and Boston. The local Cleveland Socialist Party, the Left Wing, organized a great demonstration, at

which from 40,000 to 50,000 workers took part. Soldiers, police, and tanks of the American Protective Society attacked the demonstration; a veritable battle followed, tanks and machine guns being used. Numbers were killed and wounded and hundreds arrested. The local Boston Socialist Party held a meeting in a hall; 400 to 500 fellow party men formed a procession and proceeded to another hall at a quarter of an hour's distance. Within five minutes 30 policemen appeared and attacked the head of the procession, tearing the red flag to pieces and arrested three comrades. The police leveled their guns at the crowd, which consisted of a great number of women, and children from 1 to 10 years of age. One of our fellows bared his chest and shouted, "Shoot." The officer in charge fires without hesitation to his heart; fortunately, the bullet struck this man's watch and he was not seriously wounded. There then came a further 20 policemen, supported by tens of tanks, and the fight became general and lasted throughout the whole afternoon until the evening. About 12 were seriously wounded, numbers of others having holes in their heads. A policeman died later from his wounds. Of our comrades 114 were arrested and treated in an inhuman fashion in jail. A female member of the party was in an interesting condition and suffered horribly throughout the whole night in her cell, and when the doctor arrived he told her to keep calm, addressing her as a "dirty foreigner." The next day she was confined of a child that was stillborn. Though the police provoked the riot willfully, yet the half of the people arrested were condemned to terms of imprisonment of from six months to three years.

[From the Tribune of Mar. 5.]

From May to September this oppression continued. At one time the I. W. W.; at another, the left wing and the anarchist. In September the Communist Party was organized. In October, the strike in the steel industry broke out, which affected 250,000 workers, then there was the strike in the coal mines embracing about 500,000 workers. The strike in October and November effected 1,200,000 men. It was a serious crisis, the Government mobilized troops against the strike and the oppression in the steel trade and other trades was simply terrible. The mine workers' strike was a challenge to the National Government, which agency acted promptly and cruelly.

The Government appealed to a war law taking measures against the limitation of production. This was obviously never intended to be used against strikes, and the Government insured itself by an express order from a weak judge, by which the leaders of the mine workers' organization were ordered to stop the strike and not to interfere in the execution of this law. To the tune "We can not fight the Government—before everything we are Americans" the reactionary trades-union officials obeyed. The strike was broken, although half of the mine workers persisted, in spite of the Government and the leaders. The measures of oppression used by the Government in these strikes should convince the workers that that oppression was directed against the revolutionary movement, and is a phase of the oppression of the whole class. These great strikes were used by the Communist Party as a means for intensive revolutionary agitation. Leaflets were issued concerning the mine workers' and steel workers' strike and 2,000,000 of these distributed. Our agitation openly encouraged the establishment of soviets. The dictatorship of the capitalists must be answered by a dictatorship of the proletariat. Our agitation was particularly strong at Gary, the steel town, that was governed by Maj. Gen. Wood, under martial law. A number of Russian comrades at Gary were deported, two of them for distributing manifestoes of the Communist International.

Besides agitation in the workshops, the Communist Party conducted a great propaganda in the factories for the control of the workers on industry, and a national campaign was begun for the raising of the blockade of Soviet Russia. All this activity created a great stir and the press commenced a great campaign against the Communist Party. On November 8, the Communist Party was to hold a demonstration in Rutgers Square in New York City, in memory of the Bolshevik revolution. During a week the press conducted a provocative campaign, arousing the suspicion of a conspiracy towards riot, alleging that the Communists would avail themselves of dynamite and rifle. The press openly prepared the public and the police and soldiers for a veritable bath of blood. On the day of the proposed demonstration, 3,000 policemen and 1,500 soldiers were drawn up at Rutgers Square, and it was only the calling off of the demonstration that prevented some bloody scenes. A short while afterwards, the New York authorities made a raid upon 71 of our branches, all our literature was seized

and our furniture destroyed. About a hundred comrades were arrested, all of whom were acquitted with the exception of 17, who were imprisoned upon a charge of having membership cards of the Communist Party in their possession.

According to the judges the possession of such a card is a crime in itself. Raids and arrests went on among the I. W. W., the Communist Labor Party—a small group representing about 8,000 to 10,000 members; the Communist Party has from 45,000 to 50,000. By January 1 more than 2,000 of our members had been taken prisoner. At that moment the authorities had concentrated all their rage upon our party, and rightly so, seeing that it is the largest and most sincere bolshevist organization, in the center of the revolutionary struggle of the classes. Up till then the raids and arrests had been local; however, the National Government had intervened, and on the 1st and 2d of January raids were made all over the country, exclusively upon the Communist Party. I am writing this on January 2 and can not make any use of the facts; it is clear, however, that again about 3,000 of our members have been arrested. The inhumanity, the venom with which these raids and arrests were made has no precedent; it was actually a reign of terror. Here follows a summary of the facts:

(1) Our party was organized four months ago and already more than 5,000 of our 45,000 members have been arrested, i. e., 1 in 9; (2) 8 of the 15 members of our central executive committee have been taken prisoner, and it is believed that orders for arrest have been issued with regard to the others; (3) practically all the editors of our newspapers have been arrested, as well as the committees of our local branches; (4) comrades who have been arrested and who are foreigners must be deported immediately—bail is not allowed in most cases; (5) it is almost impossible to hold meetings. The purpose of the Government is to have membership of the Communist Party declared a crime and to break our organizations. In a number of cities our party is working in secret; (6) a proposal has been lodged in Congress stipulating that capital punishment shall be pronounced against those who incite to any collision or revolution. This would make it very easy to condemn every communist to death every time the police or the soldiers encourage a riot and anybody is killed. This is the situation and it is difficult to describe it satisfactorily. We will not be broken; that is our resolution. Persecuted and slandered, kicked and beaten, the Communist Party will pursue its agitation. Publicly if it can, secretly if it must.

EXHIBIT No. 18.

COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY PROPAGANDA.

NOW TAKE NOTE.

APRIL 13, 1920.

DEAR COMRADE: We are sending you an allotment of international labor day stamps. These red stamps must be called to the attention of all comrades and friends, all unionists you can get in touch with, all who understand the significance of May 1—yes, and those whom you can get to understand it. Every comrade must be placed at work selling these stamps to others. May day is the day upon which this is to be done.

Everybody should be induced to buy one, two, or more of these international May day stamps. The proceeds will be used to free the working class. There is no greater cause.

These stamps sell for 25 cents each. Each book contains 20 stamps. Each book sells for \$5. Out of each book sold the group retains \$1, the district secretary \$1, and \$3 are sent to the national office.

We say this: Every comrade should buy a whole book. Every comrade should contribute \$5 to the movement this international labor day. Every comrade should then sell as many books of stamps as he can to others.

As we wrote you before, four communist Saturdays a year will from now on be celebrated by the party. The first of these communist Saturdays happens upon Saturday, May 1, international labor day. We call upon all comrades, upon all workers, not to work upon this day, to give the entire day to the party, to sell international labor day stamps upon this day, to do the other tasks which shall be given you. First, then, celebrate this May 1 by purchasing a full book of stamps yourself, and then get busy selling them to your fellow workers.

Do it! Do not hesitate about it. These are "do" days. Capitalism is breaking up. We must organize and build up. You are to help build, to help do.

Remit for all stamps sold to your district secretary. If you have not his address, it will be sent you in due time.

Yours, in comradeship,

A. WAGENKNECHT, *Executive Secretary.*

STRIKE FOR PEACE WITH RUSSIA MAY FIRST.

PEACE WITH RUSSIA?—IS THERE SUCH A THING AS PEACE BETWEEN A SOVIET REPUBLIC AND WORLD CAPITAL.

No—a real peace is impossible under capitalism. For a real peace for Russia means the victory of the world revolution and nothing less.

Therefore, a revolutionary action of the workers to force peace has to be a struggle to develop power to such a degree that world capital is prevented from making war upon Russia in any form.

First. Stop open warfare by refusing not only to fight, but also to make or transport arms, ammunition, equipment, etc., for those who might use them to fight Soviet Russia.

Second. Prevent and counteract all machination, plotting, and underground action against our proletarian friends by exposing those responsible for it, by preventing money being spent in this respect and by not believing any of the lies in the capitalist press. This latter is very important. If we pledge ourselves not to believe any statement of the capitalist press with regard to Soviet Russia, any report about alleged barbarities or any so-called facts about internal troubles and chaos or external policy of conquest, etc., we are not likely to be fooled as most of us were in 1914.

Third. Strive in other countries toward soviet republics as organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This inspiring aim we must always have in mind in all our deeds, all our actions. We must fill our heads with revolutionary thoughts; we must dare to hope in the midst of our misery; we must understand more and more that the breakdown of capitalism is in full process; we must be willing to destroy the weapons of our enemies; we must have confidence in our constructive power. All this we can only achieve in a constant fight with our exploiters by giving this fight a general revolutionary character. It means a complete break with bourgeois civilization, bourgeois morals, bourgeois supremacy; it means labor as the basic principle of social and moral life.

The Amsterdam Bureau of the Communist International considers it its main task to further international unity, not only of thought but of action as well. It therefore submits for consideration to all communist groups, revolutionary organizations, workers' committees, etc., the possibility of a demonstrative strike in favor of peace with Soviet Russia, a demonstrative strike upon an international scale.

Prompted by these considerations we lay before all labor unions, all extra union mass organs, all groups and parties, this suggestion of a general strike May 1, 1920, in favor of Soviet Russia, and we beg them to inform us if it will have their support.

FOR THE AMSTERDAM BUREAU OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL,
H. ROLAND HOLST, *Secretary.*

APRIL 20, 1920.

DEAR COMRADE: Just as we were in the midst of arrangements for the celebration of international labor day by the party members and those in sympathy with this workers' holiday, a manifesto from the subbureau of the third international, situated at Amsterdam, Holland, reached us.

Inclosed you will find the salient points which this manifesto contains.

We join the third international in its call for tools down on May 1, 1920, and ask every comrade to give this international labor day to tasks which will strengthen the workers in their struggle against the masters.

There is nothing more needed at this moment than propaganda and organization for action, workers' action toward control. Such propaganda and organi-

zation necessitates expenditure of money. Money, therefore, is at present the prime need—money for literature, pamphlets, books, leaflets. Money for organizers too. Money must be had at once.

You are called upon to give May 1 to the sale of the inclosed international labor day stamps. Buy a whole book of them yourself. Induce others to buy a book. Get other comrades to help you sell these stamps. Sell them to all the workers you can reach. You can not celebrate May 1 more fittingly than by giving the entire day to the sale of international labor day stamps. If you run out of stamps, secure contributions from the workers you can reach.

Make remittance to your district secretary if you have his address. If you have not his address then make remittance to Jefferson Club, Progress Hall, 1551 Second Avenue, New York City.

Make all remittances by bank draft. Do not send same in registered letter. It is not necessary to sign your name, just fill blank below and we will know who sends it. Now, then, sell international labor day stamps. Join the workers round the world in celebrating May 1, 1920.

A. WAGENKNECK,

Secretary The Communist Labor Party.

Inclosed find \$—— as a result of May 1 sales to the workers in this vicinity.

City----- State-----

EXHIBIT No. 19.

INSTRUCTION FROM THIRD INTERNATIONALE ON AMERICAN COMMUNIST PARTY.

To the central committees of the American Communist Party and the American Communist Labor Party.

DEAR COMRADES: From the reports of comrades who arrived from America and who represent both tendencies of American communism, the executive committee of the Communist International has the opportunity of acquainting itself with the differences between the American comrades; differences which have led to an open split and to the formation of two communist parties. The question was submitted to the consideration of an extended session of the executive committee of the Communist International at which, beside the members of the E. C., there were also present representatives of both American parties as well as representatives from France, Switzerland, Hungary, Finland, and Jugo-Slavia. Arising out of this meeting, the executive committee came to the following conclusion:

This split has rendered a heavy blow to the communist movement in America. It leads to the dispersion of revolutionary force, to a harmful parallelism, an absurd partition of practical work, senseless discussions, and an unjustifiable loss of energy in interfractional quarrels. A concentration of American bourgeois forces has increased to an unprecedented extent, while the class struggle is becoming more acute every day and demands unprecedented sacrifices from the American proletariat. The world revolution is inexorably growing; great possibilities and brilliant perspectives are opening up before the American proletariat. This is not the time for division of communist forces.

In addition to this, we must assert that the split has not been caused by any profound differences of opinion as regards program. At bottom there are but certain disagreements on the question of tactics, principally questions of organization.

Under such circumstances this split has not the slightest justification and should be liquidated at all costs. In so far as both parties stand on the platform of the Communist International—and of this we have not the slightest doubt—a united party is not only possible but is absolutely necessary, and the E. C. categorically insists on this being immediately brought about.

The necessity for immediate unification is imperatively dictated by the further fact that the two parties represent, as it were, varying sides of the communist movement in America. The American Communist Party is principally a foreign party, embracing so-called "national" federations. The American Communist Labor Party chiefly represents American or English-speaking elements. If the first is more developed theoretically and is more closely connected with the traditions of the revolutionary struggle of the Russian working class, it is, on the other hand, more isolated from the mass movement and

mass organizations of the American workers who are gradually entering the broad path of the struggle between the classes. The second party, which has not passed through a similar revolutionary school, has received less training in the subtleties of the Marxist theory and is in need of a certain intellectual guidance, nevertheless has the advantage that it may much more easily influence American labor—which is to play the most important part in the coming decisive battles of the class war. Thus both parties naturally supplement each other, and only by their unification is it possible to create in America an efficient Communist Party, which must take the lead in the mass movement and in the oncoming communist revolution.

With the aim of bringing about this unification, the executive committee of the Communist International proposes to both parties to immediately convene a joint conference whose decisions shall be binding for both sections. We suggest that an organizing bureau composed of an equal number of representatives of both parties should be set up for the purpose of preparing and convening the conference, and also for the coordination of the work of both parties. The platform of the Communist International and the resolutions of the executive committee of the Communist International should form the basis of the unity. Apart from this, the executive committee regards it necessary to point out the following to the American comrades:

1. The Communist Party should strive to unite in its ranks all those elements which recognize the necessity for seizing power and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. It should be understood that this recognition should not be merely verbal or theoretical, but the recognition must be proved by the obligation being imposed upon every member of the party and every proletarian conscious of his class interests of taking part in the determined struggle to overthrow the power of the bourgeoisie and to establish the power of the working class. In the face of this great problem all disagreements on other questions, as the employment of parliamentary actions and other legal measures, on the application of one or another means of struggle, or the various forms of organization, disappear.

Disagreements of this character are inevitable in all countries where it is necessary to form a Communist Party of various elements—left Socialists leaving the old parties, nonparty people who have come over to the point of view of the inevitability of the class struggle, anarchists and syndicalists who recognize the necessity of seizing power and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat—but to split over these differences, which in a period of revolution have only a secondary importance, is absolutely inadmissible. The only thing that the party must demand in the event of differences between organizations or individual comrades is unconditional discipline, the absolute subordination of the minority to the majority. Before the acceptance of any resolution it is essential that there should be possibilities for full and frank discussion of the question and freedom of criticism within the ranks of the party. But after an authoritative resolution of the party has been carried all members are obliged to carry it out without reserve, including those who do not agree with it. On the one hand there must be the widest tolerance for differing opinions during the period of discussion; on the other hand the strictest discipline must be observed in carrying out the decisions of the party. These are the fundamental conditions, without which the creation of a strong proletarian revolutionary party is impossible.

2. A complete break with the old socialist parties, the S. P. and the S. L. P., is naturally a condition for the creation of a communist party in America. But this by no means signifies that the Communist Party can not accept individual comrades and whole organizations officially regarded as part of the old parties who have decisively come over to the point of view of consistent class war and proletarian dictatorship.

The Communist Party must be a mass organization and not a close, narrow circle. "Isolation from the noncommunist elements" should be understood in the sense of separation from the hardened social-traitorous elements in the old parties, particularly from those leaders who have compromised themselves; but it must not be taken to mean self-isolation from and repelling those workers who were formerly members of the old parties, but who have not broken with them. The doors of the Communist Party must be open wide for proletarians even if they have not mastered all subtleties of Marxist theory, but are sincerely loyal to the cause of proletarian revolution and are actually conducting a struggle against domination of the bourgeoisie. The Communist Party will be for them the best school for communism.

3. The party must take part in the every day incidents of the class war. Up till now the American left wing Socialists devoted most of their attention to agitation and propaganda, and in this direction did important work. But confined in a more or less close circle of comrades all thinking alike, they, to a large extent stood aside from the everyday class struggle of the proletarian masses which is flowing in broad streams throughout the country; at any rate they did not play the leading part in the greater conflicts between capital and labor. It is particularly necessary to remember that the stage of verbal propaganda and agitation has been left behind, the time for decisive battles has arrived. Uniting in its ranks all the class conscious and meet active elements of the working class, and devolving the widest propaganda of communist ideas, the Communist Party must at the same time strive to become the leader in the proletarian class struggle in all its various aspects, from separate economic strikers, demonstrations, mass meetings, and election campaigns, to general political strikes and armed insurrections of the proletariat. The most important task confronting the American communist at the present moment is to draw the wide proletarian masses into the path of the revolutionary class struggle.

4. Cooperating in hastening the process of dissolution of the American Federation of Labor and other craft unions associated with it, the party must strive to establish the closest connection with those working class economic organizations in which industrial unionist tendencies are being manifested I. W. W. and "one big union," W. I. U. as well as with separate unions breaking away from the American Federation of Labor. The party must work in closest contact with these organizations, striving at the same time to unite them and to create a powerful centralized economic organization of the proletariat imbued with class consciousness. Supporting the industrial unions in their everyday struggle for direct economic demands, the party must strive to deepen and widen the struggle and convert it into a struggle for the final revolutionary aims of the proletariat, for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the abolition of the capitalist system.

5. The party must support the formation of factory workers' committees in the factories alongside with the party groups, which might serve on the one hand as a base for the everyday economic struggle, and on the other hand as a school for the training of the advanced guard of labor in the management of industry in the event of the dictatorship of the proletariat being achieved. It is, of course, understood that these factory committees should work in closest contact with the industrial organizations.

6. The party must not represent a conglomeration of independent or semi-autonomous "national federations." The national federations played an important historical part in the American socialist movement, for many years conducting a systematic opposition in the old party and being largely instrumental in creating the Socialist Propaganda League and the Left Wing. But in the future, with the rapid intensification and widening of the class struggle, and the great complexity of problems confronting the proletariat of America, the foreign-born communists will only be able to carry out their task by entering into the closest possible relations with their brothers in the American labor movement. Being in general better trained theoretically and being more closely bound to Russian revolutionary traditions, the members of the federations may in the future have a guiding influence in the American communist movement; but this influence must be exercised not by means of separate national federations, but from within a united, strongly centralized, Communist Party. The sudden and complete break-up of the historic form of organization of the federations is certainly undesirable, as this might lead to the disintegration of the foreign-born movement, which has been the chief promulgator of communist ideas in America. Moreover the national federations, strictly as organizations of propaganda among their own countrymen, are still, and will be for a long time, necessary in America. But at the same time the foreign-born workers must recognize the principle that in the sphere of political and economic activity these federations must be wholly subject to the leadership of the organs of the party as a whole, and that the chief function of the national federations is to prepare the foreign-born workers to take their places in the English-speaking communist movement.

7. During a period of social revolution, the employment of referendums should be reduced to a minimum. In any case questions requiring speedy decision under no circumstances can be submitted to a referendum. In the inter-

vals between the conference the central committee of the party must wield complete authority.

8. One of the most important practical tasks which imperatively confronts the Communist Party of America at the present moment is the establishment of a large daily political newspaper, which should be not only an organ of theoretical propaganda and training, but should be a leading organ in the political struggle giving information on all public events from the communist point of view, and putting forward the regular battle cries reflecting the everyday proletarian class struggle.

9. The executive committee urges the American comrades immediately to establish an underground organization, even though it is possible for the party to function legally. This underground organization shall be for the purpose of carrying on direct revolutionary propaganda among the masses, and, in case of violent suppression of the legal party organization, of carrying on the work. It should be composed of trusted comrades, and kept entirely separate from the legal party organization. The fewer people who know about it the better. For the formation and control of this underground organization, a small subcommittee of the national executive committee can be appointed. An underground printing plant and distribution machinery should be established.

We remain, yours, fraternally,

PRESIDENT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL
ZINOVIEV.

Moscow, January 12, 1920.

Conform with the original.

G. ALING.

EXHIBIT No. 20.

AGREEMENT FOR THE UNIFICATION OF THE AMERICAN COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE AMERICAN COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY.

1. For the purpose of uniting both Communist Parties of America a bureau of unity is to be established. This bureau is to be composed of six members, each party sending three comrades.

2. The immediate task of the unity bureau is to call a convention to unite the two parties. The basis of representation in this convention to be alike for both parties and to be based on the number of members of both parties in good standing on January 1, 1920. Until the realization of the complete unity the bureau coordinates and directs the work of both parties, organizes demonstrations, issuing joint publications, and distributes material of both parties.

3. At the convention the party accents the name, the United States Communist Party of America.

4. The convention is to be the supreme organ of the party.

5. The convention elects a central committee, which is the supreme organ of the party during the intervals between the conventions.

6. In case of necessity, a party conference is to be called, the decisions of which become obligatory only upon their being confirmed by the central committee.

7. During the period of the struggle for power referendum is not considered advisable and should be reduced to a minimum. Its complete abolition is most desirable.

9. National federations, whose primary reason for existence is the necessity for propaganda work among the non-English-speaking masses in their own language, must, of course, be retained for this purpose. But these federations must not have any independent legislative or administrative functions, except such as are delegated to them by the party convention or the central committee of the party, to whose authority they must unqualifiedly submit. The function of the federation must be used to maintain the foreign-born workers in isolated organizations speaking their own language, but to bring the foreign-born workers as speedily as possible into the English-speaking movement. For this reason the central committee of the party shall have the

power to draft into the English-speaking party units such foreign-born workers who are capable of taking an active part in the English-speaking movement.

9. Party dues must be paid into the party treasury through the local and State organizations, and not through the federation central committee. Of course, all funds raised by the federations for their own purpose, exclusive of due stamps, shall be their own property, to be used in their own work.

10. All press and propaganda authorized and issued by the national federations shall be subject to the control of the party central committee.

11. Federations shall not have the right to expel or suspend their branches or members. Charges against members or branches in the federation must be brought before the central committee of the local party unit, which alone, subject to the central committee, has power to suspend or expel members and branches.

12. There must be only one federation for each foreign-language group in the party. All members of the party who can not take part in the English-speaking branches must join their federation. However, the federation can not refuse to accept any member or branch without the consent of the central committee or organs to which this power is delegated. Exclusion of a foreign-speaking member from the federation means exclusion from the party.

Moscow, January 13, 1920.

FOR THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY OF AMERICA.
INTERNATIONAL DELEGATE.

FOR THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION.

RUSSIAN, LETTISH, UKRAINIAN,
POLISH, LITHUANIAN,

DELEGATE TO SOVIET RUSSIA.

Conforms with the original.

G. ALING.

EXHIBIT No. 21.

RUTGER'S LETTER TO MARTENS.

AMERSFOORT, *January 16, 1920.*

DEAR COMRADE MARTENS: This is a special opportunity, and although I wrote you before, I will repeat some information. Your letter and the credentials I received when I was very ill in a sanitarium in July, 1919. An answer was sent you through the care of Boris R. Still being in the sanitarium, I got a visit from Mac Wright (?), who gave me some information about your activity and the general situation of party matters.

In the end of September I finally came back to activity and it was then decided that I should leave for Holland with a mandate of the executive committee of the Communist International. The mandate was to organize a bureau at Amsterdam, the members of which were appointed by the executive. Purpose was to organize propaganda, etc., and especially to call an international conference of the Communist International, it being considered necessary to bring the center of gravity more to the west.

I arrived here middle of October and tried since to get as much knowledge as possible about the western European and American movement.

From different newspapers, bourgeois daily papers and communist literature (I received copies of the Communist, the Communist World, Revolutionary Age, Liberator, Times, Sun, Call, etc.), I gathered some idea what is going on.

I am sorry to say that I got a growing feeling of discomfort, strengthened by what I learned from letters and finally through conversation with one of my best friends over there.

Already after my conversation with MacWright (?) I expressed as my opinion, that speaking for the Socialist Party even on purely informatory subjects was a big mistake, and this was also the opinion of Bucharin and others. Of course we realized the difficulty of your position and that it would be impossible for you to come out openly in support of the Communist Party in America. But nevertheless supporting them in any way possible even at a certain amount of risk seemed only natural. The same position was taken in Switzerland.

Being entirely out of touch with your constituents and having a very vague mandate, it seems to me logical, that you should have taken largely into consideration the opinions and wishes of the federation and the Communist Party, as soon as I heard the names of those with whom you surrounded yourself, I

got a little afraid. You were selected and not Weinstein for obvious reasons, not to speak of Nuorteva or Hillquit as a legal adviser.

From your activities it was clearly demonstrated, that you considered commercial representation and efforts for recognition paramount. Tjitjerin and other comrades agreed with this position, although in nominating you, your capacity of engineer was not even mentioned or thought of. Your supposed clear conception of uncompromising communist principles decided that you and not Weinstein was preferable.

As far as commercial relations go, I had a good time of my life when you started off rattling with millions and arousing some attention and some profit-lust. As a beginning it was not a bad stunt but to my opinion you went much too far and was carried away by concentrating on the wrong side of the issue.

Preparing commercial deals could very well have been left off until conditions would allow actual shipping; such technicalities do not require much time. As a method to arouse interest in commercial centers, your very presence and some vague rumors about what is required and what can be given in exchange would have been enough; you could never expect to gain by more or less detailed negotiations that even from a narrow point of view would arouse special individual interests instead of more general.

The efforts for recognition were, of course, more important and I understand that this was the crucial point for all your deeds. But here I decidedly side with Nic. Hourwich; the main force in recognition had to be the pressure from the workers.

All your hope either on small bourgeois individuals or parties like the Socialist Party artistic and political pacifists and middlemen is not only unfounded but contrary to well-established tactics. You will reply that it was not at all impossible that the United States should make peace for capitalistic reasons without any pressure from the workers and you may even have felt that in a certain situation a (insufficient) pressure to force things was detrimental to a capitalist peace. This, however, I consider opportunism of the worst kind.

In the first place, it is childish to think that if world political considerations caused the United States to make peace, your efforts could be of any considerable influence. In such a situation your half-baked radicals would not need your help to support and glorify Wilson, and it would be your duty, as I see it, not to canvass Senators, etc., but to mobilize whatever forces there are among the workers to influence the kind of peace and still more to use the situation for strengthening the American movement, because even in such a case (peace for purely capitalist reasons) the result of peace depends upon the force of labor all over the world.

Peace may even result in killing the revolution temporarily; if this is the signal for the world proletariat to stop whatever action is under way, for peace means, of course, simply another form of fighting the soviet republic to the bitter end with all crimes imaginable.

A kind of neutral diplomatic position looks to me an impossibility and a failure, although the appearance might have to be guarded for utilitarian reasons. But I understand that you did not stick to this position of neutrality and gave your sympathies decidedly more to the "centrists" with animosity toward the Communist Party. I will appreciate to learn more about the leading principles actuating you in these unfortunate conflicts with our most consequent comrades. Although your direct relation is with the soviet government, the matters involved no doubt touch the interests of the Communist International. With best greetings and wishes,

Yours, for the cause,

A. V. RUTGERS.

EXHIBIT No. 22.

[Memorandum brief prepared upon the status of Ludwig Christian Alexander Kaslovitch Martens, under the act of Congress, approved Oct. 16, 1918. Submitted by J. Edgar Hoover, special assistant to the Attorney General, Dec. 29, 1919.]

A. BRIEF BIOGRAPHY OF LUDWIG C. A. K. MARTENS.

Martens is 45 years of age and was born in Yekaterinoslav, city of Bachmut, Russia, of German parents who had migrated to Bachmut, Russia, in 1850, and who were still German subjects when he was born. At the time of his birth his parents registered him with a German consulate. At the age of 18, upon

graduating from Kurtzk College, he applied for Russian citizenship, but was denied the same, as he had not served his term in the German army.

Martens then went to Petrograd and learned to be a mechanical engineer, and when 19 years of age was arrested as a revolutionist in 1896 and served three years in penal servitude. Upon the conclusion of his sentence the Russian authorities had reported him to the German authorities for his failure to serve in the German army, and he was immediately brought by German gendarmes back to Germany and was made a common soldier, being released from his obligation in 1901.

When the revolution broke out in Russia in 1905 and 1906, Martens endeavored to rejoin his revolutionary comrades. The Russian Government, however, refused him admission so he smuggled himself into Russia. Late in 1906, due to the unsettled conditions in Russia, he hastily left that country and went to England where he worked for various firms and finally became connected with the Demidoff Iron & Steel Works. He has never returned to Russia since his departure from that country in 1906. While abroad he continued an active member and organizer in Russian Workmen Socialist Democratic Party, which was a revolutionary party.

On August 9, 1914, Martens registered in England as an alien enemy, having been born of German parents in Russia, and therefore classed as a German subject. On December 24, 1915, Martens was granted permission by the British authorities to embark on the steamship *St. Louis* from Liverpool to New York and arrived in this country in January, 1916. He ostensibly came to the United States as a representative of the Demidoff Iron & Steel Works.

Martens is a resident of Iselin, N. J., and is stated to have a wife and one child. According to his testimony before the Lusk committee, his application for Russian citizenship was but recently granted, having been extended to him by the provisional government of Russia, after the revolution of March, 1917, though he has never received official notification to this effect. It is to be noted in this connection that Martens has not been in Russia for 13 years and under the laws of the United States he is still considered a German subject, notwithstanding his claim to Russian citizenship, for the reason that at the time of his birth he was registered as a German subject and served the required time in the German Army.

More than a year after the establishment of the "Lenin-Trotsky régime" in Russia, Martens obtained credentials from that group of revolutionists, make his their official representative in the United States, and he is now familiarly known as the "Bolshevist ambassador."

B. FEDERAL STATUTE APPLICABLE TO THE CASE OF LUDWIG C. A. K. MARTENS.

The act of Congress approved October 16, 1918, amending the immigration laws of the United States, provides among other things:

"That aliens who are members of or affiliated with any organization that entertains the belief in, teaches or advocates the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States shall be deported."

C. PROPOSITION.

In order that the above-quoted Federal statute may be applied in the case of Ludwig C. A. K. Martens, it will be necessary to show:

That Ludwig C. A. K. Martens is a member of an organization that entertains a belief in, teaches or advocates the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States.

It is my intention in this brief to first show that Martens is a member of the Communist Party of Russia and that the Communist Party of Russia has a semi-official status in Russian affairs to-day, if not an official status. Having established these two points, I shall then next endeavor to show that the Communist Party of Russia is an organization advocating the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States by first examining in detail the growth of the Communist Party of Russia, resulting in the call and the issuing of the manifesto of the Third or Communist International at Moscow. The manifesto and platform in particular will be examined in detail to show the principles and tactics adopted by the delegates to and organizers of the Third International and which have been subsequently adopted and adhered to by communists not only in Russia, but in other countries, including the United States. I shall then advert to the views expressed by recognized spokesmen of the Russian Com-

munist Party upon the Third Communist International and the allied interests of their party in carrying out the principles and aims of this international meeting of communists.

Reference will then be made to the propaganda carried on among the American troops upon the Archangel front by the communists of Russia to show that not only by reference in the manifesto of the third international to the United States was the intention expressed to incite revolution in this country by the Russian communists, but that by direct acts the Russian communists endeavored to undermine the naval and military forces of the United States and to urge the soldiers, sailors, and workers of the United States to rebel against their Government and to overthrow it by militant tactics.

Having established the above points, the conclusion necessarily follows that if Ludwig C. A. K. Martens is a member of the Communist Party of Russia, and if that party advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence, Martens falls within that class of persons subject to deportation under the act of Congress, approved October 16, 1918.

D. LUDWIG C. A. K. MARTENS'S MEMBERSHIP IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF RUSSIA.

Many statements have appeared from time to time to the effect that Martens was a communist, but the most specific statement and the only one that can be accepted as authority is that made by Mr. Martens before the joint committee of the Senate and Assembly of New York State to investigate seditious activities. This committee was appointed to inquire into the seditious activities of American citizens and aliens in the State of New York and has held many sessions in New York City for the purpose of conducting these investigations.

During the course of its investigations it had occasion to call Mr. Martens before it for investigation. At the hearing held in the Aldermanic Chamber in the city of New York on Saturday, November 15, 1919, at 2.30 p. m., Mr. Martens admitted upon question that he was a member of the Russian Communist Party. He stated that he had been a member and organizer of the Russian Workmen's Social Democratic Party as early as 1902, that when this party split in 1903 he joined the Bolshevik faction, which in 1917 changed its name to "Russian Communist Party" (Bolshevik). He further stated, "The revolution has been my life."

Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit I" is a photostat copy of page 1076 of the testimony before the committee, containing the statement by Martens that he was a member of the Communist Party. It is to be further noted in this connection that Martens stated that this party is the party now in control in Soviet Russia. He also stated that the Communist Party had issued a call for what was known as the "Third International," and that a manifesto was issued by the third international signed by Nicolas Lenin, Charles Rakovsky, G. Zinoviev, Leon Trotsky, and Fritz Platten.

It will thus be noted that Mr. Martens definitely establishes the fact that he is a member of the Communist Party of Russia, which party called the Third or Communist International and issued the manifesto of the same, which is analyzed later in this brief.

E. COMMUNIST PARTY OF RUSSIA.

(a) *Its rise and growth.*—In March, 1917, occurred what was known as the "March, 1917, revolution in Russia." Several provisional governments, one after another, remained in power for a short while until the so-called Kerensky government was formed, which stood until November 7, 1917, when it was overthrown by the bolsheviks. The aim of the bolsheviks was to establish what they called a soviet form of government, with all power of control in the hands of the workers. By propaganda and by urging the soldiers to disobey the orders of their superiors and the workers to arm themselves and seize power, the Kerensky government was finally undermined, and the Russian Socialistic Federated Soviet Republic came into being. In the bolshevik government, the Russian Communist Party has grown to be the ruling party in Russia. In practice only communists hold responsible office in the Russian Socialistic Federated Soviet Republic, with but one or two exceptions, and with the growth of the soviet republic the Communist Party has grown to be a powerful semi-official organization in Russia.

The Russian Communist Party has, by extensive propaganda, through pamphlets and newspapers, extended its insidious influences not only throughout the length and breadth of Russia but throughout all parts of the world.

The fundamental principles of communism were first expressed by Karl Marx, and the same principles were followed religiously by certain groups in Europe in a small way until the Russian revolution in 1917, when communism began to show a marked increase in growth. Upon the formation of the Russian Communist Party and its seizure of power in Russia the growth of communism took a more concrete form, and in order that communism as expressed by the Russian Communist Party might become not merely a Russian movement, but coordinated international movement, a proclamation was issued on February 24, 1919, calling the first congress of the Communist International.

I am attaching hereto, marked as "Exhibit II" a translation of this call, taken from Rosta, the official telegraph agency of the bolsheviks.

(b) *Call of the first congress of the Communists International, February 24, 1919.*—Examination of this call, particularly that part headed "Aim and tactics," shows that the purpose of calling the congress was to form an organization which would enable the realization of the aim of the proletariat in all countries. As set forth in the call, the aim of the proletariat is as follows:

"The present is the period of destruction and crushing of the capitalistic system of the whole world, and it will be a catastrophe for the whole European culture should capitalism with all its insoluble contradictions not be done away with. 2. The aim of the proletariat must now be immediately to conquer the power. To conquer the power means to destroy the government apparatus of the bourgeoisie and to organize a new proletarian government apparatus."

The call further states that the platform which was to be presented and adopted had been worked out in accordance with the programs of the Spartacus Association in Germany and the Communist Party in Russia (bolshevik).

Later in the call we find the following statement:

"The dictatorship of the proletariat must be the occasion for the immediate expropriation of capital and the doing away with the private right of owning the means of production through making them common property."

Following the preceding quotation is set forth the method by which the social revolution may be protected, namely:

"In order to protect the socialist revolution against external and internal enemies and to assist the fighting proletariats of other countries, it becomes entirely necessary to disarm the bourgeoisie and its agents to arm the proletariat."

The preceding quotations are indeed sufficient to show the character of the organizations calling the first congress of the Communist International. There are, however, a few other sections of the call of the first congress of communists which warrant consideration. In section 12 of the call appears a list of organizations which were to participate in the third international. Among those listed the following are of particular interest:

Spartacus Association (German), the Communist Party (Bolshevik, Russia), Socialist Labor Party of America, left wing elements of the Socialist Party of America, I. W. W. of America, Workers International Industrial Union of America.

The above briefly covers the more pertinent parts of the call for the first congress of Communists, but a detailed examination of this call will lead to but one conclusion, namely, that the purpose of calling together such a body was to establish a world-wide revolution for the accomplishment of the overthrow of governments like our own by force and violence. Further strengthening this conclusion, we have but to proceed with an analysis of the manifesto issued by the third international which purports to contain the principles and tactics adopted by this congress of communists, which principles and tactics have been approved, adopted and followed by communists the world over, where they have organized themselves formally, as in the Communist Party of America and the Communist Labor Party of America.

(c) *Attitude of Russian Communist Party prior to the session of the third international.*—Before proceeding with the consideration of the manifesto of the third international, it will be interesting to note the views adhered to by the Russian Communist Party as expressed by resolutions adopted by its organizations and by recognized spokesmen of that party.

Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit III" is a translation of an article appearing in the Petrograd Pravda for February 13, 1919, written by V. Byetriansky, editor of the Severnaya Kommuna, the official organ of the ex-

executive committee of soviets, of peasants and workmen's, and Red Army, deputies of Petrograd. The title of the article, it will be noted, is headed "The Party and the Soviets" and is a particularly illuminating document which explains the attitude of the Russian Communist Party toward the soviet form of government.

Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit IV" is a translation of a resolution adopted at the session of the Moscow committee of the Russian Communist Party on February 15, 1919, and published in the *Severnaya Kommuna* for February 22, 1919. It will be noted that this resolution was adopted just prior to the assembling of the communists' hosts at Moscow, and it is further to be noted that this resolution gives expression to the views of the Moscow committee of the Russian Communist Party along the lines of party discipline, showing that the Russian Communist Party is one of the closest political organizations in existence and exacts autocratic obedience from its members.

Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit V" is a translation of the program of the Russian Communist Party, as the same appeared in the *Severnaya Kommuna* for February 28, 1919. This project of program was published a month before the eighth congress of the Russian Communists, in order to start discussion. Particular attention is called to the following statement appearing in this program:

"All this inevitably leads to the starting of civil war within separate states by revolutionary soldiers, both those defending proletarian countries and also the oppressed people against the yoke of imperialistic powers.

"Under these conditions the slogan of pacifism of international disarmament in the presence of capitalism recourse to arbitration and such are not only reactionary Utopians but a direct deception of the toilers with the aim of disarming the proletariat and distracting it from the task of disarming the exploiters."

Attached hereto and marked "Exhibit VI" is a translation of the thesis of Zinoviev, at the eighth congress of the Russian Communist Party, as the same appeared in the *Severnaya Kommuna* for March 1, 1919. Zinoviev became the president of the executive council of the third international and is considered to be one of the leading spokesmen of the Russian Communist Party. The following are some of the startling quotations taken from the thesis of Zinoviev, which plainly show the principles upon which the Russian Communist Party was founded and what its ultimate aims have been:

"With the first shot fired on the fields of the imperialistic war the principal parties of the second international betrayed the working class, and in the guise of defense of fatherland passed over to the side each of his own bourgeoisie."

The foregoing quotation shows the frankly negative attitude of the Russian Communist Party toward national patriotism, as evinced in 1914 when the socialists who had become a component part of the second international threw down the sham of internationalism and flocked to the support of their respective fatherlands in the world crisis. Throughout the articles issued by the Russian Communist Party and, in fact, all communist parties there is particular stress laid upon the uselessness of patriotism. One of the fundamental principle of communism is the international character of the same, and consequently any advocacy of communism in the United States is directly in violation of the principles upon which this Government was founded—namely, that of nationalistic sectionalism. With the existence of communism patriotism disappears and the Utopian idea of the communist is for one great international proletarian state. In Zinoviev's thesis we note reference to the United States and his particularly slurring comment upon Samuel Gompers and his followers, thus showing that this leading Russian communist distinctly had in mind not only the European countries when he spoke of establishing a world-wide proletarian movement but also had in mind the United States of America.

The following is another quotation taken from the thesis of Zinoviev:

"The task of the proletariat is now the immediate seizure of governmental power in order to carry out the dictatorship of the toiling classes and to create a proletarian state on the basis of soviet or similar organizations."

The foregoing quotation is not a play of words, but specifically states what the task of the proletariat, as expressed by the Russian Communist Party, is, namely, the "seizure of governmental power." The seizure, as will later be pointed out, is not to be accomplished by parliamentary means and tactics, but by mass action and consequently force and violence.

Section 11 of Zinoviev's thesis is an invitation to the various communistic groups of the world to attend the Third International. Among those invited to attend we find the following:

1. Socialist Labor Party of America;
2. Left wing elements of the American Socialist Party, particularly the tendency represented by Debs and the tendency represented by the League of Socialist Propaganda;
3. The I. W. W. of America.

Under section 12 of Zinoviev's thesis, we find the following:

"The Russian Communist Party must come to the assistance in every way of which it is capable of all steps in connection with the First International Communist Congress and all steps of its executive organization."

Here we see the Communist Party put forth as the sponsor of the Third Communist International.

The thesis of Zinoviev closes with the following statement:

"The hour has struck for the establishment of a genuine communist international which in the very near future will bring suffering humanity to an international league of soviet republics and to the destruction of all States in the old meaning of the word."

Here the author of the thesis summarizes in a few lines the ultimate aim of the Russian Communist Party which later became crystallized into the manifesto and platform of the third communist international.

(d) *Manifest Third Communist International*.—The first congress of the communist international was held at Moscow from March 2 to 6, 1919, when the manifesto was issued.

Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit VII" is a translation of the manifesto of the communist international which appeared in the "Severnaya Kommuna" for March 8, 1919. In order to fully appreciate the views of the Russian Communist Party and of the communistic groups attending the Third International, it is necessary to read the manifesto in full. I am, however, pointing out some of the more pertinent parts of the manifesto for particular attention.

In the second paragraph of the manifesto we find the following statements:

"We, communists, representatives of the revolutionary proletariat of the different countries of Europe, America, and Asia, assembled in soviet Moscow, feel and consider ourselves followers and fulfillers of the cause. It is our task now to sum up the practical revolutionary experience of the working class * * * and hasten the victory of the communist revolution in the whole world."

Throughout the manifesto we find reference is made to the "United States," "Government of Wilson" and "Government of Washington." Thus, we see that the Moscow conference of the Third Communist International and the representatives of the communistic groups assembled there had distinctly in mind the application of their principles and aims to the United States of America.

The following is another quotation appearing in this manifesto:

"The epoch of crisis through which the world is passing can be brought to a close only by the measures adopted under the proletariat dictatorship which does not look back to the past and does not take into account either inherited privileges or rights of property, but does what is required to save the starving masses and mobilizes to this end all means and force, introduces universal service, establishes a régime of labor discipline, in order thus, during the course of several years, not only to heal the gaping wounds inflicted by the war, but also to raise mankind to a new height until now unknown."

The foregoing quotation specifically states that the proletarian dictatorship recognizes no rights of property. It further gives expression of its views as to the attitude which it will adopt toward labor, namely, the introduction of a universal labor service and the establishment of a régime of labor discipline. Under such policy, labor will become subservient to and a serf of the proletarian dictatorship. This attitude has been carried out in Soviet Russia to-day, where strikes of labor unions are prohibited.

The following is another interesting quotation taken from the manifesto of the Third Communist International:

"To demand of the proletariat that in this last struggle, not for life but to death, with capital it should loyally observe demands of political democracy, is the same to demand of a man who is defending his life and existence from highway robbers that he should observe the scientific and well-guarded rules of

the French system of boxing, which rules have been made by his enemy and are not observed by the latter.

"When the principles of destruction govern, then the proletariat is obliged to create its own apparatus, which will serve first of all to protect the internal bonds of the working class, guarantee the possibility of its revolutionary intervention in the further development of humanity."

The foregoing quotation gives an illuminating view of the attitude of mind of the proletariat toward the observance of the laws of morality, as it states it will not be governed by any rules in its fight against the so-called bourgeois state, but will adopt all means and tactics for the accomplishment of its nefarious ends.

The following is another statement appearing in the manifesto:

"The most important task at the present time of the conscious and honorable workmen of all countries is to strengthen the soviets, to increase their authority, and to imitate the governmental apparatus of Russia."

Thus we see in this statement the urging upon all of the workers of the world to establish soviets and the same governmental apparatus existing in Soviet Russia at the present time.

Later in the manifesto, we find the following statement:

"The working class must answer blow for blow unless it renounces itself and its own future, never artificially provoking civil war. * * * This makes necessary the simultaneous disarming of the bourgeoisie, the arming of workmen and the creation of a communist army to defend the authority of the proletariat and the inviolability of the socialist structure. Such is the Red Army of Soviet Russia, which sprang up and exists as the bulwark of the conquest of the working class against all attacks from within or without. The soviet authority is inseparable from the soviet State."

In the foregoing quotation we see the specific statement that in order to accomplish the aims of the proletariat as expressed by the Third Communist International, of which the Russian Communist Party was a part and which aims were directed not only against the European States but against the United States of America, that the disarming of the bourgeoisie and the arming of the workmen for the creation of a communist army is necessary. Such action, if adopted, must necessarily result in the use of force and violence in the accomplishment of the aims of the Third Communist International and of the Russian Communist Party.

"Just as the First International indicated the road of future development and the Second International gathered together and organized millions of proletarians, so the Third International is the International of open-mass action of revolutionary realization. * * * We call on all workmen and workwomen of all countries to unite under the communist flag, which is the flag of the first great victories.

"The proletarians of all countries in the struggle against imperialist barbarism, against monarchies, against privileged classes, against the bourgeois state and bourgeois property, and against all kinds and form of class or national oppression—unite."

The above plainly states that the Third International is the International of open mass action which is conceded to be force and violence and urges the proletarians of all countries to unite against the Bourgeoisie State and bourgeois property. The phrase "Bourgeoisie State" means the existing government as we understand it and in the United States means the "Government of the United States."

(e) *Platform of the Third Communist International.*—Following the issuance of the manifesto by the Third Communist International, the gathering proceeded to adopt a platform setting forth in concrete form the aims and methods by which the methods were accomplished by the Communist proletarian State.

Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit VIII" is a translation of the platform of the Third Communist International as it appeared in *Izvestia* for March 6, 1919. An examination of this document will lead one to the realization of the insidious influences sponsored by the Third Communist International.

The following are some of the more pertinent quotations taken from this document:

"It (communistic order) must wipe out frontiers between states. * * * The proletariat must answer by acquiring political power. * * * The conquest of political power by the proletariat means the destruction of the political power of the bourgeoisie. The most powerful weapon of authority in the hands of the bourgeoisie is the bourgeois apparatus of state with its police and secret police, its judges, its preachers, civil officials, and such. The conquest of

political power can not be limited simply to a change of personnel of government departments, but must mean the destruction of parasite state apparatus, the disarming of the bourgeoisie and the arming of the proletariat, of the revolutionary soldiers and of the Red Guards of workmen, the removal of all bourgeois judges. * * * The victory of the proletariat is guaranteed by the disorganizing of hostile authority, and it must mean the destruction of the bourgeoisie."

The foregoing appears in the platform of the Third Communist International, under the heading of "Conquest of political power." It will be noted that not only is it the aim of the proletariat to conquer political power, but that it aims to destroy political power and with it the bourgeoisie apparatus of state and its government officials. Thus we see running throughout the quotation not merely a statement of conquest but a statement of destruction. The word "destruction" in itself implies "force and violence."

The following is a particularly illuminating quotation upon the attitude of the proletarian state toward its own organization:

"Just as does every state, so the proletarian state represents an apparatus of compulsion, and this apparatus of compulsion is now directed against the enemy of the working class."

The following quotation shows the attitude of the proletarian state toward the rights of property and means of production:

* * * The proletarian dictatorship must carry out the expropriation of the large bourgeoisie and nobility, and make the means of production and transportation the public property of the proletarian state * * * the socialization of agricultural farms and their conversion into publicly managed agricultural enterprises. * * *

"Together with the expropriation of factories, mines, landed estate, etc., the proletariat must also put an end to the exploitation of the population by capitalist house owners, and transfer the larger houses into the hands of local workmen's soviets, and move the workmen into the apartments of the bourgeoisie."

The following are the quotations appearing in the platform under the head of "The road to victory," being the methods which should be adopted by the proletarian dictatorship in accomplishing its ends:

"The revolutionary epoch demands of the proletariat the application of such methods of struggle as will concentrate all its energies first of all, methods of mass struggle, with its logical conclusions—direct conflict in open battle with the bourgeois, governmental machinery. To this end must be subordinated all other means, as, for example, the revolutionary making use of bourgeois parliamentary institutions."

The foregoing directly states that the conflict sponsored by the proletariat is to be one of direct action and force and violence and that parliamentary means are to be subordinated for the accomplishment of the aims of the proletariat.

The following is another particularly illuminating quotation along the same line:

"On the other hand one must form an alliance with the elements of the revolutionary workmen's movement, as, for example, certain elements of syndicalism."

The following quotation gives an idea of the views of the communists upon the subject of international v. nationalistic sectionalism:

"The international that will be able to subordinate so-called national interests to the interest of the world revolution will by this very reason realize mutual assistance between proletariats of various countries, for without economic and other forms of mutual support the proletariat will not be able to establish the new society."

The platform closes with the following frank but startling statement:

"The proletariat must defend itself at any cost. The Communist International calls upon the entire proletariat of the world to take part in this last struggle. Arms against arms. Force against force."

From the above quotations we see that by the "seizure of political power" is meant the political destruction of institutions such as our courts, Congress, jails, and administrative departments; the elimination of all kinds of restraint is advocated and the creation of a "red army" is sponsored for the purpose of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. Open expropriation of private property is set forth, all of which is to be accomplished not by parliamentary methods but by direct action and militant tactics, and by the use of force and violence.

(f) *Views of Russian communists upon accomplishment of Third Communist International.*—Attached here to and marked as "Exhibit IX" is a translation of an article written by Leon Trotzky, entitled "A Great Epoch," which appeared in the Petrograd Pravda for March 8, 1919. Trotzky, besides being an official of the Soviet Government, represented the Russian Communist Party at the Third Communist International, and his article entitled "A Great Epoch" is a statement by him of the accomplishments of the Third International. The following is a particularly interesting statement made by Trotzky in his article:

"This imperialistic war proved to be the mother of proletarian revolution. The honor of starting the movement belongs to the Russian working class and to its Communist Party now tempered in battle. * * * We are citizens of and participants in one of the greatest events of the world's history."

Attached hereto and marked "Exhibit X" is a translation of an article written by N. Lenin, entitled "What Has Been Won and Inscribed?" (which appeared in the Petrograd Pravda for Mar. 8, 1919). Lenin presided at the Third Communist International and also represented the Russian Communist Party at that assembly.

The following statement appearing in the article by Lenin is particularly interesting:

"In America, the strongest and youngest capitalistic country, the workmen masses are showing an enormous sympathy for soviets."

Lenin's article closes with the following statement:

"The establishment of the Third Communist International represents the vestibule of an international republic of soviets of the world triumph of communism."

Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit 11" is the translation of an article written by Boris Reinstein, entitled "The Opinion of the American Delegate," which appeared in *Izvestia* for March 6, 1919. Boris Reinstein was the representative of the communist groups of America at the Third Communist International. In this article it is of particular interest to note that Reinstein states that the Third International took place at Moscow with the immediate cooperation of the Russian Communist Party and of the soviet authority of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, thus showing that the Third International was really sponsored by the Russian Communist Party, to which organization belongs Ludwig C. A. K. Martens.

The following are some of the more interesting statements contained in the article by Reinstein, showing the attitude of the American delegate to the Third Communist International:

"The influence of revolutionary, antipatriotic elements led by Debs and others became, in fact, dominant in the party, and a considerable majority of this party will definitely take its stand under the flag of this Third International. Also, there can be no doubt that the revolutionary trade-unionists—the I. W. W. (syndicalists) and the International Union of Industrial Workers (socialists)—whose influence is rapidly spreading among the American proletarian masses, will join the Third International. * * *

"One must not forget that we are living in a period of revolution, when the masses, once they have been brought into movement, quickly become revolutionized and organized by direct struggle. This will show itself in the rapid growth and enormous rôle of our newly born communists, Third International."

In the article by Reinstein we also find a satirical reference made to the American Federation of Labor and high praises accorded the I. W. W.

Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit 12" is a particularly illuminating document upon the Third International, which appeared in the *Svernaya Kommuna* for March 7, 1919, entitled "Greetings to the Third International." The following statement appears in the greetings:

"The joint session, composed of the all-Russian central executive committee of the Moscow Soviet of Workmen and Red Army deputies of the Moscow committee of the All-Russian Communist Party greets the representatives of the Communist Parties of the United States of America. * * *

"The session welcomes the Communist International as the leader and organizer of the fighting forces of the world proletarian revolution and expresses the firm conviction that under its leadership the dictatorship of capital will be overthrown by the dictatorship of the proletariat."

"The session unanimously adheres to the manifesto of the Communist International and, together with the latter, calls upon the world to unite in the struggle for socialism."

The foregoing shows the attitude of the All-Russian Communist Party as represented by the Moscow local.

Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit 13" is a translation of the headline appearing in the Petrograd Pravda for March 8, 1919, in which we find the following statement:

"In the storms of civil war was born the Third International. Under its flag the masses will carry out the expropriation of the expropriators."

Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit 14" is a translation taken from the Severnaya Kommuna for March 7, 1919, giving an excellent pen picture of the first meeting of the Third Communist International. It is to be particularly noted that the same was presided over by Nicolas Lenin, and that among those present was a delegate from Germany as well as a delegate from the United States. This document closes with the significant statement:

LONG LIVE THE COMMUNISTIC REVOLUTION.

Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit 15" is a translation of an article appearing in the Petrograd Pravda for March 8, 1919, being an article written by Leon Trotski upon the Third International, which shows the views evinced by not only the leaders of the Communist Party of Russia but by the soviet government of that country.

Attached hereto and marked "Exhibit XVI" is a translation of an article appearing in the Vorwaerts for March 19, 1919. This article gives a description of the meeting of the Third International and closes with a statement that Trotski, in concluding his speech, made the following statement:

"For the universal dictatorship of the proletariat by remorseless use of fire and sword."

Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit XVII" is a translation of the introductory speech made by Lenin at the opening session of the eighth congress of the Russian Communist Party, which appeared in the Severnaya Kommuna for March 20, 1919. In this speech we find the following statement:

"No force in the world will hold back the course of the Communist revolution leading to the World Soviet Republic."

Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit XVIII" is a translation of a resolution adopted at the eighth congress of the Russian Communist Party, which appeared in the Severnaya Kommuna for March 21, 1919. In this resolution we find the following statement:

"The congress greets the organized Third International and adheres in entirety to its platform."

Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit XIX" is a translation of the report of Comrade Bukharin to the eighth congress of the Russian Communist Party, which appeared in the Severnaya Kommuna for March 21, 1919. Bukharin is a leading exponent of Russian communism and drafted the program of the Russian communists. In the report of Bukharin to the eighth congress of the Russian Communist Party we find the following statements:

"The Russian Communist Party has always acted as the party of the revolutionary proletariat. * * * We have assumed an obligation not only with reference to our own country, but with reference to the entire proletariat of the world. * * * The program of the Russian Communist Party in a considerable degree is also the program of the international proletariat."

The above articles, which have been examined, plainly show the attitude of the Russian Communist Party toward the international proletariat dictatorship movement, and that the aims and intentions of not only the party, but of its individual members were to overthrow the State as we understand it to-day, and to set up in its place a proletarian dictatorship; such accomplishment to be made with the use of mass action and militant tactics, subordinating parliamentary procedure to direct action in the conflict.

(f) *Official status of newspapers quoted from and used in this memorandum brief.*—Numerous quotations have been taken from certain Russian papers and documents in this memorandum brief, and in order that the official nature and character of these papers may be fully understood, the following is a brief statement concerning each of the papers used. The Izvestia is the official organ of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of Soviets, and up until February, 1918, was published in Petrograd, and was also the official organ of the Petrograd Soviet of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies. After February, 1918, the Izvestia was moved to Moscow, at the time the Government was transferred to that city. Since then it has been the official organ of the Moscow

Soviet of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies. It is also the official organ of the Soviet Government. (The All-Russian Central Executive Committee is the central legislature of Soviet Russia, which elects the peoples' commissaries.) The editor of the *Izvestia* is a man by the name of Steklov, a well-known bolshevist leader, and as editor of the *Izvestia* is an official of the Soviet Government.

The *Pravda*: There are two papers entitled "The *Pravda*," one published in Petrograd and the other published in Moscow. The former is the more important and is the official organ of the Petrograd committee of the Russian Communist Party.

The *Krasnaya Gazetta*: This publication is issued in Petrograd and is the official organ of the Petrograd Soviet of Workmen's and Red Army Deputies.

The *Severnaya Kommuna*: This publication is published in Petrograd. In April, 1919, it was the official organ of the executive committee of soviets and peasants and workmen's and Red Army deputies of the northern region, and of the Petrograd Soviet of Workmen and Red Army Deputies. Since about April 15, 1919, when the northern region was abolished as a district administration, the *Severnaya Kommuna* has remained the official publication of the Petrograd Soviet of Workmen's and Red Army Deputies.

The *Call* is the organ of the English-speaking group of Communists in Russia and is published in Moscow in English. As stated on its editorial page, it is published with the object of convincing its English-speaking fellow workers that the Communists of all lands are the same, and to urge the need for establishing that solidarity of international labor upon which alone the peace of the world can be secured.

It will thus be seen from the above that all of the publications quoted from in this brief have an official status with the Communist Party of Russia.

(g) *Propaganda of the Communist Party of Russia*.—We have already examined in detail the "Call" and "Manifesto" of the Third International, proving conclusively the fact that the aims and tactics of this international congress of communists was to accomplish the overthrow by force and violence of all governments of the world, familiarly referred to as bourgeois governments, including the Government of the United States. In order, however, that there may be no doubt as to the purposes of the Communist Party of Russia, we will now examine in detail some of the propaganda conducted by it against the Government of the United States and its naval and military forces.

Attached hereto and marked "Exhibit XX" is a Bolshevist translation made in Moscow of the "Program of the Russian Communist Party" by N. Bukharin. This publication plainly sets forth the purposes of the Communists of Russia, as well as the Communists of the world.

Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit XXI" is a translation of a note written by G. Tchitcherine to the German foreign office on December 24, 1918, which note appeared in *Izvestia* for December 26, 1918. This note from Tchitcherine was in reply to the accusation made by the minister of foreign affairs at Berlin that the Bolshevik ambassador to Berlin had engaged upon revolutionary propaganda while serving as ambassador in Berlin. Joffe, the ambassador, openly admitted that from the Russian side revolutionary propaganda was being carried on in Germany. Tchitcherine, in his note to the German foreign minister, stated:

"It is absolutely true that Comrade Joffe left about 10,500,000 rubles for the support of the German revolution."

Coincident with the above quotation there is attached hereto and marked "Exhibit XXII" an article written by A. Joffe, Bolshevik ambassador to Berlin, entitled "Revolutionary Methods" which appeared in the *Izvestia* for January 1, 1919. In this article Joffe specifically states that the support which he rendered to the revolution in Germany did not come from the public treasury but came from "party funds." In this article the following statement also appears:

"Having accepted the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, revolutionary Russia of course had to accept also the second paragraph of the treaty which forbade any agitation against the political and military institutions of Germany, but the Russian Government as a whole and its accredited representative in Berlin never concealed the fact that they were not observing and did not intend to observe this paragraph."

We thus see that though the Soviet Government sent an ambassador to Berlin whose official duty it was to represent them diplomatically, yet at the same time being a member of the Russian Communist Party, Joffe considered

It his duty to sow the seeds of discontent and to fan the flames of revolution while in Germany and in order to carry out its purposes, he utilized the funds of the Russian Communist Party for the same. Illuminating in this connection is also a communication from Joffe to the foreign office at Berlin which is attached hereto and marked "Exhibit XXIII" which appeared in the Izvestia for January 10, 1919. The foregoing articles dealing with the activities of Joffe show one of the means by which the Russian Communists are able to spread their propaganda of revolution, as in this case we see the diplomatic representative of the Soviet Government to Berlin serving two masters, namely, the Soviet Government of Russia and the Russian Communist Party. It being the duty of all communists to advance the interests of their party, it therefore follows that not only the representative to Berlin but representatives in all other parts of the world would avail themselves of an opportunity to incite revolution, if the same presented itself.

Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit XXIV" is an order to the red army and to the red fleet, issued in Moscow on March 9, 1919, being the "Greetings from the Communist International," the same appearing in Izvestia for March 11, 1919. Attention is called to this greeting in order to show the close connection between the Third Communist International and the red fleet and red army of Russia and the purpose of the same to establish an international proletariat.

Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit XXV" is the appeal of the Communist International, issued on April 25, 1919, for a May 1 celebration.

The following are some of the more pertinent quotation taken from the appeal signed by the executive committee of the Third Communist International to the workingmen of all the world:

"In 1919 was formed the Third International. Our Third International of Communists is an international association of the proletarians of all countries who set for themselves the aim of overthrowing the bourgeoisie and establishing the international republic. * * *

"Workmen, workwomen, soldiers, sailors, peasants, all toilers, the Communist International calls upon you to take part in the great May 1 holiday. * * * In America the working class goes out on the streets; the workmen of all countries have understood that the decisive moment has come. Soviets, by this you will conquer. * * * Either the bloody dictatorship of executioners—generals who will kill hundreds of thousands of workmen and peasants in the name of the interests of a band of bankers—or the dictatorship of the workmen class, that is of the overwhelming majority of toilers, which will disarm the bourgeoisie, create its own red army, and free the whole world of slavery. * * * The red army already exists in Russia; the red army soon will exist over all of the world. The red army will triumph.

"Long live the civil war, the only just war in which the oppressed class fights its oppressors. * * * Let the workmen of all countries refuse to give up the rifles which the bourgeoisie forced them to take in 1914. The arming of workmen, the disarming of the bourgeoisie—these are the slogans of the moment.

"In 1919 was born the great Communist International. In 1920 will be born the great international soviet republic."

The foregoing quotations taken from the appeal addressed to all the workers of the world, including the workers of the United States, plainly show that the purposes of the Third Communist International and the Russian Communist Party are to organize and direct the social revolution the world over, as indicated by the statement, "Long live civil war," and the further statement, "Let the workmen of all countries refuse to give up the rifles." There has also been a considerable amount of propaganda work carried on in Russia by a group of communists known as the English-speaking group of communists. This group has issued a large number of circulars and pamphlets, written in English, which have been distributed throughout Russia and the other countries of the world, and particularly among the American troops who have been upon the Russian front. During the time the American troops were on the Archangel front the propaganda of the English-speaking group of communists was most prolific. The nature of this propaganda can very clearly be seen upon an examination of a few of the leaflets exhibited. Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit XXVI" is a circular issued by the English-speaking group of communists entitled "The Soviet Government and Peace," addressed to British and American soldiers. In this circular it will be noted that an appeal is made to the Ameri-

can soldiers to cease the fighting and to refuse to carry out the orders of their superior officers.

Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit XXVII" is a circular entitled "Capitalist America and Socialist Russia," issued by the English-speaking group of communists and in which there is an excellent exposition of the view of the communists of Russia toward the American Government.

Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit XXVIII" is a circular entitled "Will You be Oppressors of Liberty?" issued by the group of English-speaking communists in Russia. The following are some of the more pertinent quotations taken from this leaflet, and it will be noted that satirical remarks are directed against the Government of the United States and against the Wilson administration and closes with the following advice:

"Fellow workers, there is only one way in which you can help the Russian revolution, and that is by helping yourselves. Dare to be free. Cease to be the slaves of capitalists, landlords, lawyers, and generals. Make a clean sweep of the whole accursed lot. Do as we have done. Seize the whole machinery of State; form your soviets of workers and soldiers' delegates; seize the mines, railways, mills, works, factories, banks, all the means of production, exchange, and distribution; run them in your own interests and not in the interests of your own exploiters. * * *

* * * They will tell you that there is no need for revolution in such countries as England and the United States; that if you wish to establish socialism you can do it in an orderly, legal manner by voting at elections. Fiddlesticks! By listening to such advice you will fall into a trap. As old hands at the dirty game of politics and with their vast command of money they have a hundred and one tricks by which to gerrymander elections. * * * Bring down the whole rotten edifice of your capitalist state with the shattering blow of your arms. Throw into the rubbish heap your decrepit talking shop—the old mother of parliaments, the hunting ground of the corrupt politicians, the hang-ers on of capitalism and landlordism. You will have no need for this obsolete institution."

Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit XXIX" is a copy of a circular entitled "Are You a Trade-Unionist?" This circular was distributed among the allied troops on the Archangel front and plainly shows the attitude of the communists toward the American Government and its troops.

Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit XXX" is a copy of a circular entitled "Say What You Are," being a leaflet distributed by the English-speaking group of communists of Russia among the allied troops. This was signed by N. Lenin, president of the council of peoples' commissary, and G. Tchitcherine, of the peoples' council of foreign affairs. In it we find the following significant statement:

"Those who would be free, themselves must strike the blow. You have arms. You know how to use them. Will you, like slaves, use them in defense of your masters or will you use them to help your class be free? If the former, then know that you will meet with the determined resistance of the united revolutionary people of east and central Europe, and history will be your judge. If the latter then here's a hearty welcome into the ranks of international labor."

Here we see a direct appeal to the United States soldiers to turn upon their own officers and upon their own people in order to establish a system of government similar to that existing in Russia.

Attached hereto and marked "Exhibit XXXI" is a copy of a circular entitled "Capitalist America and Socialist Russia," issued by the group of English-speaking communists.

Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit XXXII" is a copy of a circular entitled "The Shame of Being a Scab." While this is an official publication of the soviet government it is introduced at this time to show the attitude of the soviet government, which is really directed by the Communist Party of Russia, toward the other countries of the world. The following are some of the more pertinent quotations taken from this circular, which was distributed among the American troops on the Archangel front, which appeals to the soldiers of America to throw down their arms and refuse to carry out the orders of officers, thus inciting to mutiny:

"Is there a more contemptible creature in the world than the one who deserts his fellows and helps to defeat his own side? No; there is not.

"Are you aware, American and British soldiers, that you are earning such contempt for yourselves?

"The state machine, the government, the courts, the politicians, and the press all condemn and persecute the striker, but protect the scab. They are all the tools of the employing class.

"You are scabbing now; are you not ashamed?

"You are fighting on the side of the employers against us, the working class of Russia. You have come here avowedly for the purpose of overthrowing the soviet government.

"Comrades, drop this dirty work. Turn your guns on your real enemies, the sweaters and capitalists."

Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit XXXIII" is a copy of the circular entitled "For What Are You Fighting," addressed to American and British soldiers, issued by the group of English-speaking communists.

Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit XXXIV" is a copy of an appeal to British and American workmen on the anniversary of the Russian bolshevik revolution, published in Moscow and being a particularly significant statement of the communists of Russia.

Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit XXXV" is a copy of an article taken from "The Call," issued in Moscow on December 14, 1918, containing an article upon the Bolsheviks attitude toward the Allies.

Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit XXXVI" is a copy of an article appearing in "The Call" for November 18, 1918, entitled "Morgan's International."

Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit XXXVII" is a copy of a leaflet distributed by the executive committee of the Communist International, entitled "To the Workers of the World," being a declaration of the Communist International against the Versailles Peace Treaty. This is particularly significant in that it shows the attitude of the communists of Russia toward the effect for world-wide peace.

Examination of the above samples of propaganda distributed by the Communists of Russia through the medium of the executive council of the Third International, the English-speaking group of Communists, and articles by recognized spokesmen of the Russian Communist Party clearly show that the purpose of that party is to undermine the Government of the United States.

H. CONCLUSION.

From the above analysis it is contended that the following points have been established:

1. That L. C. A. K. Martens is a member of the Russian Communist Party.
2. That the Communist Party of Russia is the ruling party in that country and virtually directs the destiny of the Russian socialistic federated Soviet republic.
3. That the Communist Party of Russia and the Russian Socialistic Federated Soviet Republic jointly were directly responsible for the calling and organizing of the Third Communist International at Moscow on March 2-6, 1919.
4. That the manifesto issued by the Third International at Moscow was an expression of the views, principles, and tactics of the Russian Communist Party.
5. That the manifesto issued by the Third Communist International is a direct advocacy of the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence.
6. That the Russian Communist Party has by propaganda endeavored to carry out the tactics and principles of the Third Communist International and has directed such propaganda to the workmen, soldiers, and sailors of the United States.

It will thus be seen that Ludwig Christian Alexander Kaslovitch Martens is a member of the Russian Communist Party, which party advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence, and for that reason falls within the provision of the act of Congress approved October 16, 1918, being a member of an organization advocating the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence.

Respectfully submitted.

J. EDGAR HOOVER,
Special Assistant to the Attorney General.

[Exhibit I.]

TESTIMONY OF L. C. A. K. MARTENS BY THE JOINT COMMITTEE OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY.

ALDERMANIC CHAMBER, CITY HALL,
New York, Saturday, November 15, 1919—2.30 p. m.

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The WITNESS. It is not true, Mr. Berger.

Mr. BERGER. Mr. Stevenson, at this point would like to ask a few questions of Mr. Martens.

By Mr. STEVENSON:

Q. Mr. Martens, you are a member of the Russian Communist Party, are you not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And that party is the party which is now in control of the government of Soviet Russia, is it not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And Mr. Nicholas Lenin is the premier, is he not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And Mr. Leon Trotsky is the minister of War?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That is, the Communist Party has issued a call for what is known as the third international, is it not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And that call was made in the form of a manifesto, was it not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And it was signed by Charles Rakovsky, Nicholas Lenin?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. G. Zinoviev, Leon Trotsky, Fritz Platten?—A. Yes, sir.

Mr. STEVENSON. Mr. Chairman, I wish to read from a translation of this manifesto, which was published on May 10, 1919, the issue of the Revolutionary Age, in Boston.

[Exhibit II.]

PROCLAMATION CALLING THE FIRST CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST
INTERNATIONAL.

[Rosta, official telegraph agency of the Bolsheviks, Feb. 24, 1919.]

COMRADES: The undersigned parties and organizations consider it indispensable to call the first congress of the new revolutionary international. During the war and the revolution it has become clear not only that the old socialistic and social democratic parties have gone bankrupt, and the Second International with them, and that the elements included among the old social democracy (the so-called "center") were incapable of active revolutionary activity, but also that already now the framework is ready for the really revolutionary international. The gigantic pace of the world revolution which gives rise to new problems, the danger that this revolution may be killed by the alliance of the capitalistic states, which organize a "league of nations" against the revolution, the attempt of the "traitor-socialists" together, and after having "amnestied" each other, to assist their governments, and the bourgeoisie again to betray the working class, and finally in view of the revolutionary experience and for the purpose of internationalizing the whole course of the revolution we were induced to take the initiative in placing on the order of the day the question of calling the revolutionary proletarian parties to an international congress.

Aim and tactics.

According to our opinion, the new international must be based on the recognition of the following principles, which we present as the platform and which have been worked out in accordance with the programs of the "Spartacus Association" in Germany and the Communist (Bolshevik) Party in Russia:

1. The present is the period of destruction and crushing of the capitalistic system of the whole world, and it will be a catastrophe for the whole European culture should capitalism, with all its insoluble contradictions, not be done away with.

2. The aim of the proletariat must now be immediately to conquer the power. To conquer the power means to destroy the government apparatus of the bourgeoisie and to organize a new proletarian government apparatus.

3. The new apparatus of the government ought to express the dictatorship of the working class (and in certain places even the dictatorship of the half proletariat in the villages, that is, the peasant proletariat); that is, to persist in the systematic suppression of the exploiting classes and be the means of expropriating them. No false bourgeois democracy—this treacherous form of the power of a financial oligarchy—with its mere external equality—but a proletarian democracy able to realize the freedom of the working masses; no parliamentarism, but the self-government of the masses through their elected organs; no capitalistic bureaucracy, but governing organs which have been appointed by the masses themselves, through the real participation of these masses in the governing of the country and the socialistic work of reorganization—such ought to be the type of the proletarian state. The soviet power or a corresponding organization of government is its concrete expression.

4. The dictatorship of the proletariat ought to be ground for the immediate expropriation of capital and the doing away with the private right of owning the means of production, through making them common public property. The socialization (meaning doing away with private property and making it the property of the proletarian state, which is managed by the workers on a socialistic basis) of the large-scale industries and the central bodies organized by the same, including the banks, the confiscation of the capitalistic agricultural production, the monopolization of large-scale commerce; the socialization of the large buildings in the towns and in the country; the establishment of a workmen's government and the concentration of the economic functions in the hands of the organs of the proletarian dictatorship—are the most essential aims of the day.

5. In order to protect the Socialist revolution against external and internal enemies, and to assist the fighting proletariats of other countries, etc., it becomes necessary to entirely disarm the bourgeoisie and its agents and to arm the proletariat.

6. The world situation demands immediate, and as perfect as possible, relations between the different groups of the revolutionary proletariat, and a complete alliance of all the countries in which the revolution has already succeeded.

7. The most important method is the mass action of the proletariat, including armed struggle against the government power of capitalists.

8. The old international has been divided in three main groups: The frank Socialist Chauvinists, who during the whole imperialistic war of 1914-1918 supported the bourgeoisie and undertook the rôle of executioners of the laborers' revolution; the "center," the theoretical leader of which is Kautsky, and which within itself contains mostly wavering elements, who are unable to follow any decided lines, but sometimes are clearly traitorous to the international; and, finally, the left revolutionary wing.

9. Toward the Social Chauvinists, who everywhere and especially on the most critical occasions appear with arms in their hands against the proletarian revolution, we can only advocate a struggle without quarter, and toward the "center" such a tactic as would separate the most revolutionary elements from the rest by criticizing and exposing the leaders. It is absolutely necessary to see to it that the labor organizations at a certain stage of the development are kept from being controlled by the "center."

10. It is necessary to organize the revolutionary elements among the workers who have not joined the socialistic parties so far, but completely stand on the side of the proletarian dictatorship in the form which it has assumed in the soviet system. Such are first of all the syndicalist elements of the workers.

11. Finally it is necessary to include all proletarian groups or organizations which, if they have not openly joined the left revolutionary movement, show, however, tendencies in that direction.

12. We propose that in the congress should participate representatives of the following parties, groups, and movements (which have the right to full membership in the third international):

1. Spartacus Association (Germany). 2. The Communist Party (Bolshevik), Russia. 3. Communist Party in German Austria. 4. The Communist Party of Hungary. 5. The Communist Party of Poland. 6. The Communist Party of Finland. 7. The Communist Party of Esthonia. 8. The Communist Party of Lettland. 9. The Communist Party of Lithuania. 10. The Communist Party of White Russia. 11. The Communist Party of Ukraine. 12. The revolutionary element within the Czech Social Democracy. 13. The Social-Democratic Party of Bulgaria. 14. The Social-Democratic Party of Roumania. 15. The left wing

of the Socialist Party of Serbia. 16. The Social-Democratic Left Party of Sweden. 17. The Social-Democratic Party of Norway. 18. The Socialist Workers' Party of Denmark. 19. The Communist Party of Netherland. 20. The revolutionary elements within the Workers' Party of Belgium. 21 and 22. Groups and organizations within the socialist and syndicalist movements of France, mainly solidary with Lorient. 23. Left Social Democrats of Switzerland. 24. Socialist Party of Italy. 25. The left elements within the Socialist Party of Spain. 26. The left elements of the Socialist Party of Portugal. 27. The Socialist Party of Great Britain (especially adherents of MacLean's groups). 28. The Socialist Labor Party (S. L. P.) of England. 29. I. W. W. (Industrial Workers of the World) of England. 30. I. W. of Great Britain. 31. The revolutionary elements of "shop-steward" movement of England. 32. The revolutionary elements of labor organizations of Ireland. 33. Socialist Labor Party of America (S. L. P.). 34. The left elements of the Socialist Party of America (S. P.), especially that group which is represented by Debs and the socialist-propaganda association. 35. I. W. W. of America. 36. I. W. W. of Australia. 37. Workers' International Industrial Union (W. I. I. U.), America. 38. Socialistic groups in Tokio and Yokohama (represented by Katayama). 39. Socialistic International Youth.

The question of organization and the name of the party.

13. The Third International's basis has been worked out, so that in different parts of Europe groups and organizations of similarly thinking people have been formed which join the same program and practically follow the same tactics. This first of all applies to the Spartacans in Germany and the Communist Parties in many other countries.

14. The congress must lay the foundation of a common fighting organ, which will be a uniting link and methodically lead the movement of the center for the communist international, which subordinates the interests of the movement in every separate country to the common interests of the revolution on an international scale. The concrete forms for the organizations, the representation, etc., are to be worked out at the congress.

15. The congress shall be called "The First Communist International Congress," of which the different parties will form the sections. Marx and Engels even considered the name of "Social-Democrat" theoretically wrong. The humiliating bankruptcy of the old "international" demands a new name. In addition the nucleus of the great movement is already formed by many parties which have already taken the name of communist.

In view of the above we propose that all affiliated parties and organizations take up on the order of the day the subject of calling an international communist congress.

With fraternal greetings.

- (1) The Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Lenin, Trotsky); (2) the Foreign Bureau of Poland's Communist Workers' Party (Karski); (3) the Foreign Bureau of Hungary's Communist Party (Rudnjanski); (4) the Foreign Bureau of the German-Austrian Communist Party (Oudo); (5) the Russian Bureau for the Central Committee of the Lettish Communist Party (Rosin); (6) the Central Committee of the Finnish Communist Party (Sirola); (7) the Acting Committee for the Federation of the Revolutionary Balkan Social-Democrats (Rakowsky); (8) the Socialist Labor Party of America (Reinstein).

[Exhibit III.]

THE PARTY AND THE SOVIETS.

[Signed article by V. Bystrilansky, Petrograd Prava, Feb. 13, 1919.]

One of the most important questions of the day is now the interrelationship between the Communist Party and the soviets of workmen's, peasants', and red-army deputies.

It is no secret for anyone that in a country where the working class and the poorest peasantry are in power, that party is the directing party which expresses the interests of these groups of the population—the Communist Party. All the work in the soviets goes on, under the influence (of ideas) and the

political leadership of our party. It is the forms which this leadership should assume that are the subject of disagreement. In order to explain just what should be the normal relations between the party and the soviets, we turn to the classic explanation of the communist manifesto with respect to the relations between "communist and proletarian in general," between the working-class party and the representatives (rest of line illegible, but undoubtedly the words are "of the Communist Party"). The latter have no interests that are different from the interests of the whole proletariat.

They do not put forward special principles according to which they would like to give the form to the proletarian movement.

Communists differ from other parties only in this, that in the various stages of development of the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeois they always represent the interests of the movement as a whole.

Communists therefore are in practice the most decisive section of the workmen's parties of all countries, that section which aims always to go further theoretically; they have this advantage over the remaining mass of the proletariat, that they understand the conditions, course, and world results of the proletarian movement.

Marx and Engels had in view the relation between class and party at a time when the class was still struggling for the conquest of governmental power, but their comment does not lose force even for the period when the proletariat, having taken over authority, becomes the ruling class.

Soviets are exactly the ruling organization of the exploited class of proletarians and poorest peasants, whose political leader is the Communist Party.

The soviets are mass organizations bring together in their ranks the entire mass of toilers and exploited. While the party brings together in its ranks the advance guard of the toilers, their most conscious and resolute section, that section of the proletariat which has an advantage over the entire working-class mass in that it understands the general course and the theoretical conditions of the development of the workmen movement.

Therefore in reality there can be no prolonged conflict between the organization of a class and the organization of its most progressive elements.

For the toiling masses push forward to the advanced posts in their governmental organizations the most progressive workers, who are in fact the communists. The soviets, directing the life of the toilers in this transition from capitalism to socialism are naturally the points of support of the Communist Party. Thus is eliminated the need of any tutelage, of any setting up of party as opposed to soviet, for the soviet to which the toilers send their best people, their leading fighters, by reason of the very course of events, develop into the fighting center of revolutionary communists.

The soviet organization itself decided the problem of establishing normal relations between the class and its advanced guard, a problem over which theoreticians and practitioners of Marxism have broken so many spears.

The party and the soviets represent simply two different forms of the organization of the working-class mass. In the activities of the soviets of workmen and peasants, the Communist Party absorbs rich experience for carrying out its leadership of the proletarian movement.

Communists are far from any sectarianism, the distinguishing peculiarities of which Marx considered to be "the desire to prescribe for the movement its course in conformity with a given doctrinarian recipe, instead of seeking the real foundation for one's agitation in the actual elements of the class movement. A sect justifies itself not on the ground that it has something in common with the workmen movement, but on the ground of a special shibboleth, by which it differs from the latter.

And in just this way, the practical experience of our soviets gives us rich material on the basis of which the party is realizing its task of leadership of the working-class movement. For as this same Marx taught us, the principles of communism were not thought out in the study room, but they are the reflection and the generalization of the class struggle that is going on before our eyes.

Life in its development decides the problem of the relations between the party and the class in the new conditions which develop, because the proletariat has become the ruling class and because its class organizations have become the organizations of governmental authority.

The soviets create that living experience which is worked over and adopted by the party.

V. BYSTRIANSKY.

[Exhibit IV.]

RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT THE SESSION OF THE MOSCOW COMMITTEE OF THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY, FEBRUARY 15, 1919.

[Severnaya Kommuna, Feb. 22, 1919.]

At the session of the Moscow committee of the Russian Communist Party on February 15, 1919, the following resolutions were carried:

Taking into account (1) that the uninterrupted growth of our party during the year of dictatorship has inevitably meant that there have entered its ranks elements having absolutely nothing in common with communism, coming in in order to use the authority of the Russian Communist Party for their own personal, selfish aims; (2) that these elements, taking cover under the flag of communism, are by their acts discrediting in the eyes of the people the prestige and glorious name of our proletarian party; (3) that the so-called "communist of our days," by their outrageous behavior, are arousing discontent and bitter feeling in the people, thus creating a favorable soil for counter-revolutionary agitation—taking all this into account, the Moscow committee of the Russian Communist Party declares:

(a) That the party congress about to be held should call on all party organizations to check up in the strictest manner all members of the party and cleanse its ranks of elements foreign to the party.

(b) That one must carry on a decisive struggle against those elements whose acts create a counter-revolutionary state of mind.

(c) That one must make every effort to raise the moral level of members of the Russian Communist Party and educate them in the spirit of true proletarian communism.

(d) That one must direct all efforts toward strengthening party discipline and establish strict control by the party over all its members in all fields of party soviet activity.

[Exhibit V.]

PROJECT OF PROGRAM OF RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (BOLSHEVIKS).

[Severnaya Kommuna, Feb. 28, 1919.]

[This project of program was published a month before the eighth congress of party in order to start discussion. In actual fact this program was accepted with very few amendments as shown in other exhibits. Only certain paragraphs of this program are given.]

The revolution of October 25 (Nov. 7), 1917, in Russia, realized the dictatorship of the proletariat, which began with the support of the poorest peasantry or half-proletariat to build the foundation of a communistic society.

The growth of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in all progressive countries and the simultaneous appearance and development of the soviet form of this movement; that is, such a form as was directed immediately toward the realization of the dictatorship of the proletariat, finally the beginning and the course of development of revolution in Austria-Hungary and Germany in particular; all this indicated definitely that the era of world proletarian communistic revolution has started.

The imperialistic war could not be concluded by just peace; there could not in general be a conclusion of any kind of stable peace by bourgeois governments. The imperialistic war inevitably developed and is developing before our eyes into civil war of the exploited toiling masses with the proletariat at their head against the bourgeoisie.

The growing pressure from the proletariat and particularly the proletarian victories in neighboring countries, increases the resistance of the exploiters and gives rise to the creation by them of new forms of international cooperation of capitalists (League of Nations and such), which by organizing on a world scale the systematic exploitation of all the peoples of the world, directs its main efforts toward the immediate suppression of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat of all countries.

All this inevitably leads to the starting of civil war within separate States by revolutionary soldiers, both those defending proletarian countries and also the oppressed peoples against the yoke of imperialistic powers.

Under these conditions the slogan of pacifism of international disarmament in the presence of capitalism of recourse to arbitration and such, are not only

reactionary Utopias, but a direct deception of the toilers with the aim of disarming the proletariat and distracting it from the task of disarming the exploiters.

[Exhibit VI.]

THESIS OF ZINCEVIEV AT EIGHTH CONGRESS OF RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY.

[Severnaya Kommuna, Mar. 1, 1919.]

Already in 1907 at the International Socialist congress in Stuttgart, when the Second International frankly approached the question of colonial policy and imperialistic wars, it became clear that a good majority of the Second International and a large section of its leaders in these questions stood much nearer to the views of the bourgeoisie than to the communist point of view of Marx and Engels.

Only by an insignificant majority of votes in Stuttgart was the recognition of bourgeois colonial policy—that is, support of imperialistic wars—which was proposed by the revisionists, rejected. Further, the more important parties of the Second International—German, French, and English, and especially the leaders of the trade-unions of these countries—came out absolutely definitely against revolutionary tactics.

Nevertheless the Stuttgart congress adopted the "amendments" introduced by N. Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg, which read:

"If, however, a war breaks out, Socialists must intervene to bring it to a conclusion as quickly as possible, and must take advantage of the economic and political crisis caused by the war in order to arouse the people (*Zur Aufrüttelung des Volkes*) and thus hasten the fall of the capitalistic rule."

The Balkan War of 1912 was to have been the introduction of a world imperialistic war. This was clear for all Socialists.

At the Bazel congress (November, 1912), which was called during the Balkan War, the Second International declared:

"The bourgeois Government should not forget that the Franco-Prussian War called out the revolutionary uprising of the Commune; that the Russian-Japanese War brought into movement the revolutionary forces of the peoples inhabiting Russia. The proletarians consider it a crime to shoot one another—in the name of profits for capitalists of dynastic rivalry and of the flourishing of secret diplomatic treaties."

At the end of July and the beginning of August, 1914, 24 hours before the beginning of the World War, the leading organs and institutions of the principal parties of the Second International continued to condemn the impending war as the greatest of crimes. The declarations of the leading parties of the Second International, referring to these days, which have been compiled by the Vienna professor, Carl Gurnberg, serve as the most eloquent indictment against the leaders of the Second International. These documents show in the most convincing manner how the leaders of the Second International on August 4, 1914, called white what they on August 3, 1914, had called black.

With the first shot fired on the fields of the imperialistic war the principal parties of the Second International betrayed the working class, and in the guise of "defense of fatherland" passed over to the side each of his own bourgeoisie. In Germany, Schiedemann and Ebert; in France, Thomas and Renaudel; in England, Henderson and Heldman; in Belgium, Vandervelde and De Bruguere; in Austria, Renner and Pernerstoffers; in Russia, Plekhanov and Rubanovich; in Sweden, Branting and his party; in America, Gompers and his cothinkers; in Italy, Muscolini and company, appealed to the proletariat to conclude "civil peace" with the bourgeoisie of "its" country—that is, to give up the struggle against exploiters, to abandon war against war, and to become, in fact, cannon fodder for the imperialists.

At that moment the Second International definitely went bankrupt and perished.

This sudden perversion of the Second International into an organization carrying out the program of imperialists was not in actual fact so unexpected; it was prepared during the 30 years of the peaceable development of capitalism; that is, from the collapse of the Paris commune of 1871 to the first Russian revolution of 1905.

Thanks to the general course of economic development, the bourgeoisie of the richest countries were able, by means of small presents made from their excess profits, to bribe and pervert the upper ranks of the working class, the aristocracy of the workmen. The petty bourgeois cotravelers of socialism

rushed in to the ranks of the official social democratic parties and gradually changed the latter's political course to the side of the bourgeoisie. From the leaders of the peaceful parliamentary working class movement, the leaders of the propertied trade unions, secretaries, editors, the bureaucrats of social democracy developed an entire caste of working class bureaucracy which has its own self-centered group interest and is in reality hostile to socialism.

As a result of these circumstances, the official social democracy has grown up into an antisocialist and chauvinistic party.

The war destroyed all conventions and tore off all the word cover. The war shook humanity to its very roots and forced all parties and groups to reveal their true face. What was secret became public. The second international showed itself as it really was, namely, an organization in which the petty bourgeois and agents of the bourgeoisie, who had come forward in the rôle of "leaders of the working class," had become the dominant elements. The oaths of Hannibal and international resolutions were forgotten. Each of the "leading parties" of the Second International set about to appeal to the workmen of its respective countries to kill the workmen of other countries in the name of the interest of a group of bankers and generals. Each of the "social democratic" parties began to carry out the work assigned to it by the bourgeoisie of each country or of imperialistic coalition.

Already within the Second International three main groupings began to be outlined. During the years of war and by the time of the proletarian revolution that is beginning in Europe these three groupings stood out in the most clear outlines:

(1) The Socialist Chauvinist tendency of the majority, the most typical representatives of which are the German social democrats, who are now sharing power with the German bourgeoisie and who became the murderers of the leaders of the Communist International, Carl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

During the course of the entire war the adherents of this tendency in Germany, France, England, Russia, Austria, and all other countries supported financial capital and monarchy, stirred up chauvinistic passion, participated in the hangmanlike extermination of the flower of the working class, preached "war to the finish," perverted the workmen's newspapers into weapons of the bourgeois demoralization of the proletariat, made the workmen's party a hand-maid of imperialists.

For all the crimes committed against the working class of all countries during the years of the war the majority Socialists carry the same share of responsibility as do the kings, bourgeois ministers, the heroes of secret diplomacy, and the bankers.

Now that the imperialistic war has come to an end and has finally been replaced by the civil war of the oppressed classes against their century-long oppressors, the Socialist-Chauvinists come forward in the rôle of out-and-out executioners of the international proletarian revolution.

The Socialist-Chauvinists have now revealed themselves completely as the class opponents of the proletariat and are trying to carry out a program of liquidation of the war which the bourgeoisie assigns to them, namely, imposing the main burden of taxes on the toiling classes, inviolability of private property, leaving the army in the hands of the bourgeoisie, the dispersal of workmen's soviets that are being formed everywhere, the leaving of political power in the hands of the bourgeoisie, "bourgeois democracy" as opposed to socialism.

Majority "Social Democrats" in the present epoch are one of the main obstacles to the triumph of the workmen over the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie deliberately puts in authority Socialist-Chauvinists, in order to more easily settle with the workmen. In Germany, Austria, and Hungary at this very moment the bourgeoisie is trying to carry out this experiment of destroying the communistic proletariat under the flag of the "Social Democrats" party. The words of Engels in his introduction to the "Cologne trial of communists" are being confirmed: "The petty bourgeois democracy in Germany is even now the party which without question must first come into power as the savior of (bourgeois) society over communistic workmen at the next European upheaval, which latter must now come very soon."

However sharply the communists may have struggled until now against the majority "Social Democrats" we never realized the extent of the danger that threatened the international proletariat coming from these traitors. The most important task of the international proletarian revolution is to open the

eyes of all tollers so that they can see the Judas-like work of these Socialist-Chauvinists, and by armed hands to render harmless this counter-revolutionary party.

(2) The tendency of the Center (Socialist-Pacifists, followers of Kautsky, independents). This tendency began to form even before the war, principally in Germany. At the beginning of the war the Center almost everywhere was fundamentally in solidarity with the Socialist-Chauvinists. The theoretical leader of the Center Kautsky came forward and justified the policy adopted by the German and French Socialist-Chauvinists. The international is "an instrument for peace time," wrote Kautsky at the beginning of 1915. Once war has broken out, only one thing remains for us to do:

"The struggle for peace now, but class struggle in time of peace," added Kautsky. (*Internationalismus und Krieg*, pp. 38-40.)

During the course of the four years of war the Center never wavered toward the left. But in general and as a whole it remains true to its tactics as outlined above. During the January uprising of the Berlin proletariat the Center played a very equivocal rôle, trying to weaken the workmen by ideas of negotiations with the government of hangmen.

From the very beginning of the war the Center insisted on unity with Socialist-Chauvinists. After the murder of Liebknecht and Luxemburg the Center continues to preach this same unity—i. e., unity between workmen—Communists and the murderers of the Communist leaders, Liebknecht and Luxemburg.

From the very beginning of the war the Center, Kautsky, Victor Adler, Turati, McDonald began to preach "reciprocal amnesty" of the leaders of the Socialist-Chauvinist parties of Germany and Austria for the one part and of France and England for the other. The Center is preaching this amnesty even now, after the conclusion of the war, and thus prevents the workmen from understanding the reasons for the collapse of the Second International.

The Center sent its representatives to Berne to the International conference of compromises, thus making it easier for the Schledemann and Renoudels to deceive the workmen.

The Center continues its petty bourgeois pacifist propaganda, disarmament in the presence of capitalism, of arbitration in the presence of imperialism, etc., thus making easier the counterrevolutionary efforts of the famous League of Nations organized by the allied imperialists.

It is a matter of prime importance to clear the road for the international proletariat of this reactionary rubbish with which the leaders of the Center tried to obstruct the road of revolution. It is necessary to split off from the Center the more revolutionary elements, and this can be done only by pitiless criticism and by showing up the leaders of the Center. A complete break from the point of view of organization with the Center is a historic necessity. The Communists of any given country must decide the moment for this break on the basis of the stage of development attained by the movement.

(3) Communist. This tendency was in a minority in the Second International, where it defended the Marxist view on war and on the aims of the proletariat. (Stuttgart 1907 resolution of Lenin and Luxemburg.) The left radical group (later the group of Spartacus) in Germany, the party of Bolsheviks in Russia, Tribunists in Holland, the group of the Young in Sweden, the left wing of the International Youth in a whole series of countries, organized the first nucleus of the new International.

From the beginning of the war this tendency, loyal to the interest of the working classes, proclaimed the slogan "convert the imperialistic war into civil war."

At the conference in Zimmerwald (1915) was formed the Zimmerwald Left, the first "egg" of the Third Communist International. From this time, and particularly from the moment of the victory of the proletarian revolution in Russia, communism is growing in a whole series of countries.

In Germany the group of Spartacus, which has acquired universal notoriety and the love of the workmen of all countries, formed itself into a party of communists. The strength of this party grows every day and the party is advancing rapidly toward power.

In Russia the party of communists won the sympathy of the entire working classes of the cities and villages, has united in its ranks 700,000 members, has

worked out a scientifically based program, has maintained itself in power for 15 months, has created a powerful red army, and has stirred up a fervent sympathy toward it on the part of the proletarians of the entire world.

In Austria a powerful group of communists has been created, which has a great future before it.

In Hungary the Communist Party has behind it already the majority of the urban proletariat and in the near future will have behind it also the majority of the soldiers and peasants.

In Italy at the last congress of the Socialist Party the communistic elements won out, which elements had carried on a heroic struggle during the war against imperialism and had won sympathy from the overwhelming majority of the Italian proletariats.

In France sympathy for communism is growing, which fact is indirectly reflected in the conduct of the group of the French Center. The declaration of such a man as Andre Barbusse that he considers himself a French Sparticide is a very significant sign of the times.

In England the British Socialist Party and also the group of MacLean are getting ready to organize a Communist Party.

Similarly in a whole series of other States—Roumania, Switzerland, Holland, Bulgaria, Denmark, and Norway—and in territories that formerly were part of the Russian Empire—Poland, Lithuania, Ukraine, Livonia, White Russia, and Esthonia—strong parties of communists have been formed.

The program of the Russian Communist Party, which will be approved by the eighth congress of our party, will undoubtedly be acceptable in its main principles for all the above-enumerated parties and will become the program of the Communist International.

The tactic of the Communist International in its main features has been defined in the 15 theses which were published in the name of eight communist parties which came forward on January 25, 1919, with a practical proposal for the calling together of the first congress of the Communist International.

This tactic is based on the deep conviction that the present epoch is the epoch of the disintegration and collapse of the entire world capitalistic system and that the task of the proletariat is now the immediate seizure of governmental power in order to carry out the dictatorship of the toiling classes and to create a proletariat State on the basis of soviet or similar organizations.

The forms of organizations of the Third International must be defined at the first congress of Communist Parties. At this congress must be created a strong directing Center, which will know how to direct the movement in all countries both with respect to ideas and organizations.

At the present moment we invite to join the Communist International the following parties: (1) Union of Sparticides (Germany); (2) Communist Party, Bolsheviks (Russia); (3) Communist Party of German Austria; (4) Communist Party of Hungary; (5) Communist Party of Poland; (6) Communist Party of Finland; (7) the Communist Party of Esthonia; (8) the Communist Party of Lithuania; (9) the Communist Party of Livonia; (10) the Communist Party of White Russia; (11) the Communist Party of Ukraine; (12) revolutionary elements of the Czech Socialist Democracy; (13) Bulgarian Social Democratic Party (Tosniaki); (14) Roumanian Social Democratic Party; (15) left wing of Serbian Social Democratic Party; (16) left Social Democratic Party of Sweden; (17) Norwegian Social Democratic Party; (18) in Denmark the group of class struggle; (19) Communist Party of Holland; (20) revolutionary elements of Belgian Labor Party; (21–22) groups and organizations inside the socialist and syndicalist movement of France fundamentally solidary with Loriot; (23) left Social Democrats of Switzerland; (24) Italian Socialist Party; (25) left elements of Spanish Socialist Party; (26) left elements of Portuguese Socialist Party; (27) British Socialist Party (in particular the tendency represented by MacLean); (28) Socialist Labor Party (England); (29) I. W. W., England; (30) I. W. W. of Great Britain; (31) revolutionary elements of movement of shops' stewards (England); (32) revolutionary movement of Irish working-class organizations; (33) Socialist Labor Party (America); (34) left elements of American Socialist Party (particularly the tendency represented by Debs and the tendency represented by the league of socialist propaganda); (35) I. W. W., America; (36) I. W. W., Australia; (37) Workers' International Industrial Union, America; (38) socialistic groups in Tokyo and Yokohama, represented by Comrade Katayama; (39) Socialistic Young People's International, represented by Comrade Munstemberg.

All other workmen's organizations that agree with the program laid down and have shown by their loyalty to the cause of the Third International have the right to join the Communist International.

The League of Nations organized at the present moment by imperialists is in fact the "international" of the bourgeoisie to suppress nations. The League of Nations is a stock company founded by the imperialists of the Entente in order to exploit the whole civilized world and in order to drown in the blood of workmen the proletarian revolution that is beginning in all the most important countries.

The Berne International "Socialist" conference which tried to revive the corpse of the Second International, is, in fact, a tool in the hands of the imperialistic "League of Nations." As a counterpoise to the international organization of exploiters and other lackeys the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party votes to organize:

An International Comradeship of Toilers, the Communist International.

The federation of foreign groups attached to the Russian Communist Party must receive the most active support from our party.

The Russian Communist Party must come to the assistance, in every way of which it is capable, of all steps in connection with the first International Communist Congress and all steps of its executive organs.

The International League of Communist Parties declares a decisive struggle against the International League of Imperialists.

The Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party is firmly convinced of the early triumph of communism. The Communist International will triumph as the International Unions of the Soviet Republics. In the name of this great aim the communist proletariat of the whole world declares revolutionary war on the bourgeoisie. The Russian proletariat, the first to have conquered power in its own country, has begun this war with the assistance of its socialist red army. The international proletariat which is organizing itself into the Communist International will carry out this revolutionary war to the end.

At the end of 1873 when the first international founded by Marx and Engels disintegrated after the suppression of the Paris commune, Marx prophesied "the events and the inevitable course of things will see to it that the international is reestablished in a more suitable form."

At the present moment this prophesy is being justified. The hour has struck for the establishment of a genuine Communist International which in the very near future will bring suffering humanity to an international league of soviet republics, and to the destruction of all States in the old meaning of the word.

[Exhibit VII.]

MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

[Severnaya Kommuna, Mar. 8, 1919.]

Seventy-two years ago the Communist Party proclaimed its program to the world in the form of the manifesto written by the greatest teachers of the proletarian revolution, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Even at that early time, when communism had scarcely come into the arena of conflict, it was hounded by the lies, hatred, and calumny of the possessing classes, who rightly suspected in it their mortal enemy. During these seven decades communism has traveled a hard road; of ascent followed by periods of sharp decline; successes, but also severe defeats. In spite of all, the development at bottom went the way forecast by the manifesto of the Communist Party. The epoch of the last decisive struggle came later than the apostles of the social revolution expected and wished. But it has come.

We, communists, representatives of the revolutionary proletariat of the different countries of Europe, America, and Asia, assembled in soviet Moscow, feel and consider ourselves followers and fulfillers of the cause the program of which was proclaimed 72 years ago. It is our task now to sum up the practical revolutionary experience of the working class, to cleanse the movement of its treacherous admixtures of opportunism and socialist patriotism and to unite the efforts of all revolutionary parties of the world proletariat and thus facilitate and hasten the victory of the communist revolution in the whole world. Now, when Europe is covered with ruins and piles of smoking wreckage, the greatest instigators are occupied with searchers for those guilty for the war. In their trail follow their servants, professors, members of parliaments, journalists, socialist-patriots, and the other political souteneurs of the bourgeoisie.

For a long span of years socialism predicted the inevitableness of the imperialistic war; it perceived the essential cause of this war in the insatiable greed of the possessing classes in both camps of capitalist nations. Two years before the outbreak of the war the responsible socialist leaders of all countries, at the Basle congress, exposed imperialism as the instigator of the coming war and menaced the bourgeoisie with the threat to bring down on its head a socialist revolution as the retaliation of the proletariat for the crimes of militarism. Now, after the experience of five years, after history has exposed the predatory appetites of Germany and the no less criminal acts of the Allies, the State socialists of the countries of the Entente, together with their governments, continue to try to unmask as the instigator of the war the overthrown German Kaiser. Further, the German socialist-patriots who in August, 1914, proclaimed the diplomatic white book of the Hohenzollern as the holiest gospel of the people, now following the lead of the socialists of the Entente, with vulgar servility accuse the overthrown German Monarchy, which they served so slavishly, as the main instigator of the war. In that way they hope to force people to forget their own rôle and at the same time gain the good will of the victors. But alongside the rôle of the overthrown dynasties of the Romanoffs, Hohenzollerns, and Hapsburgs, the capitalistic cliques of these countries and the rôle of the governing classes of France, England, Italy, and the United States stand revealed in all their immeasurable criminalities in the light of the unfolding events and of diplomatic disclosures.

English diplomacy to the very outbreak of the war did not remove its secret visor. The government of the "city" was afraid that if it categorically declared its participation in the war on the side of the Entente the Government of Berlin would recede and there would not be war. In London they wanted the war. Therefore they behaved in such a manner that in Berlin and Vienna they counted on the neutrality of England, while in Paris and St. Petersburg they evidently counted on her coming in.

The war which was prepared by the course of development during decades was unleashed with the direct and conscious provocation of Great Britain. The Government of the latter counted on giving support to Russia and France only to such a point as to exhaust Germany also—its mortal enemy—while exhausting them (Russia and France). But the strength of the German military machine was too threatening and required the actual and not an apparent intervention of England in the war. The rôle of the cynical broker which Great Britain had always assumed by an old tradition, fell to the lot of the United States. The Government of Wilson was able more easily to reconcile itself to the English blockade, which cut off speculation by the American Stock Exchange in European blood, since the countries of the Entente rewarded the American bourgeoisie by generous profits for the violation of "international law."

But the enormous military superiority of Germany impelled even the Government of Washington to depart from its position of fictitious neutrality. The United States assumed with respect to Europe as a whole that very rôle which England had played in past wars, and tried to play in this last war, with respect to the continent—that of weakening one camp with the assistance of the other, and of intervening in military operations only in order to secure for self all the advantages of the situation. Wilson's stake was not large, as is the method of American lotteries, but it was the last stake and thus secured to him the prize.

The contradictions of the capitalist system became clear to mankind in the result of the war, in the form of actual suffering, of hunger, cold, epidemic diseases and moral collapse. Thus the academic discussion within the ranks of socialism on the question of the theory of impoverishment and the gradual passing from capitalism to socialism, is now being finally decided. For decades statisticians and scholars of the theory of the reconciliation of these contradictions have tried to collect from all the corners of the world actual and fictitious facts to prove the increased well-being of separate groups and categories of the working class. The theory of the impoverishment of the masses was considered to have been buried, under the contemptuous voice of the eunuchs of the bourgeois pulpit and the mandarins of the socialistic opportunism. At the present moment this impoverishment, which is now not only social but psychological and biological, lies before our eyes in all its terrible actuality. The catastrophe of the imperialism war has swept aside completely all the conquests of the trade-unions and of parliamentary struggle, while

this struggle has outgrown in a similar manner the internal tendencies of capitalism, and at the same time all the economic deals and parliamentary compromises, which have been buried in blood and filth.

Financial capital, which threw mankind into the whirlpool of war, has itself suffered catastrophic changes during the course of this war. The dependence of money tokens on the material foundations of production, has been completely destroyed. More and more losing their significance, the means and regulators of capitalistic exchange of goods, and paper money, have become merely the weapon of requisitions, seizure, and in general, of military-economic oppression. The deterioration of paper now reflects the general mortal crisis of the capitalistic system of exchange of commodities. For free competition as the regulator of production and distribution was pushed to one side in the main fields of industry by the system of trusts and monopolies already during the decades preceding the war, so that by the course of the war the regulating and directing role has been wrested from the hands of economic combinations, and has been turned over directly to the military—State authorities.

The distribution of raw materials, the utilization of petroleum of the Baku and Roumanian fields, of the coal of Donetz, of Ukrainian grain, the fate of the German shipping and automobile, the guaranteeing to starving Europe of grain and meat—all these fundamental questions of the economic life of the world are being regulated not by free competition and not by combinations of national and international trusts, but by the direct application of military force in the interest of its further self-preservation.

If the complete subjection of State authority to financial capital brought mankind to the capitalistic shambles, so thanks to this conflict financial capital has completely militarized not only the State, but also itself, and is now no longer able to fulfill its fundamental economic functions other than by means of iron and blood.

The opportunists who before the war appealed to the workmen to be moderate in the name of a gradual transition to socialism, who during the war demanded class peace in the name of unity for the cause of national defense—are once more demanding of the proletariat self-abnegation, this time in order to overcome the terrible consequences of the war. If this preaching would be accepted by the working masses, then imperialistic development would be re-established on the bones of several generations, in new and even more terrible forms, with the new perspective of an inevitable world war. Fortunately for mankind this is impossible.

The absorption by the State of economic life, against which capitalistic liberalism protested with such force, has now become an accomplished fact. There can be no return, either to free competition or to the rule of trusts, syndicates, and other economic monsters. The question now is who will now be the mainstay of production, that has come under the control of the State; an imperialistic state or a state of the victorious proletariat. In other words, will all toiling mankind become the serfs of a victorious world clique, which, under the name of "League of Nations," with the assistance of "international army," "international navy," will suppress some, feed others, and everywhere impose chains on the proletariat, for the sole purpose of maintaining its own rule? Or shall the working class of Europe and of the progressive countries of other parts of the world itself take possession of the disrupted and disorganized economic situation, in order to guarantee its rehabilitation on socialist principles?

The epoch of crisis through which the world is passing can be brought to a close only by the measures adopted under the proletarian dictatorship, which does not look back to the past and does not take into account either inherited privileges or rights of property, but does what is required to save the starving masses, mobilizes to this end all means and force, introduces universal labor service, establishes a régime of labor discipline, in order thus, during the course of several years, not only to heal the gaping wounds inflicted by the war but also to raise mankind to a new height until now unknown.

The national State which gave powerful impulse to imperialistic development became too crowded for the development of the productive forces. The position of the small States became all the more difficult, distributed as they were among the large powers of Europe and all other parts of the world. These small States which came into existence at various times, as fragments of larger States, as small change used to pay for certain services, as strategic buffer States, have their dynasties, their ruling cliques, and their imperialistic pretensions. Their illusory dependence until the war was supported by the same

thing that supported the equilibrium of Europe; that is, the constant antagonism between two imperialistic camps. The war destroyed this equilibrium. The enormous preponderance of Germany has forced the small States to seek safety in the magnanimity of German imperialism. Later, when Germany was beaten, the bourgeois of the small States, together with the patriotic socialists, turned to welcome the triumphant victory of the Allies, and in the hypocritical 14 points of the Wilsonian program began to seek guarantees for their future independent existence. At the same time a number of small States grew out from the Austrian-Hungarian monarchy and new States were divided up from the Czar's Empire, and these new States scarcely born are already going at each other's throats over State frontiers. The allied imperialists in the meanwhile suppress combinations of small States, old and new, in order to get possession of them by taking advantage of their mutual hatred and general helplessness. By suppressing and using violence on small and weak peoples, delivering them to famine and demoralization, the allied imperialists, just as did the imperialists of the Central Empires only a short time ago, constantly speak of the right of the nations to self-determination, though this right has definitely been trampled under foot both in Europe and in other parts of the world.

Small people can be guaranteed the possibility of their existence only by a proletarian revolution, which will liberate the productive forces of all countries from the restrictions of national States, will unite people, will guarantee their economic cooperation on the basis of a common economic plan and will make it possible for the weak and small people to enjoy complete freedom in the administration of the affairs of its own national culture without any detriment to the united and centralized European world economic system.

The late war, which was to a considerable extent a war because of colonies, was at the same time a war with the aid of the colonies. An unprecedented proportion of the population was drawn into the European War. Why did the Indians, Negroes, and Arabs fight on the battle fields of Europe? For their right to remain slaves of England and France? Never before was the picture of the disgrace of the imperialistic State colonies so clear and never was the problem of colonial slavery raised in such sharp relief. The result has been a series of open uprisings and revolutionary movements in all colonies. In Europe itself, Ireland, which did not take part in the bloody street battles, still remains an enslaved country. In Madagascar and in other places troops of a bourgeois republic have on several occasions aroused in the course of the war uprisings of colonial slaves. In India the revolutionary movement has not ceased for a single day, and recently has led to unprecedented workmen's strikes in Asia, to which the Government of Great Britain has answered with armored motor cars.

Thus the colonial question has risen to its full stature not only on the maps of the diplomatic congress in Paris, but also in the colonies themselves. The program of Wilson has as its aim at the very best a change in the firm name for colonial slavery. The liberation of the colonies is possible only if it is accompanied by a liberation of the working class of the metropolis. The workmen and peasants not only in Annam, Algeria, and Senegal, but also in Persia and Armenia, will be able to enjoy independent existence only when the workmen of England and France overthrow Lloyd-George and Clemenceau and take State authority into their own hands. In the more developed colonies the struggle not only is in progress at the present moment under the flag of liberation, but it is also taking on a more or less clearly expressed social character. If capitalist Europe forcibly dragged the most retrograde into the whirlpool of capitalist relations, then the Europe of Socialists will come to the assistance of the freed colonists with its technique, its organization, and its cultural influences in order to hasten their transition to an orderly organized socialistic economic system.

Colonial slaves of Africa and Asia! The hour of the proletarian dictatorship will strike also for you as the hour of your liberation.

The whole bourgeois world accuses the communist of destroying liberties and political democracy. This is not true. On coming into power the proletariat simply shows how absolutely impossible it is to apply the methods of bourgeois democracy, and so creates the conditions and forms of a new and superior democracy of the worker. The whole course of capitalistic development, particularly in the last period of imperialism, undermined political democracy, not only by dividing the camp into two irreconcilably hostile classes, but also by condemning the numerically large petty bourgeois and workmen proletarian

classes to economic benumbing, and also the disinherited lower ranks of the proletariat itself.

The working class of all countries in its historic development has taken advantages of the régime of political democracy in order to organize against capital. The same thing will take place in those countries where the conditions for a working class revolution have not matured. But the broad intermediary masses, not only in the villages but also in the cities, are held back by capitalism falling behind by whole epochs in respect to historic development. The peasants of Bavaria and Baden are still strongly attached to their village belfrey. The small French wine-grower, who has been ruined by the large-scale capitalistic adulterations of wine, the small American farmer who has been robbed and deceived by the banker—all of these people who have been shoved aside by capitalism, have been called into the administration of the State under the régime of political democracy. But in reality in all other questions, that determine the fate of peoples, the financial oligarchy puts through its own decisions behind the wall of parliamentary democracy. This was true particularly in questions of the war, and this is what is taking place now in questions of peace.

To demand of the proletariat that in this last struggle, not for life but to death, with capital, it should loyally observe the demands of political democracy, is the same as to demand of a man who is defending his life and existence from highway robbers that he should observe the scientific and well-guarded rules of the French system of boxing, which rules have been made by his enemy and are not observed by the latter.

When the principles of destruction govern, then the proletariat is obliged to create its own apparatus, which will serve first of all to protect the internal bonds of the working class, guarantee the possibility of its revolutionary intervention in the further development of humanity. The old parties, the old organization of trade-unions, have proven, in the persons of their directing leaders, incapable of deciding or even understanding the problems which the new epoch has raised. The proletariat has created a new type of organization which stretches out wide over the whole working mass, independent of trade or of the level of political development attained. It is a flexible apparatus which can be constantly renewed, developed, and which can bring within its sphere constantly new forces, and open its doors for the proletariat and for the toiling classes of city and village. This organization is the self-government of the working class and represents the most powerful conquest and weapon of the proletariat in our present epoch.

In all countries where the toiling masses live a conscious life, soviets of workmen's, soldiers', and peasants' deputies are being established and will be established. The most important task at the present moment of the conscious and honorable workmen of all countries is to strengthen the soviets, to increase their authority and to imitate the governmental apparatus of Russia. By means of soviets the working class is able to save itself from the disintegration which is developing in its midst as the result of the infernal anguish of war, hunger, violence produced by the propertied class and the treason of the high authorities. By means of soviets the workmen class can more surely and easily come into power in all those countries where soviets rally around themselves the majority of the toilers. By means of soviets the working class will direct all branches of the economic and cultural life of the country, just as this is taking place at the present moment in Russia.

The collapse of the imperialistic State, from the Tsaristic to the most democratic inclusive, goes on simultaneously with the collapse of the imperialistic military system. The armies of many millions mobilized by the imperialists could be kept under only so long as the proletariat submitted to the yoke of the bourgeoisie. The breakdown of national unity means the inevitable disintegration of the army. This took place first in Russia and then in Germany and in Austria. The same also is to be expected in other imperialist countries. The uprising of the peasant against the landlord, of the workman against the capitalist, of both against the monarchic bureaucracy inevitably leads to the uprising of soldiers against officers and in the next step to the sharp division between the proletarian and bourgeois elements within the army. The imperialistic war which pitted one nation against the other has passed and is passing into civil war which pits class against class.

The outcry of the bourgeois world against civil war and red terror is the most colossal hypocrisy which the history of political struggle has known. There would not be civil war if cliques of exploiters, who had brought humanity

to the edge of ruin, would not oppose every step forward of the toilers, would not organize conspiracies and murders and would not call in armed assistance from outside, in order to maintain or reestablish their predatory privileges. Civil war is forced on the working class by the latter's mortal enemies. The working class must answer blow for blow, unless it renounces itself and its own future, never artificially provoking civil war. A Communist Party strives to shorten its duration as much as possible, to reduce the number of victims and above all to guarantee victory to the proletariat. This makes necessary the simultaneous disarming of the bourgeoisie, the arming of workmen and the creation of a communist army to defend the authority of the proletariat and the inviolability of its socialist structure. Such is the Red Army of Soviet Russia, which sprang up and exists as the bulwark of the conquest of the working class against all attacks from within or without. The soviet authority is inseparable from the soviet State.

Recognizing the world character of their mission, the enlightened workmen from the very first stages of the socialist movement worked for its international union. The foundation stone for the latter was laid in 1864 in London, in the First International. The Franco-Prussian war, as a result of which sprang up the Germans of the Hohenzollerns, destroyed the First International, though at the same time it gave rise to the development of national workmen's parties. As early as 1889 these parties united at the congress in Paris and created the Second International. However, the center of gravity of the workmen's movement lay then in the field of national parliamentary activity. The decades of organization and reform work created a whole generation of leaders, the majority of whom in words organized the program of social revolution, but in actual practice rejected it and became lost in reformism. The opportunistic character of the leading parties of the Second International was concealed to the very last moment and led to the greatest collapse in the history of the world at a very moment when revolutionary methods of struggle were required of parties of the working class.

If the war of 1870 dealt a blow to the First International by showing that there was no consolidated force of masses behind its social revolutionary programs, in the same way the war of 1914 killed the Second International when it showed that behind the powerful organization of workmen stood parties who were being converted into submissive organs of the bourgeois state. What is said here refers not only to the socialists—patriots who have now clearly and openly gone over to the camp of the bourgeoisie and have become the latter's favorite confidential delegates, mere wooden people and the most reliable executioners of the working class—but also to the hazy irresolute tendency of the center, which tries to reestablish the Second International, i. e., the narrowest opportunism and revolutionary impotence of its directing leaders. The Independent Party in Germany, the Majority Socialist Party of France, the group of Mensheviks of Russia, the Independent Labor Party of England, and other similar groups in actual fact are trying to establish themselves in the place which was occupied before the war by the old official parties of the Second International, coming forward as before only with ideas of compromise and agreement, paralyzing in every way the energy of the proletariat, dragging out the crisis, and increasing the misery of Europe.

Brushing aside the half-heartedness, lies, and corruption of the obsolete official Socialist Parties we, communists, uniting in the Third International, consider ourselves to be the direct successors of the heroic efforts and martyrdom of a long series of revolutionary generations, from Bebel to Carl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. Just as the First International indicated the road of future development, and the Second International gathered together and organized millions of proletarians, so the Third International is the international of open mass action of revolutionary realization. Socialist criticism has sufficiently stigmatized the bourgeois world over. (This last sentence taken from another translation as evidently omitted by printer in text used for this translation.) The aim of the International Communist Party is to overthrow it and raise in its place the structure of the socialist order. We call on all workmen and workwomen of all countries to unite under the Communist flag, which is the flag of the first great victories.

Proletarians of all countries, in the struggle against imperialist barbarism, against monarchies, against privileged classes, against the bourgeois state and bourgeois property (text used here has misprint, but elsewhere word is "property"), and against all kinds and form of class or national oppression—unite.

Under the flag of workmen's soviets, of the revolutionary struggle for power, and of the dictatorship of the proletariat, under the flag of the Third International, proletarians of all countries, unite.

[Exhibit VIII.]

PLATFORM OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

[Izvestia, Mar. 6, 1919.]

The contradictions of the capitalistic world system, which were concealed in its interior, showed themselves with enormous force in one gigantic explosion—in the great Imperialistic World War.

Capitalism attempted to overcome its own anarchy by organizing production. In the place of numerous competing enterprises were organized powerful unions of capitalists (syndicates, artels, and trusts). Bank capital united with industrial capital; all economic life came under the authority of this financial-capitalistic oligarchy, which, on the basis of this power and through its own organization, attained an all-inclusive domination. In the place of free competition developed monopoly. The individual capitalist became a capitalist member of a capitalistic union. Senseless anarchy came to be replaced by organization.

But in the same measure as the anarchy of the capitalistic method of production came to be replaced by capitalistic organization in individual countries, contradictions became sharper and sharper, as well as the struggle of competition, the anarchy of world economics. The struggle between the greatest organized predatory states inevitably lead to the monstrous Imperialistic World War. The appetite for profits drove world capital to struggle for new markets, for new spheres for its capital, for new sources of raw material, for the cheap labor of colonial slaves. The Imperialistic states, which divide the whole world among themselves, which converted many millions of African, Asian, Australian, and American proletarians and peasants into mere working cattle, were obliged sooner or later to reveal, in this gigantic conflict, the actual anarchical character of capital. Thus came the greatest of crimes—the predatory World War.

Capitalism tried to overcome its own social structure, so full of contradictions. Bourgeois society is a class society. But capital of the great "civilized" countries wished to suppress social contradictions. At the expense of colonial peoples they had been robbed; capital bribed its own hired slaves and tried to create a community of interests between the exploiters and the exploited—the interests that were directed against the oppressed colonies, the colonial peoples—yellow, black, and red. It enchained the European and American working class to the Imperialistic "fatherland."

But this same method of constant bribing, by which one tries to develop the patriotism of the working class and its spiritual enslavement, as a result of the war was converted into its very opposite. Physical exhaustion, the complete enslavement of the proletariat, monstrous oppression, impoverishment, and degradation, world hunger—these were the last prices that had to be paid for civil peace. It (civil peace) was broken. The Imperialistic war was changed to civil war.

The new epoch has been born. It is the epoch of the dissolution of capitalism, of its internal disintegration. It is the epoch of the communist revolution of the proletariat.

The Imperialist system is collapsing. Ferment in the colonies, ferment among the small nationalities till now not independent, the uprising of the proletariat, victorious proletariat revolution on in several countries, the disintegration of Imperialistic empires, the complete inability of the ruling class to direct further the destiny of the people—this is the picture of the present situation in the whole world.

Humanity, whose culture has been subject to disintegration, is now threatened by the danger of complete destruction. There is only one force capable of saving it, and this force is the proletariat. There is no longer left the old capitalist order, and it can no longer exist. The final result of the existence of the capitalistic system of production is chaos, and this chaos can be overcome only by that large producing class—the working class. The latter must establish actual order—a communistic order. It must destroy the rule of capital, make wars impossible, wipe out frontiers between states, remake the whole world into

a community which is working for itself, realize freedom and the brotherhood of peoples.

In the meanwhile world capital is preparing for the last battle. Under the cover of the "League of Nations" and of pacifistic chattering it is putting forward its last efforts to cement together the parts of the capitalistic system that are falling apart, and it will use of its force against proletarian revolution that is beginning to flame up in such a way that it can not be restrained.

To this new, grandiose conspiracy of the imperialistic classes the proletariat must answer by acquiring political power, by directing this power against its own enemy and using it as a lever for the economic reorganization of society. The final victory of the world proletariat will mean the beginning of the real history of liberated mankind.

Conquest of political power.—The conquest of political power by the proletariat means the destruction of the political power of the bourgeoisie.

The most powerful weapon of authority in the hands of the bourgeoisie is the bourgeois apparatus of state, with its capitalistic army, which is under the command of bourgeois-junker officers, with its police and secret police, its prison wardens and judges, its preachers, civil officials, and such. The conquest of political power can not be limited simply to a change in the personnel of the Government departments, but must mean the destruction of the parasitic State apparatus and the concentration in one's hand of a real force, the disarming of the bourgeois, of counter revolutionary officers, and of the white guard, and the arming of the proletariat, of the revolutionary soldiers, and are red guards of workmen; the removal of all bourgeois judges and the organization of a proletarian court of law; the destruction of the domination of reactionary officials and the establishment of new proletarian organs of government. The victory of the proletariat is guaranteed by the disorganizing of hostile authority, and it must mean the destruction of the bourgeois, and the building up of the proletarian apparatus of State. Only after the proletariat shall have triumphed by definitely breaking the opposition of the bourgeois will be proletariat be able in a useful manner to force its former opponents to serve it, gradually bringing them under its own control to the work of communistic construction.

Democracy and leadership.—Just as every State, so the proletarian State represents an apparatus of compulsion, and this apparatus of compulsion is now directed against the enemy of the working class. Its significance consists in this, that it is to break and make impossible the resistance of the exploiters who will use in this struggle all means to suppress the revolution in streams of blood. On the other hand, the dictatorship of the proletariat, which will place this class officially in a position of the dominant class in society, represents a transition state. In measure as the opposition of the bourgeois is broken, the latter will be expropriated and gradually converted into a working class of society and the dictatorship will disappear, and the State and the dividing of society into classes will die out.

So-called democracy—that is, bourgeois democracy—is nothing other than a concealed dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The famous general "will of the people" is the same kind of fiction as is the united people. In fact, there exist classes with opposed tendencies exclusive of one another. And as the bourgeoisie is an insignificant minority, so it uses this fiction, this fictitious popular will, in order under the cover of this broad phrase to strengthen its domination over the working class and impose on the latter the will of its own class. On the other hand the proletariat, which represents the overwhelming majority of the population, will quite openly use the class strength of its mass organizations, of its soviets, in order to abolish the privileges of the bourgeoisie, and guarantee the passing to a nonclass communistic society.

The essence of bourgeois democracy consists in a purely declaratory formal recognition of rights and liberties that are not accessible for the proletariat and the half proletarian elements, because the latter have not the material means, while the bourgeoisie has the full possibility to use its material means, its press, and its organizations for lies and to deceive the people. On the other hand, the essence of the soviet system, of this new type of governmental authority, consists in this, that under this system the proletariat is given the possibility in fact to secure for itself its rights and liberty. The soviet authority will give to the people the best palaces, houses, printing shops, stores of paper, etc., for its press, for its meetings, and its clubs. Only then will the proletarian democracy be really possible.

Bourgeois democracy with its parliamentary system allows to the masses participation in the government of the State only in words. In actual fact the masses and their organizations are completely shut off from actual authority and the actual government of the country. Under the system of soviets mass organizations govern, and through the latter the masses themselves, as the soviets, bring a constantly increasing number of workmen into the administration of the State, and only thus is the entire working people gradually drawn into the actual work of governing the State. The soviet system thus rests on mass organization of the proletariat in the form of these soviets of revolutionary trade-unions, cooperative societies, etc.

Bourgeois democracy and the parliamentary system, as a result of the separation of executive and legislative authority, and the absence of the right to recall representatives, make broader the gulf between the masses and the State. On the other hand, the soviet system, with its right of recall, by uniting the executive and legislative powers, and as a result of the ability of the soviet to be functioning collegiate institutions, establishes a close bond between the masses and the organs of government. This bond is more easily maintained because under the system of soviets, elections take place not according to artificially created districts but correspond with groupings resulting from the productive process.

Thus the soviet system guarantees the possibility of an actual proletarian democracy, a democracy for the proletariat, and within the proletariat, and a democracy directed against the bourgeoisie. Under this system the industrial proletariat is guaranteed a privileged position as the leading, better organized and politically more matured class, under the hegemony of which the half-proletarian elements and the peasant poor elements of the village will be able gradually to raise themselves. These temporary privileges of the industrial proletariat must be used in order to wrest the nonpropertied petty bourgeois masses of the village from under the influence of the village peasant bourgeoisie, to organize them and bring them as collaborators into the work of communistic construction.

The expropriation of the bourgeois and the socialization of production.—The disintegration of the capitalistic system and of capitalistic labor discipline makes it impossible under the present interclass relations to reestablish production on the former basis. The struggle of workmen for increase of wages even when successful does not lead to the expected raising of the standard of living, because the increase of prices on all productions of consumption inevitably neutralizes the success. The energetic struggle of the workmen for increase of wages in those countries where the situation is clearly hopeless, because of the elemental bitterness and the tendency to convert the strike into a world strike, makes impossible the further development of capitalistic production. Improvement of conditions of workmen can be attained only when the bourgeois [has been expropriated] (this added by translator, as there is evidently an omission here) and the proletariat itself take possession of production. In order to raise the productive power of economic life, in order to break as quickly as possible the resistance of the bourgeoisie, which is prolonging the agony of the old form of society and thus creating the danger of the complete disruption of economic life, the proletarian dictatorship must carry out the expropriation of the large bourgeois and nobility and make the means of production and transportation the public property of the proletarian state.

Communism is being born now in the ruins of the capitalistic order. History will not give mankind any other issue from the situation. The opportunists who put forward the Utopian demands for the regeneration of the capitalistic system of economy in order to postpone socialization are simply dragging out the solution of the crisis and thus creating the direct menace of complete ruin, while the communistic revolution is the best and actually possible means by which the actual productive force in society—the proletariat—and with it society itself, may save themselves.

Proletarian dictatorship does not contemplate any kind of dividing up of the means of production and transportation. Quite to the contrary, its task is to bring about a greater centralization of productive forces and the subjection of all production to a unified plan.

As the first steps on the road to the socialization of the entire economic life are necessary the socialization of the apparatus of the largest banks, which now control industry; the gaining possession of all economic state capitalistic organs by transferring them to the proletarian state, governmental authority; the

gaining possession of all commercial enterprises; the socialization of syndicalized and "trusted" branches of industry and also of those branches of industry in which the degree of concentration and centralization of capital are such as to make socialization technically possible; the socialization of agricultural farms and their conversion into publicly managed agricultural enterprises.

As for the small enterprises the proletariat must gradually unite them, taking into consideration their sizes.

In this connection one must emphasize particularly that the small holders of private property may not be expropriated, and the small proprietor who did not exploit the labors of others may not be subject to any violent measures. This group will be drawn into the spheres of socialist organization gradually, by example and by practical experience, which will show the advantages of the new order, which in turn will free the small farmer and the small bourgeoisie from the economic yoke of the rich farmer and nobility and from the weight of taxes, particularly as the result of the repudiation of State loans, etc.

The task of the proletarian dictatorship in the fields of economics may be fulfilled only to the extent to which the proletariat will be able to create centralized organs for the administration of industry and to realize workmen's administration. Furthermore, the proletariat will be obliged to use those of its mass organizations which are most closely associated with the process of production.

In the field of distribution, the proletarian dictatorship must bring about the proper distribution of products as a substitute for trading; one must call attention to those measures which will have to be adopted to this end: The socialization of the largest trading enterprises; the transfer into the hands of the proletariat of all bourgeois public, and also municipal, organs of distribution; control over the largest cooperative combinations, the organization of which still have enormous economic significance through the period of transition; the gradual centralization of all these organs and their gradual conversion into a single whole for the national distribution of products.

Both in the field of production and also in that of distribution all workers of qualified economic experience and specialization must be made use of after their opposition in the fields of politics will have been broken, so that they will be in a position to serve the new system of production, instead of capital.

The proletariat has no intention to oppress the latter (technical experts and specialists), quite on the contrary the proletariat will be the first to give to them the possibility of developing the most energetic creative activity. The proletarian dictatorship will replace the division into physical and intellectual labor, which is characteristic of capitalism, by a uniting of the two and thus it will bring together labor and science.

Together with the expropriation of factories, mines, landed estates, etc., the proletariat must also put an end to the exploitation of the population by capitalistic house owners, and transfer the larger houses into the hands of local workmen's soviets, and move the workmen into the apartments of the bourgeoisie, etc. In the course of this enormous change, the soviet authority must on the one hand create an enormous apparatus of administration, becoming more and more centralized, and on the other hand it must bring larger groups of the working people to the immediate task of government.

The road to victory.—The revolutionary epoch demands of the proletariat the application of such methods of struggle as will concentrate all its energies, first of all melting of mass struggle with its logical conclusions—direct conflict in open battle with the bourgeois, governmental machinery. To this end must be subordinated all other means, as for example, the revolutionary making use of bourgeois parliamentary institutions.

A necessary preliminary condition for such a victorious struggle is a rupture not only with the out-and-out lackeys of capital and with the executioners of the communist revolution, such as the right Social Democrats, but also a breaking away from the "Center" (followers of Kautsky), which abandons the proletariat at a critical moment and flirts with its open enemies.

On the other hand one must form an alliance with the elements of the revolutionary workmen's movement, which, in spite of the fact that formerly they did not belong to the Socialist Party, have not become, in general and on the whole, supporters of the proletarian dictatorship in the form of soviets, as for example the certain elements of syndicalism.

The growth of the revolutionary movement in all countries, the danger that this revolution will be suppressed by a union of capitalistic States, attempts of traitor socialist parties to unite (the forming of a yellow international in

Berne), in order, lucky like, to serve Wilson's league, and finally the absolute necessity of coordinating the proletarian movement, all this leads eventually to the establishment of a genuinely revolutionary and genuinely proletarian communist international.

The international that will be able to subordinate so-called national interests to the interest of the world revolution, will by this very reason realize mutual assistance between proletariats of various countries, for without economic and other forms of mutual support the proletariat will not be able to establish the new society. On the other hand, in opposition to the yellow socialist international, the international of the communist proletariat will support the exploited peoples of colonies in their struggle against imperialism in order to assist the final collapse of the system of world imperialism.

The criminals of capitalism affirmed at the beginning of the World War that all of them were simply defending their own countries. But soon German imperialism revealed its beast-like nature by a series of bloody acts in Russia, the Ukraine, and Finland. Now, in their turn, the powers of the Entente are revealing themselves in the eyes of the most retrograde groups of the population, for they have turned out to be the world robbers and the murderers of the proletariat. In agreement with the German bourgeoisie and with socialist patriots, with hypocritical phrases about peace on their lips, they are trying to crush to the ground, with the help of tanks and uneducated, barbarian, colonial troops, the revolution of the European proletariat. The white terror of the bourgeois cannibals is cruel beyond description. The sacrifices of the working class can not be numbered; it has lost its best fighters, Liebknecht and Luxemburg.

The proletariat must defend itself at any cost. The communist international calls on the entire proletariat of the world to take part in this last struggle. Arms against arms! Force against force!

Down with the imperialistic conspiracy of capital! Long live the international republic of proletarian soviets!

[Exhibit IX.]

A GREAT EPOCH.

[Article by Trotsky, Petrograd Pravda, Mar. 8, 1919.]

Czars and priests, the old rulers of the Moscow Kremlin, had no idea, we suppose, that in the dark walls of the Kremlin would gather the representatives of the most revolutionary section of contemporary mankind. This, however, has happened. In one of the halls of the old courthouse, where the tired shades of criminal paragraphs of the Czar's code still roam about, now sit delegates of the Third International. In truth, the mole of history has cleverly gnawed his passageways under the walls of the Kremlin.

This material setting of the Communist Congress only outwardly expresses and indicates the enormous changes which have taken place in the last 10 to 20 years in the entire world situation.

At the time not only of the First but also of the Second International, Czarist Russia was the main bulwark of world reaction. In the International Socialist Congresses, emigrants always represented the Russian revolution, and the majority of opportunist leaders of European socialism looked upon them with ironic condescension. The bureaucrats of parliamentarism and trade-unions were absolutely convinced that the misfortunes of revolution were the fate of half Asiatic Russia, while Europe was guaranteed a gradual, healthy, peaceful development from capitalism to socialism.

But in August, 1914, the accumulated contradictions of imperialism shattered the "peaceful" conditions surrounding capitalism with its parliamentarism, its legalized "freedoms," and its legalized prostitution, political and otherwise. From the heights of civilization, humanity was thrown into the abyss of the most terrible barbarity and bloody savagery.

In spite of the fact that the theory of Marxism foretold the bloody catastrophe, the socialist-revolutionary parties were caught unprepared. The perspectives of the peaceful development became smoke and rubbish. The opportunist leaders could find no other task than that of appealing to the workmen mass to defend the bourgeois national State. On August 4, 1914, the Second International died ingloriously.

From that moment all true revolutionists, those who inherited the spirit of Marx, set for themselves the aim of creating a new international, for the uncompromising revolutionary struggle against capitalist society. The war released by imperialism threw the old capitalist world out of equilibrium. All questions, including revolutionary questions, came into the open. The old socialist patriots (menders) used all their skill to preserve the appearance of the old hopes, of the old illusions, and of the old organizations, but their efforts were futile. War was the mother of revolution, and this was not the first time in history. This imperialistic war proved to be the mother of proletarian revolution. The honor of starting the movement belongs to the Russian working class and to its Communist Party now tempered in battle. By its October revolution the Russian proletariat not only opened the doors of the Kremlin to representatives of the international, but it laid the foundation for the building of the Third International.

The revolution in Germany, Austria, and Hungary, the stormy onrush of the soviet movement and of civil struggle, already marked by martyrs' deaths of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg, and of many thousands of nameless heroes, have shown that for Europe there are no other routes than those taken by Russia. The uniformity of the methods of struggle for socialism which has been shown in practice, has from the point of view of ideas guaranteed the creation of the Communist International, thus making the Convention of a Communist Congress at this time absolutely necessary.

This congress is now in session within the walls of the Kremlin. We are citizens of and participants in one of the greatest events of world history.

The working class of the entire world has won the most impregnable fortress, former Czarist Russia, from its enemies. Supported by this fortress it is uniting all its forces for the last battle.

What good fortune to live and fight in such an epoch.

[Exhibit X.]

WHAT HAS BEEN WON AND INSCRIBED.

[Article by N. Lenin, Petrograd Pravda, Mar. 8, 1919.]

Only what has been won by the masses of the proletariat is firmly established in any revolution. Only what has been securely won is worth inscribing.

The founding of the Third Communist International in Moscow on March 2, 1919, represents the inscribing of what has been won not only by Russian but also by German, Austrian, Hungarian, Finnish, Swiss—in a word, the international proletarian masses.

And therefore the founding of the Third Communist International is a solid accomplishment.

Four months ago one could not have said that the soviet authority, the soviet form of State, was an international conquest. It contained something, and something substantial, which was peculiar not only to Russia but to all capitalist countries. But at that time one could not say before actual trial what changes and of what importance the development of world revolution would bring.

The German revolution represented such a trial. The leading capitalist country, after the example of one of the most backward countries, showed to the whole world during the short period, for some hundred days, not only the basic force of a revolution, not only its fundamental aim, but also the basic form of the new proletarian democracy, namely, the soviets.

At the same time in England, the victor country, a country rich in colonies, a country which has always had the reputation of being a model of "social peace," a country where capitalism is oldest, we see a broad irrestrainable ferment, and the powerful growth of soviets, and of new soviet forms of mass proletarian struggle, the Shop Stewards Committees.

In America, the strongest and youngest capitalist country, the workmen masses are showing an enormous sympathy for soviets.

The ice has started to move.

They have triumphed first of all and mainly in that they have won the sympathy of the proletarian masses. This is of first importance. The brutalities of the imperialist bourgeoisie, the persecutions and burdens of Bolsheviki will not be able to deprive the masses of this great conquest. The more "democratic" bourgeoisies rage, the more firmly will these conquests be estab-

lished in the soul of the proletarian masses, in their state of mind, in their consciousness, in their heroic readiness to fight.

The ice has started to move.

And therefore the work of the Moscow International Conference of Communists which founded the Third International progressed easily, smoothly, with such quiet but firm decision.

We have written down that which has been won. We have put on paper that which was already firmly established in the consciousness of the masses. All know, in fact all saw and felt and sensed, each from the experience of his own country, that a new proletarian movement had started, stronger and deeper than anything that has been seen in the world. This movement does not fit into any of the old frameworks and can not be restrained by the great masters of party politics even by the most experienced and skillful of them. Lloyd-George and Wilson, of the Anglo-American "democratic" capitalism, or even by those who have passed through fire, water, and other tests—the Hendersons, the Renodels, Brantings, and all other heroes of Chauvinistic Socialism.

The new movement leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat, despite all hesitations, despite the desperate defeats, despite the unheard of and incredible Russian chaos (if one judges by internal conditions, looking at the situation from outside), leads to soviet authority, with the force of the current of millions and tens of millions of proletarians which sweeps everything from the road.

This is what we have inscribed. We have already printed what has been won in our resolutions, theses, reports, and speeches.

The theory of Marxism, which illumines with a great light the new and rich experience of revolutionary workmen, has helped those who are struggling to overthrow the capitalistic slavery, the proletarians of the whole world, clearly to recognize the aim of their struggles and steadfastly to follow the road already indicated in order to win more surely and more completely, and also to consolidate the victory.

The establishment of the Third Communist International represents the vestibule of an international republic of soviets of the world triumph of communism.

[Exhibit XI.]

THE OPINION OF THE AMERICAN DELEGATE.

[Signed article by Boris Reinstein, in *Izvestia*, Mar. 6, 1919.]

The fact that the flag of the Third International has been officially raised, that its first congress has already taken place, that the foundations for a definite organization of the Third International have already been laid and that this took place in Moscow with the immediate cooperation of the Russian Communist Party and of the soviet authority of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic calls forth enthusiastic greetings from all the revolutionary elements of the United States of America. This fact will give a powerful push to the further development of the whole socialist and workmen movement in America in the direction of a decisive revolutionary struggle and of communism. I do not speak now of the left wing party of American socialism—the Socialist Labor Party—in the ranks in which I had the honor to work during all my years of residence in that country. Even before the Zimmerwald conference and even before the war this party had great difficulty in accepting the dissolving and opportunistic character of the Second International, and did not withdraw from the latter simply out of consideration of "party discipline" and because of the absence of another more revolutionary international center. In regard to this party it goes without saying that if the left socialist elements of various countries organize a new truly Marxist Third International, it will immediately come under this new flag, and I have no doubt that as soon as my close comrades in America shall learn that the Third International has at last been founded, all of them to the very last member, with enthusiasm and redoubled energy, will rush into the work for the great principles of this international. In another and numerically larger party—the Socialist Party of America—there took place before the time of America's entry into the war a forceful movement to the left. The influence of revolutionary, antipatriotic elements led by Debs and others became in fact dominant in the party, and a considerable majority of this party will definitely take its stand under the flag of this Third International.

Also there can be no doubt that the revolutionary trade-unions—the Industrial Workers of the World (Syndicalists) and the International Union of Industrial Workers (Socialists)—whose influence is rapidly spreading among the American proletarian masses, will join the Third International.

Now one can expect a more rapid and closer coming together of these revolutionary elements, and a combined struggle against the opportunistic and indecisive elements in the socialist movement and against the chief defender of capitalism in the United States—Gompers's American Federation of Labor.

Such a rearrangement of the front, in the face of any unusual concentration of capital and in view of the complete economic ruin of the majority of the population, and in the presence of all other objective conditions for the social revolution, may soon call forth catastrophic consequences for the tsardom of American billionaires. One must not forget that we are living in a period of revolution, when the masses, once they have been brought into the movement, quickly become revolutionized and organized for direct struggle. This will show itself in the rapid growth and enormous rôle of our newly born communist Third International.

[Exhibit XII.]

[Sevrnaya Kommuna, Mar. 7, 1919.]

The joint session of the all-Russian central executive committee of the Moscow soviet of workmen and red army deputies of the Moscow committee of the All-Russian Communist Party of the All-Russian Soviet of trade-unions, and of the factory mills committee of Moscow, which was held on the historic day of the founding of the Communist International, in the name of millions of workmen, peasants, and soldiers, who had overthrown czarism and the bourgeoisie and had taken authority into their own hands, greets the representatives of the Communist Parties of Germany, Austria, France, Switzerland, the United States of America, Jugo-Slavia, Norway, the Balkans, Finland, Poland, the Ukraine, Lithuania, Armenia, Livonia, White Russia, and Estland, who arrived in Moscow for the first congress of the new international. In their persons the joint session sends hearty fraternal greetings to the proletarians of the whole world who are struggling against capitalistic slavery for the liberation of the toilers for socialism.

The session welcomes the Communist International as the leader and organizer of the fighting forces of the world proletarian revolution and expresses the firm conviction that under its leadership the dictatorship of capital will be overthrown by the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the name of Soviet Russia the session expresses its sincere gratification that the united uprising of the Russian proletariat against imperialism and the bourgeoisie made it possible for the representatives of the international communist movement to hold their first congress in Moscow, this white capital of czars and bourgeoisie magnates.

The session unanimously adheres to the manifesto of the Communist International and together with the latter calls upon the proletarians of the world to unite in the struggle for socialism.

Long live the Communist International! Long live the Communist revolution!

To the powerful blast of the hymn of the toilers, "The International," the session adjourned.

[Exhibit XIII.]

[Headlines of Petrograd Pravda, Mar. 8, 1919.]

In the thunderbursts of the imperialistic war was born the Second International; in the storms of civil war was born the Third International. Under its flag the masses will carry out the expropriation of the expropriators.

Long live the International Communist Union!

Long live the International Union of Communists!

Long live the Third Communist International!

[Exhibit XIV.]

MEETING OF THE FIRST GATHERING OF THE THIRD COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

[Sevrnaya Kommuna Mar. 7, 1919, via Stockholm Apr. 16, 1919.]

The red hall of the opera was crowded with representatives of the Moscow proletariat. Portraits of the world's communist leaders, those of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, with black hangings, decorated the walls.

At the president's table were, besides Kameneff, Trotski, Vladimírsky, Avanesoff, Maksimoff, the representatives of western Europe; Gilbeau, France; Albert, Germany; Platten, Switzerland; Gruber, Austria; Manner, Finland; Grunland, Sweden.

All members of the international conference, with Lenin at the head, were present.

As chairman, Kameneff opened the meeting, explaining that this third international was the logical result of great historical developments. Contrary to the international of the socialist traitors, this new international will be socialism, led by the aroused masses. Hardened by fighting the bourgeoisie, it will penetrate with a spirit of revolt millions and create one storm battalion against capitalistic exploitation. There are, he said, difficulties on our road which we will, however, conquer. Inviting the audience to honor the dead fighters, Liebknecht and Luxemburg, all stood up and the orchestra played the funeral march. Then the word was given to Lenin, president of the third international, who was greeted enthusiastically. He said, after a few words of greeting, "Extracts from newspapers show that we have more friends than we see here. Notwithstanding persecutions and the seemingly united bourgeoisie trying to build a Chinese wall around us, the masses of workmen are decidedly on our side. The bourgeoisie, thinking to save themselves, expel some dozen bolsheviks, fearing they will infect the world. This is absurd! The whole world is infected, and the workmen of the countries know that the fate of the world revolution will be decided here in Russia."

Drawing the attention of Gilbeau, he points out that this comrade had been arrested several times in Switzerland on account of his connection with him [Lenin] and for preparing a revolution in that country, which is supposed to be the freest Republic.

"When travelling through Germany," Lenin continues, "I was escorted by gendarmes, fearing some spark might cause a conflagration in Germany." Then he reminds of some incidents in France and Italy, where communistic adherence was proved. "Russia started this movement first, not because better prepared but on account of worse conditions of life in this country; at the same time we had the most rotten enemy. Now we have the soviets, but we still have to fight with difficulties based on lack of culture and because we stand alone. We fight for that the workers of the world should win together with us. The bourgeoisie will not give in yet and sacrifices can not be avoided. But those who witness here the organization of the first soviet republic and the creation of the communistic international will see the soviet republic of the world.

Albert, the German delegate: When news of the Russian revolution came to us they were like rays of light in the shade of capitalism, and with impatience did we follow your progress. When German imperialism forced the Brest peace on you, we felt ashamed and sore that we, Spartacists, were bound to stand back. Till then our socialists were considered the pioneers of revolutionists in Europe. Your contest and the forced peace of Brest made it possible for us to develop a broad agitation. Comrades, you know it is easier to fight shoulder to shoulder united with the proletarians of the whole world, and for this reason we accepted your invitation. What is told of you abroad are lies, of that we have convinced ourselves here. Returning to Germany I will inform our proletarians that you are going the right way and that we will have to follow your example.

Gilbeau, the French delegate: The second international was occupied by speeches and resolutions, but the third, born in battle, went straight for business. The Russian proletariat had a difficult period on account of the Brest peace forced by German imperialism, but the Russians knew, signing the peace, in the long run it would turn against the same imperialism. Now, that peace is forced upon us, Germany will turn against the entente.

The whole world is divided in two parties. On one side Wilson, Lloyd-George, Scheidemann, and other representatives of the counter-revolution; on the other the Bolsheviks—I. e., the conscious workmen.

A number of coalitions existing in France, enjoy enormous influence, have a purely revolutionary character, and it is quite possible that a communistic government in France might not be a question of weeks but of days. I do not hesitate to predict that if the Spartacists will come into power in Germany the French communists will come to their aid and that we will then also have a soviet government.

Then spoke Platten, Gruber, and Rotters, Holland, a few words of greeting followed.

Sinovjeff: To-day all our foreign comrades remember that bitter cup, the Brest peace, we were compelled to empty. This peace no longer exists, and with pride can we state that the workmen of all countries understood our strategy. We will, perhaps, soon have to decide this same question in regard to the allied robber imperialists. Whatever they will tell us, it will only hasten the coming social revolution.

Trotsky begins his speech and remarks that with arms in hand they will take the power from that group which has brought Europe to misery, and continues:

With the manifesto of the Third International we address the proletarians of all countries, and we tell them: "We must unite." These are no simple words; they are printed on the streets with the blood of the workmen of Moscow, Berlin, Munich, and other cities.

RESOLUTION.

The combined meeting of all the all-Russian central executive committee and all other communistic combinations assembled this memorable day, after subjection of czarism and bourgeoisie, and taking the power in their own hands salute the representatives of communistic parties of Germany, Austria, France, Switzerland, United States of America, Yugoslavonia, Norway, Balkans, Finland, Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Armenia, Latvia, White Russia, and Estland arrived in Moscow to the first meeting of the new international. In their persons we send our warmest brotherly greetings to the proletarians of the whole world, to those fighting against capitalistic slavery for the freedom of workers for socialism.

The meeting welcomes the communistic international as leaders and organizer of the power for world revolution and expresses firm conviction that by its administration the dictatorship of capital will be overthrown by the dictatorship of proletariat.

In the name of soviet Russia the meeting expresses profound satisfaction that the combined rising of the Russian proletariat against imperialism and bourgeoisie made it possible to internationalize communistic agitation to collect the first meeting in Moscow—this white capital of czars and money magnates.

Long live the communistic international!

Long live the communistic revolution!

[Exhibit XV.]

PARIS-BERNE-MOSCOW.

[Article by Trotsky, Petrograd Pravda, Mar. 8, 1919.]

In Moscow on March 4, 1919, was organized the Third International, the communist international; a great day, never to be forgotten! The toilers of all countries will always bless this day. The oppressors and exploiters will always grind their teeth when they remember this day—until we have cleaned our planet of bourgeois filth. The workmen of all countries have had to pay dearly because they did not rise against the bourgeoisie on August 4, 1914. The imperialistic war has cost us, the workmen of all countries, 10,000,000 lives. A bloody lesson! But the lesson has not been lost.

At the present moment—at last—we have come together, not only on a general program of ideas, but we have come together within the framework of a single international proletarian organization. The workmen communists of all countries have grasped hands.

In the Kremlin, within those walls where formerly czars lived, has been laid the foundation of the international soviet republic of labor. Could we, Russian communists, have dreamt of a greater good fortune?

The struggle has been proclaimed. It will not cease until labor has won a complete victory over capital.

The yellow flags unfurled in Paris and Berlin will soon be lowered. The proletarians of Paris and Berlin will help us to pull them down from the palaces of kings and bankers.

And the red flag which has now been unfurled in Moscow by the workmen of all countries will triumph. This is just as certain as that day follows night.

Long live the communist international!

[Exhibit XVI.]

[Vorwaerts, Mar. 19, 1919. No. 143.]

THE HAGUE, March 18.

The Dutch news bureau reports that the Times learns from Helsingfors:

"Public celebrations occurred in Moscow in connection with the so-called Third International Congress at the Kremlin. According to the report of Isvestia, 32 delegates were present, representing communist parties from different countries. The delegate from Germany was Albert; from France it was Gullebean; from Switzerland, Platten; from Austria, Gruber; from Sweden, Grenland; from Holland, Retters. In his opening address Lenin called upon the peoples of Europe to participate in the general communist revolution. He said that conditions were ripe for such an act and that a speedy victory was assured. After he had reported concerning his trip from Switzerland through Germany to Russia, the French delegate, Gullebeau, said: 'The cruel treaty of peace which Lloyd George, Clemenceau, and Wilson are forcing upon Germany will be speedily nullified by the communist revolution, just as the treaty of Brest-Litovsk was nullified.'

"The German delegate, Albert, said that after his return he would inform his friends, the Spartacans, that the soviet government would give them all possible aid until they had won their final victory. Trotsky was received with an ovation and shouts of 'Long live the founder of the Red Army!' Trotsky appealed to the meeting to stand loyally to communist objects and concluded with words: 'For the universal dictatorship of the proletariat by the remorseless use of fire and sword!'"

[Exhibit XVII.]

INTRODUCTORY SPEECH OF LENIN AT OPENING SESSION OF EIGHTH CONGRESS OF RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY.

[Severnaya Kommuna, Mar. 20, 1919.]

March 18 at 6 o'clock in the building of the all-Russian central executive committee in the Kremlin opened the eighth congress of the Russian Communist Party. Comrade Lenin made the first speech, speaking for the central executive committee of the party.

"Comrades, you all of course know that the founding of the Third Communist International in Moscow is an act of the greatest importance in relation to the defining of our international position. Till now against us still stands an enormous real military force of the strongest powers of the world, and nevertheless we confidently say to ourselves, that this force, which is externally gigantic and from a physical point of view is incomparably stronger than ourselves—this force has begun to totter. It is no longer a force; it has not that firmness which it had formerly. Therefore our task and our aim—to come out victorious in the struggle with this giant—are not utopian. Quite to the contrary, a day does not pass that the papers do not bring us news of the growth of the revolutionary movement in all countries, and this in spite of the fact that we have been artificially cut off from the whole world. More than this we know, we see, that this growth assumes the soviet forms. Here we have the guarantee that by realizing the soviet authority we have discovered the international, worldwide form, the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and we are firmly convinced that the entire proletariat of the whole world has started on a similar road of struggle, to create similar forms of proletarian power—the power of workmen and toilers; and that no force in the world will hold back the course of the Communist revolution, leading to the World Soviet Republic."

Then Comrade Lenin, in the name of the Workers' Communist Party of Russia, declared the eighth congress opened.

To the praesidium were elected Comrades Lenin, Kamenov, Zinoviev, Platakov, Evdokimov, Smidovich, Preobrazhensky. Then are elected the secretariat of the congress and the mandate, revision, and editing commissions. The agenda for the congress are accepted.

Comrade Kamenov is given the floor to speak on the anniversary of the Paris Commune.

[Exhibit XVIII.]

RESOLUTION OF THE EIGHTH CONGRESS OF THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY ON THE QUESTION OF THE "COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL."

[Sevrnaya Kommuna, Mar. 21, 1919.]

Having heard the report on the Third International, the congress greets the organized Third International, and adheres in entirety to its platform. The Russian Communist Party will struggle with all its force and means for the realization of the great aims of the Third International, and instructs the "central committee" to render the most forceful aid to the organization and activities of the Third International.

[Exhibit XIX.]

REPORT OF COMRADE BUKHARIN TO EIGHTH CONGRESS OF RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY.

[Sevrnaya Kommuna, Mar. 21, 1919.]

Our party even now has no definitely written program divided up by paragraphs. The Russian Communist Party has always acted as the party of the revolutionary proletarian. From its activity there developed a situation by which every step of revolutionary activity was more important than a written program. We are able at the present moment to oppose to paper programs the unique experience of a party which has been in authority for more than a year. This program of ours, which we are now working out, is not a paper program. It is, however, necessary as instructions for party work. The points of the program must be particularly concrete and businesslike, formulating in the first place our organization tasks. Such a program represents instructions that will be obligatory on every member of the party. Departure from this program is a violation of our party discipline. Until now programs of Socialist parties presented demands with respect to hostile forces and hostile class. Our position is in principle quite different. In our demands we include what we ourselves are obliged to do, or we have assumed an obligation not only with reference to our own country, but with reference to the entire proletarian of the world. We put forward what we demand of ourselves, for we are a party which is now in authority directly and which aims to create that form of society for the realization of which it took over authority and now holds authority in its own hands. But at the same time we should formulate our program in such a way that it should be a summary of experience by which our foreign comrades could profit, for the program of the Russian Communist Party in a considerable degree is also the program of the international proletariat.

All this distinguishes our program from other programs in the matter of form. (The speaker continued to analyze the character and contents of the program of the party, for longer statement of which see his book.)

Resolution of the eighth congress of the Russian Communist Party on the question of the party program.

Having discussed the project of the party program prepared by the commission of the seventh congress of the party, the eighth congress of the Russian Communist Party resolves to consider the project of the commission in accord with the demands and tasks of a party of proletarian revolution both as to form and spirit and type of program, and also as to the presentation of fundamental principles, tasks, aims and tactics of our party. Therefore, the congress resolves to adopt the project of the program as worked out by the commission of the seventh congress as the basis for the program and to transmit it to the commission for final editing.

[Exhibit XXI.]

NOTE FROM TCHICHERIN TO THE GERMAN FOREIGN OFFICE, DECEMBER 24, 1918.

[Izvestia, Dec. 26, 1918.]

The minister of foreign affairs, Berlin; the central executive committee of soviets of workmen's and soldiers' deputies of Germany, Berlin; the soviets of people's delegates of Germany, Berlin; all workmen's and soldiers' soviets of Germany:

In answer to the wireless message of the German minister of foreign affairs on the question of not admitting (to Germany) representatives of the Russian Red Cross, the workmen's-peasants' government of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic has the honor to make the following declarations:

In this wireless message the signer, Dr. Solf, former minister of Emperor William II, who expelled from Germany the representatives of the revolutionary workmen and peasants of Socialist Russia because they, in his opinion, were not observing article 2 of the Brest Litovsk peace treaty, which is no longer in force, continues to take that same point of view and to try to carry out that same policy which he was following during the Kaiser's régime. Adopting the tone of severe accusation, he declares that "Joffe and Radek openly admitted that from the Russian side revolutionary propaganda was being carried on in Germany in spite of article 2 of the Brest-Litovsk treaty, and by abusing diplomatic privileges," and he gives as the motive for his refusal to admit any Russian representative at all into Germany that "German people do not wish to have bolshevism in Germany and do not wish to make common cause with it."

On the lips of an old official of the Kaiser such a declaration is easily understandable, but the Soviet Government would like to know if Dr. Solf has been authorized to speak in the name of the German people. It would like to know if the revolutionary workmen and soldiers of the German socialist Republic are in agreement with Dr. Solf that the violation of article 2 of the Brest-Litovsk treaty, against which the party of independent social democrats, which is now in authority, conducted an active campaign, according to the declaration of the people's delegate Hugo Haase himself—was a crime on the part of the accredited representative of the Russian Republic. It would like to know if the German workmen and peasants who, on the statement of this same people's delegate, Haase, carried on their revolutionary struggle hand in hand with representatives of Russian workmen and peasants are in agreement with the declaration of Dr. Solf, that the German people do not wish to make common cause with the Russian revolution, and this at the moment when even the Central Soviet of the eastern front, which, as is well known, has not distinguished itself by its revolutionary attitude, in its own wireless messages declares that in the struggle against all imperialism it feels itself in complete solidarity with the Russian Bolsheviks. Dr. Solf goes even further. He tries to imbue in public opinion the thought that the Soviet Government hopes before spring to direct the German people into a new war. Dr. Solf is speculating on the passionate desire for peace which has seized the entire German people and by trying to credit bolshevism with this evident fiction by this unworthy method he tried to arouse in the German tolling masses antipathy toward their Russian comrades in revolutionary struggle, and by sowing dissension between the two thus hold the counterrevolution which is striving to block the working class on its road to complete liberation.

With respect to the declaration of Dr. Solf that in view of the refusal to admit any Russian representative to Germany "the German Government itself will undertake to a greater degree to care for Russian prisoners of war"—cooperating with Russian citizens who are living in Germany—the soviet government knows from experience that this solicitude means simply the throwing out of tens and hundreds of thousands of Russian prisoners of war from coal cars on to the fields, so they have to walk on foot dozens of versts to reach the line of the Russian troops. The workmen's peasants' government does not have at the present moment any representative in Germany, thanks to the efforts of this same Dr. Solf and of the imperial police, which exiled from Germany all Russians except out-and-out counter-revolutionists; therefore one can not count on Russian assistance in these efforts of Dr. Solf to care for Russian prisoners of war.

Finally the soviet government notes the fact that the unworthy insinuation made by Dr. Solf with respect to the absence of proper solicitude for its own prisoners of war on the part of the Russian Government, which found its expression, it is alleged, in the fact that Joffe set aside for the need of the prisoners of war only 400,000 rubles from a total sum of 11,000,000 rubles, is based on a perversion of facts. The amount of Russian money in Germany was not 11,000,000, but 22,000,000. Dr. Solf was given 400,000 rubles, not for the needs of the prisoners of war, but for the need of all Russian citizens who might eventually apply to him for such. It is absolutely true that Comrade Joffe left about 10,500,000 rubles for the support of the German revolution, but it is true that the remaining 12,000,000 rubles were left for the need of the prisoners of war, though the handling of this money was not intrusted to Dr. Gopp or to any of the German comrades, for it did not occur to anyone that the German Government would go so far as not to admit into Germany even representatives of the Red Cross, and therefore the representatives of the

Russian Red Cross who were sent to Germany, Dr. Gelmar and others, who were not allowed to enter by Dr. Solf, took with them authority to dispose of 12,000,000 of the total of 22,000,000, which moneys were kept in the banking firm of Mendelson & Co.

In view of what has been stated above, the workmen's peasants' government of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic protests in the most energetic manner against the charge once more made against it, of not observing article 2 of the Brest treaty, inasmuch as this charge, quite natural when coming from the Government of Emperor William, is not at all natural when coming from the government calling itself a government of the revolutionary workmen and soldiers of Germany, who struggled hand in hand with Russians for the triumph of the German revolution, all this leaving out of consideration the fact that this Brest-Litovsk treaty no longer exists. It also strongly protests against the refusal to admit Russian representatives to Germany, seeing in this refusal a complete rupture of relations between the two republics at a time when both revolutionary peoples many times expressed the desire for the closest possible relations, and at a time when such relations had been firmly established everywhere on the fronts, that is where there was no intermediary in the form of old ministers of the Emperor such as Dr. Solf.

PEOPLE'S COMMISSARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
TCHICHERIN.

[Exhibit XXII.]

REVOLUTIONARY METHODS.

[Signed article by A. Joffe. *Izvestia*, Jan. 1, 1919.]

The violation of treaties and lies do not belong to the list of methods of revolutionary struggle declares the central organ of the followers of Scheidemann, the *Vorwärts* in an article which sharply condemns the revolutionary activity of the Russian Embassy in Germany. Is that so? And did the present counter-revolutionists and former socialists, the men like Scheidemann, always take this view with regard to the revolutionary struggle? We know very well that bourgeois morality strictly condemns lying and the violation of treaties. In spite of the fact that the bourgeois order of society, both in its civil-law relations and in its international, is supported only by lies, deception, and the constant violation of treaties, and it would be just as well for the followers of Scheidemann, who at one time voted for the tearing up of the scrap of paper, the international treaty about Belgium, to keep still on this question of the violation of treaties.

As for revolutionary methods of struggle, if it is true that revolution itself is the destruction of all treaties which existed up to the revolution, then it is no less true that it has no need to lie and deceive. This is the situation when revolution comes out into the open. The conspirative illegal period of preliminary work can not go along without deceit, for conspiracy itself is deceit. For some time now Germany does not have to carry on such underground work, but during the period when there was a law against Socialists, many of the present ministers of the Scheidemann Government smuggled illegally revolutionary literature from Switzerland to Germany, but when they took their oath of loyalty to the Emperor constantly violated this oath. At that time they took a different view of revolutionary deception and in such methods of conception, according to their own words, they saw revolutionary virtue and the correct method for the true revolutionary struggle.

That the German social democracy helped the Russian comrades in their struggle against Tsarism—this represents one of the best and most honorable pages of its history. But this took place not with public money and no attention was paid to the question as to what tendency in socialism the comrades who were helped belonged—*Vorwärts*. So that is the trouble. From the point of view of "revolutionary morality" of the followers of Scheidemann it was not a bad thing that the Russian revolutionists materially supported the German (to avoid any perversion of the truth we categorically declare at this point that this support never came from the public treasury, but only from party funds). But it was bad that they gave money to the Independent Socialists, but did not give to the followers of Scheidemann. Evidently the *Vorwärts* is guided by the same Hottentots' considerations when it makes a second accusation against the Russian Embassy in Germany the

accusation of not observing the Brest-Litovsk treaty. The Brest-Litovsk treaty was imposed on Russia by the force of imperialistic bayonets with the gracious cooperation of the followers of Scheidemann. And the Workmen's Peasants Government constantly declared this fact openly. Having accepted this imposed treaty revolutionary Russia, of course, had to accept also the second paragraph of the treaty, which forbade any agitation against political and military institutions of Germany. But the Russian Government as a whole, and its accredited representative in Berlin never concealed the fact that they were not observing and did not intend to observe this paragraph. It is sufficient to glance over the diplomatic correspondence between Russia and Germany to be convinced that the German protest against the violation of paragraph 2 and the Russian answers on this point represent the most important part of the entire correspondence.

The attempt on the part of the Russian Imperial Government to close the mouth of the Russian revolution on the basis of paragraph 2 of the Brest-Litovsk treaty was quite natural, and when Mr. Von Kuhlman saw a violation of paragraph 2 in the first meeting between the writer of these lines and Erzberg, who was representative of the party of the center, Mr. Von Kuhlman was quite right according to his views. Mr. Von Kuhlman remarked: "When I was counselor of the embassy in England I, of course, met also leaders of the opposition, but I never allowed myself to give them any material to be used against the British Government."

It is Mr. Von Kuhlman's conviction that support of the opposition, "even of His Majesty's opposition," on the part of the representative of a foreign power does not belong to the list of diplomatic virtues. According to the opinion of the Vorwarts, support of the opposition is deception and the violation of treaties and does not belong to the list of revolutionary virtues.

But if Mr. Von Kuhlman quite logically saw violation of the treaty in the relations of the Russian Embassy, even with parties of the so-called parliamentary majority, in which were also followers of Scheidemann, on the other hand the followers of Scheidemann evidently see violation of the treaty in a refusal to have relations with them. In any case they felt very much offended by the fact that everyone, from conservatives to sparticides, inclusive, had access to the Russian Embassy, with the sole exception of the followers of Scheidemann. They publicly complained of this and constantly tried to establish relations. That same Mr. Schtampfer, the editor of the Vorwarts, and now occupying the same position on July 18, 1918, wrote a letter to the present writer in which he asked for articles on the question of the economic policy of the soviet authority "in order to strengthen our own position." He concluded this letter as follows: "Immediately after your arrival in Berlin we delegated to you a representative of our paper, who was to welcome you in the name of the social democratic central organ and establish relationship with you. But our representative was not received by you. After that we presumed that we acted properly when we refused to make further attempts to establish relations, but we find ourselves obliged to write this letter only because of business considerations of the greatest importance. Our conduct shows that, without wishing to be importunate, we are trying to create such a bond as would be in the interest of the cause itself.

Attempts to approach us nevertheless continued, and ceased only when to one of the followers of Scheidemann, a member of the Reichstag (Kvarvk), who secured an appointment with the Russian representative on the pretext that he wished to interview him, to his protest against the refusal to carry on negotiations with the followers of Scheidemann while such was being carried on with members of the government and with representatives of bourgeois parties, the Russian representative gave the answer that, once negotiations were necessary, he prefers to carry them on with the masters themselves and not with their butlers.

Had the Russian communists supported by idea, morally and materially, the German social-democracy, first in the interest of the overthrow of William II for the benefit of the entente and then evidently in the interest of suppression of the proletarian revolution, this, in the opinion of the Vorwarts, would have been all right and would have been a method of revolutionary struggle. But that the Russian revolutionists support materially with idea and morally their German comrades in the interest of the latter's triumph, not only over William but also over Scheidemann, Ebert, and Haase, then that, of course, was bad and did not belong to the list of "methods of revolutionary struggle."

Such is the "revolutionary" psychology of these gentlemen, but their own revolutionary methods are even much better.

A party whose whole influence and meaning is built only on lies and deceptions, on the deception of the broad popular masses on which it rests—such a party is filled with horror only when the deception is directed against not the proletarian, but the enemies of the proletariat.

When the followers of Scheidemann array themselves in the clothes of the revolutionist, while at the same time use bullets against the Russian, Finnish, and Ukrainian revolutionists; when they prepared to use bullets in the same manner against the German proletarian revolution, when these gentlemen covering themselves with socialistic phrases, borrowed from the arsenal of the past, in actual fact conduct the most decisive and pitiless struggle against socialism; when their leader Scheidemann, as a minister of the Emperor, in violation of the Brest-Litovsk treaty, votes for the dividing up of Russia into spheres of influences; and when finally on entering into peace negotiations with the Entente, he at the same time examines in a favorable attitude the Japanese proposal as to how Japan and Germany might cleverly deceive the Entente and America—all this evidently is supposed to be the truly revolutionary method of struggle.

But when Russian revolutionists try to expose for the German proletarian the lies and hideous deceptions on which the entire policy of the traitor-socialists is based; when to this end they work together with German revolutionists and support them in every possible manner; when they open the secret locks of the German Imperialistic policy and by means of bribing—yes; by bribing servants of German imperialism—secure those very documents for which Scheidemann voted and turned them over to their German comrades to be published—then they wailed about the violation of confidence, of lies and deception about failure to observe treaties, and condemn from the height of their petty bourgeois virtue this unrevolutionary method of struggle.

No! Truly revolutionary methods of the truly revolutionary struggle are to decide one's class enemy, to violate and destroy a treaty imposed by force, but never to sin against the revolutionary proletariat and never to violate the obligations assumed with respect to the revolution.

And at that moment when the last German workmen will understand that the followers of Scheidemann in concluding an agreement with the imperialistic bourgeoisie behind the back of the revolutionary proletarian are the real deceivers, while the sparticides, who conduct a heroic struggle hand in hand with the Russian revolutionists and against the world imperialism and the lying followers of Scheidemann, are the real revolutionists, then the victory of the German proletarian socialist revolution will be in fact guaranteed.

A. JOFFE.

[Exhibit XXIII.]

COMMUNICATION FROM JOFFE TO FOREIGN OFFICE, BERLIN.

[Izvestia, Jan. 10, 1919.]

To the ministry of foreign affairs:

The Nauen wireless message of January 5 gives out the information to the effect: "The former Russian Ambassador Joffe arrived in Berlin contrary to the will of the German Government." As the Nauen wireless station is a governmental institution and as its messages, even if not official, are, nevertheless, semiofficial in character, I ask the German ministry of foreign affairs to disavow this untrue statement. I am not in Berlin, but in Moscow. I have been appointed by my Government as the accredited representative of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic to the German Republican Government, but I am not able to occupy this post of mine because the Republican Government of Germany, carrying out the will of the overthrown Imperial Government and to please the Entente, does not wish to admit me to Germany. If, however, I attempted to go, it was only because the representative institution of the revolutionary German people—the Berlin soviet of workmen's and soldiers' deputies—expressed the desire that I come. Although I have no doubt that at the present moment the will of the German people does not coincide with the will of the German Government, but because I can not, by reason of the character of the activity of an accredited representative, carry on my work with all the German people, but shall be obliged, as formerly, to carry it on with the Government; therefore I prefer not to come to Germany now, but to wait until the German

people shall create for itself a government that carries out more completely its will and wishes than does not the present Government. I am firmly convinced that I shall not have to wait long in Moscow.

JOFFE.

JANUARY 7, 1919.

[Exhibit XXIV.]

ORDER TO THE RED ARMY AND THE RED FLEET, NO. 83, MARCH 9, 1919, MOSCOW.

[Izvestia, Mar. 11, 1919.]

Greeting from the Communist International:

At the beginning of March in Moscow sat the representatives of revolutionary workmen of the various countries of Europe and America, who had come together to create a close revolutionary solidarity of the toilers of all countries in the struggle against oppressors of all countries. This congress founded the Communist International—that is, the international union of workmen, soldiers, and toiling peasants—for the purpose of establishing a world soviet republic, which would put an end forever to hostilities and wars between peoples. At one of its sessions the Communist International adopted the following resolution of greeting to the Russian workmen's and peasants' red army:

The congress of the communist internationals sends to the red army of soviet Russia a heartfelt greeting and all wishes for complete victory in the struggle against international imperialism.

This brotherly greeting of the international proletariat should become known to all soldiers and sailors of the red army and red fleet. I hereby order the commissary to publish it in all regiments, divisions, and batteries, and on all warships. Every soldier of the red army, every sailor of the red fleet, with well-deserved pride, will hear this word of greeting from the highest and authoritative institution of the world working class. The red army and the red navy will not deceive the expectation and hopes of the Communist International.

Forward under the flag of the world working class.

President of the Revolutionary military soviet of the Republic.

People's commissary for military and naval affairs.

L. TROTSKY.

[Exhibit XXV.]

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL ON MAY 1 APPEALS TO THE TOILERS OF THE WHOLE WORLD.

[Severnaya Kommuna, Apr. 25, 1919.]

Proletarians of all countries, unite! Long live May 1. Long live communism.

Comrades, exactly 30 years ago in 1889, at the International Socialist Congress, when the Second International was held, the workmen of all countries decided to celebrate May 1 as the day of the mobilization of proletarian forces, the day of struggle, the day of international brotherhood, of the eight-hour working day, of the abolition of standing armies (against war). These were the slogans of the first May 1 holiday 30 years ago.

In 1890 the European bourgeoisie trembled as the 1st of May approached. In Vienna, Paris, and a whole series of other European countries the bourgeoisie organized whole regiments, expecting the immediate uprisings of workmen. Since that time the celebration of May 1 has been a symbol of proletarian solidarity.

But in the official social democracy there developed from that time larger and larger groups that were hostile to the cause of the proletariat. When the imperialistic war started the socialist traitors, both German and French, proposed to the workman class to abandon the celebration of May 1 in 1915, and the May 1 celebration of the proletariat in 1915 was perverted to a May 1 celebration of the bourgeoisie.

Four years have passed since that time, during which the bourgeoisie has pitilessly shattered by fire and sword the flower of the workmen class and has ruined all countries. Now, the war started by the bourgeoisie is coming to a close. Thirty millions killed and crippled, dozens of countries ruined, millions of starving people, millions of new war debts—these are the results of the imperialistic war.

The second international died. It wrote its own death sentence on August 4, 1914, when the German and French socialist patriots voted for war credits: that is, to support the imperialistic war.

The workmen of all countries, exhausted by the war, betrayed by their own leaders, are eagerly looking for an international bond to join them together. The robber imperialists of Paris are trying to create their black international, the so-called "League of Nations." The conscious workmen of the whole world understand clearly that the so-called "League of Nations" is, in fact, a league to suppress the proletarian revolution. The socialist traitors in Berne also tried to create their yellow international.

It was impossible to bring back to life the corpse of the second international. The revolutionary workmen of all countries refused to take part in this despicable comedy staged in Berne.

In 1919 was formed the red international. Our Third International of Communists is an international association of the proletarians of all countries who set for themselves the aim of overthrowing the bourgeois and establishing the international republic.

Our Third Communist International has undertaken to organize the international celebration of May 1.

Workmen, workwomen, soldiers, sailors, peasants, all toilers, the Communist International calls on you to take part in the great May 1 proletarian holiday.

Bourgeois slave owners, if they will remain in power, will force on us a war, a new servitude, new taxes amounting to billions, hunger, and complete slavery. Over all Europe ruins are smoking and millions of proletarian children are dying of hunger. There is no grain anywhere, for during four years, instead of cultivating the fields, people killed each other by order of a group of slave owners. The cities are depopulating. In some countries almost the entire mature male population has been killed. Europe has been covered with blood.

The communist revolution grows. The Soviet Republic in Russia, in Hungary, and Bavaria report what has been accomplished daily. Germany is shaking with civil war. A revolution is taking place in Turkey. In Austria and Czechia the workmen are gathering under the glorious flag of socialism. In France enormous demonstrations have started; in Italy the struggle boils and the workmen call for a dictatorship of the proletarian. In England strikes have taken on the character of an epidemic. In America the work class comes out on the streets; in Japan the workmen are agitated; in the neutral countries, like Holland and Switzerland, hundreds of thousands of workmen recently took part in a political strike; the workmen of all countries have understood that the decisive moment has come. Soviets, by this you will conquer. (Scriptural form of phrase used.)

The workmen know that only a dictatorship of the proletariat can save humanity from that bloody horror into which the bourgeoisie of all countries has plunged it. The workmen know that the proletarian dictatorship will lead to a triumph of socialism. There is no middle course. Either the bloody dictatorship of executioners general, who will kill hundreds of thousands of workmen and peasants in the name of the interests of a band of bankers, or the dictatorship of the workman class, that is of the overwhelming majority of toilers, which will disarm the bourgeoisie, create its own red army and free the whole world of slavery. Down with the autocracy of tsars and kings.

This last cry was raised in Russia in 1917 and its echo was heard over the whole of Europe; crowns fell from the heads of Nicholas Romanoff, William Hohenzollern, Karl of Austria, and other executioners of larger and smaller caliber.

Down with the autocracy of capital! This cry is now raised when they rise a second time, when they get ready for the last fight.

The eight-hour labor day—that was the slogan of May 1 holiday in the past. Soviet republics have already carried out this demand.

Against bourgeois militarism this old May 1 demand remains in force even to-day. In the name of this demand we shall create our own red army, people's army, the army of labor, the army of the poor, the army of socialists.

The red army already exists in Russia, Hungary, Bavaria, and Austria. The red army soon will exist over all the world. The red army will triumph.

Long live civil war, the only just war, in which the oppressed class fights its oppressors.

Down with the French imperialists.

Down with the bourgeoisie of the Entente.

Down with the robbers who wish to send their troops to Russia in order to reestablish the authority of landlords, enthrone the monarch, restore the bourgeoisie.

May 1, 1919, should become the day of attack, the day of the proletarian revolution in all Europe.

Let the workmen of all countries refuse to give up the rifles which the bourgeoisie forced them to take in 1914. The arming of the workmen, the disarming of the bourgeoisie—these are the slogans of the moment.

The conflicts which have taken place to date in various countries were simply the preliminary skirmishes between labor and capital. The decisive struggle is approaching.

Amidst storms, blood and tears, hunger and endless suffering a new world is being born, a bright world of communism, of the common brotherhood of the toilers.

In 1919 was born the great Communist International.

In 1920 will be born the great international soviet republic.

Long live May 1.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL,
G. ZINOVIEV, *President*.

[Exhibit XXVI.]

THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT AND PEACE.

[Published by the English-speaking communists in Russia and distributed among the allied troops in the north (via Harzfeld Military Intelligence, No. 2275-D-12).]

To British and American soldiers:

COMRADES: Now that the war with Germany is over you no doubt, in common with your fellow countrymen in France and at home, are demanding to be discharged from further military service and to be allowed to return to your dear ones. Do you know that your comrades in France and at home are practically "raising hell" because demobilization is not proceeding quickly enough? Why are you not being sent home?

You are probably being told that peace can not be restored in Europe until peace is restored in Russia, and that you are still required for that purpose; but who stands in the way of peace in Russia? Not the Soviet Government.

THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT'S EFFORTS FOR PEACE.

The Soviet Government has made repeated offers to the allied Governments to discuss peace. In November last through the medium of neutral Governments it informed the Allies of its readiness and willingness to open negotiations. On the occasion of the departure of the Swedish consul from Russia the Soviet Government requested him to convey to the allied Governments its desire to discuss peace. At the last All-Russian Convention of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies, the supreme parliament of Russia, a resolution was carried instructing the Soviet Government to offer to negotiate peace with the Allies. This resolution was telegraphed far and wide. Finally a letter was sent to President Wilson personally when he arrived in Europe, to the same effect. No reply was received to any of these offers. Toward the end of December Reuter's Agency sent out a message to the effect that the peace offers of the Soviet Government had been received, but as the Allies did not recognize the bolsheviks, no reply would be sent.

HANDS OFF RUSSIA.

In the meantime, however, the workers and soldiers in your home countries had discovered the real reason for the allied armed intervention in Russia. They saw through the lies and calumny spread by the capitalist press about the bolsheviks. They know that intervention was undertaken for the purpose of overthrowing the working-class government and restoring the reign of monarchy and capitalism. There is now a tremendous agitation which is taking a revolutionary character in your home countries against the war on Russia. Huge protest meetings of workers are held in the big cities under the motto, "Hands off Russia!" Strikes have broken out in the mines and railroads, and

in some places riots have taken place in which workers and police have been injured. The strongest agitation against the continuation of the war on Russia is carried on by the soldiers. Discipline in the Army at home has completely gone. Soldiers are parading the streets demanding immediate demobilization. In Aldershot, the largest military camp in England, there were huge demonstrations of soldiers shouting, "You want to send us to Russia!"

ALLIES' INSINCERE INVITATION.

In order to allay the storm of popular indignation the allied Governments sent out a statement in which they expressed their deep concern and sympathy for the sad plight in which the Russian people found themselves. They express their keen desire to assist Russia to get out of its difficulties. They had no wish to interfere in the internal politics of Russia, they said, nor endeavor to impose any particular kind of government on the Russian people. They definitely declared that they recognized the Russian revolution and would under no circumstances support any counter-revolutionary attempts. They invited all the political groups which had achieved or were striving to achieve governmental power in Russia to meet allied representatives on the Prince Islands in the Sea of Marmora in order to submit their claims. They suggested in the meantime that an armistice should be arranged between the warring sections, and demanded that the Soviet Government should withdraw its troops from those territories outside of European Russia.

If this were a sincere offer of peace it would have been communicated to the Soviet Government through the usual diplomatic channels. But it was not even addressed to the Russian Government, but sent out by wireless for anybody to read who cared to take notice of it. The Allies still refuse to recognize the Soviet Government. The other political groups referred to are the counter-revolutionists Tchaikofsky, Admiral Kolchak, and Gens. Deniken and Krasnoff. In inviting them the Allies place them on the same level as the Government of Russia. The Allies have been, and are still helping the counter-revolution. That is what you American and British soldiers are here for. In demanding an armistice with these, and the withdrawal of the soviet troops the Allies demand that the red army give up the fight just when it is beating the Tzarist counter-revolutionaries hands down. It is not a peace offer, but a demand to the Bolsheviks to surrender. These conditions were attached to the invitation, as the London Times frankly stated, with the expectation that the soviet government would refuse it. The allied governments would then be able to say to their people: "You see, we have offered peace to the Bolsheviks, but they refuse. There is nothing else for us but to go on with the war."

SOVIET GOVERNMENT ACCEPTS INVITATION.

But it does not say much for the cuteness of the allied Governments if it imagines that the soviet government would walk into a trap so clumsily laid. As a matter of fact the tables have been turned. The Soviet Government in the note published below accepts almost all the conditions attached to the Allies' invitation and announces its readiness to meet the allied representatives wherever and whenever they desire. It is now the turn of the allied Governments to show whether they desire to discuss peace with the Soviet Government or not.

SOVIET'S NOTE TO ALLIED GOVERNMENTS.

To the Government of Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, and the United States of North America:

The Russian Soviet Government has learned from a press telegram of an alleged invitation from the Entente Powers to all the de facto governments in Russia, calling upon them to send delegates to a conference to the Prince Islands.

Having received no invitation and learning from press radios that the absence of a reply is being interpreted as a refusal to answer the invitation, the Russian Soviet Government wishes to remove from its line of action every possibility of misrepresentation. Taking into consideration further that its acts are being systematically presented by the foreign press in a false light, the Russian Soviet Government takes this opportunity to state its attitude quite clearly and openly.

Although the situation of Soviet Russia is becoming every day more and more favorable both from a military and interior point of view, the Russian

Soviet Government places such value on the conclusion of an agreement which will put an end to the hostilities that it is ready to enter immediately into negotiations to that end, and even as it has so often before declared to pay the price of serious sacrifices under the express condition that the future development of the Soviet Republic will not be endangered.

Considering that its enemies derive their force of resistance solely from the help given them by the Entente powers, and that these are consequently the only real adversaries with whom it has to deal, the Russian Soviet Government states herewith to the Entente powers the points on which it would consider possible such sacrifices in order to put an end to every difference with these powers.

Seeing the special importance assigned to the press, and also in the repeated declarations made by the representatives of the Entente Governments to the question of the Russian State loans, the Russian Government declares itself in the first place ready to make a concession on this point to the demands of the Entente Governments. It does not refuse to recognize its financial obligations towards its creditors belonging to the Entente powers whereas the details of the realization of this point must become the object of special agreements as a result of the proposed negotiations.

Further seeing the difficult financial situation of the Russian Soviet Republic and the unsatisfactory state of its credit abroad, the Russian Soviet Government proposes to guarantee the interests with raw material, which will be enumerated in the suggested agreements.

Thirdly, seeing the great interest which has always been shown by foreign capital for the exploitation of Russia's natural riches, the Russian Soviet Government is disposed to grant concessions upon mines, forests, and so on, to citizens of the Entente powers, under conditions which must be carefully determined so that the economic and social order of Soviet Russia should not suffer from the internal rule of these concessions.

The fourth point upon which the Russian Soviet Government finds possible to negotiate with the Entente powers is the question of territorial concessions. Seeing that the Russian Soviet Government is not determined to exclude at any price from these negotiations the discussion of eventual annexations of Russian territory by the Entente powers, the Russian Soviet Government adds further that in its opinion, by annexation is understood the maintenance in some regions formerly making part of the old Russian Empire, with the exclusion of Poland and Finland, or armed forces of the Entente or maintained at the expense of the Entente, or enjoying the military, technical, financial, or any other support of these same powers.

As regards the second, third, and fourth points, the extent of the concessions that can be expected from the Russian Soviet Government will depend upon its military situation toward the Entente powers, which at the present period is ameliorating itself every day. On the northern front the soviet troops have just reconquered Shenkursk; on the eastern front, having temporarily lost Perm, they have recaptured Ufa, Starlitamak, Belebey, Orenburg, and Uralsk, the railway communications with Central Asia being now in their hands; on the southern front they have recently taken the important railway stations of Povorino, Alexikovo, Uriopino, Talovaya, Kalach, Boguchar, the railways of the region thus passing into their power; whilst from the southwest the Ukrainian soviet troops moving from Lugansk are threatening Krasnoff's rear. In the Ukraine the soviet troops of that republic have taken Kharkov, Ekaterinoslav, Poltava, Kremenchug, Chernigoff, Ovruch, as well as numerous other less important towns. White Russia, Lithuania, Lettland, have almost completely passed into the hands of the soviet troops of these republics, together with the large towns of Minsk, Vilna, Riga, Drinsk, Mitau, Windau, and others.

The remarkable consolidation of the internal situation of soviet Russia is shown by the negotiations with the Russian soviet government begun by members of the previous constituent assembly, whose representatives, Rakitnikoff, chairman of their congress; Sviatitsky, secretary; Volsky, Khmelev, Burevoy, Tchernenkoff, Antonoff, all members of the central committee of the Social Revolutionary Party, have arrived yesterday, February 3, in Moscow, these well-known social revolutionaries having with great force pronounced themselves against entente intervention in Russia. The amelioration of the relations between the Soviet Government and those elements of Russian society hitherto hostile is being illustrated by the change of attitude of the bolsheviks, whose conference has likewise protested against entente intervention, and whose paper, *Vperiod* (Forward) appears now in Moscow. The growing internal order is seen by the suppression of the district extraordinary commissions.

As to the false news of the foreign press concerning alleged disorders in Petrograd and elsewhere, there are from beginning to end only fiction. Emphasizing once more that the situation of soviet Russia will necessarily influence the extent of the sacrifices to which it will consent, the Russian Soviet Government nevertheless maintains its position to negotiate upon the points enumerated above.

As to the frequent complaints of the entente press about the Russian revolutionary international propaganda, the Russian Soviet Government, whilst pointing out the fact that it can not restrain the liberty of the revolutionary press, declares its readiness in case of necessity to include in a general agreement with the entente powers the pledge to refrain from any interference in their internal affairs.

On the indicated bases the Russian Soviet Government is disposed to begin immediately negotiations whether on Princes Island or elsewhere with the Entente Powers collectively, or else with some of them separately, or else with some Russian political groups according to the desires of the Entente Powers. The Russian Soviet Government asks to name without delay the place to which its representatives are to be sent as well as the date of the meeting and the route to be followed.

PEOPLE'S COMMISSARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
TCHITCHERINE.

Moscow, *February 4, 1919.*

NOT A SIGN OF WEAKNESS.

The acceptance of the Allies' invitation has by no means been prompted by the mere desire to score a diplomatic success. Nor must it be taken as a sign of weakness. As the official note of Tchitcherine points out in detail, the military position of the red army is immensely favorable; and all the signs are that the counter-revolutionary forces are on the verge of utter defeat. The acceptance of the invitation is prompted by the earnest desire of the Soviet Government to avoid further bloodshed, and to bring peace to Russia, so that she may have the opportunity of proceeding with the work of constructing the new socialist order.

In accepting the invitation of the Soviet Government was under no deductions as to the nature of the people they will have to meet, or the business they will have to transact. It knows perfectly well that just as it is impossible for a tiger to master this instinct, so it is impossible for capitalist governments to be guided by any other motive than that of serving the interests of the exploiting class. It knows that the Allies' ardent avowals of friendship for the Russian people and their profuse offers of assistance are only wordy screens behind which to conceal their eagerness to lay their hands upon the undeveloped resources of Russia.

NAME YOUR PRICE.

With its rough revolutionary candour, therefore, the Soviet Government completely disregards the silk and suavity, the posing and hypocrisy of traditional diplomacy, and frankly says to the Allies: "Never mind sympathy and good wishes, you may cut that out; we make you a purely business proposition, we want peace and are prepared to pay for it. You want us to repay the Czar's loans, you want concessions on our forests, our mines, on railway construction, very well, we are prepared to consider it; name your price." What can be more fair or outspoken than this? It is for the Allies to accept or refuse. So far no reply has been received, and the war goes on.

BRITISH AND AMERICAN SOLDIERS.

You can see now who stands in the way of peace. It is the capitalist governments of your countries, who compel you to undergo the horrors of war, and who keep you away from your loved ones who are yearning for your return. It is they, and not the bolsheviks, who are bringing ruin and anarchy into Russia. It is they who maintain the civil war in Russia, for without the support which they are giving through you, the counter-revolutionaries would long ago have been crushed and normal life restored in Russia. Do not permit yourselves to be deceived by the lies of your officers. Your countrymen at home, soldiers as well as civilians are violently opposed to the attempt to crush the Russian workers' revolution. Their protests have so far been so strong as to compel

your Government to pretend to desire peace. You can help to make the desire real, by refusing any longer to do the dastardly work you have been brought here to do. Why, if you refuse to fight, then peace is made, and there is no more to it! That is sense, is it not?

Your fellow workers at home have given up their blind obedience to the capitalist and military class; they are going to dictate the policy of the Governments. Are you going to lag behind? You, too, wake up, be men, and we shall soon sweep away the reign of capitalist exploitation and plunder!

THE GROUP OF ENGLISH-SPEAKING COMMUNISTS.

[Exhibit XXVII.]

CAPITALIST AMERICA, SOCIALIST RUSSIA.

[Published by the English-speaking communists in Russia and distributed among the allied troops in the north (via Harzfeld Military Intelligence, No. 2275-D-12).]

Whoever you are, read this story. It is a true story written by honest men to open the eyes of you American and British worker to the truth. It is intended to save the lives of hundreds of thousands of poor victims sent out to die in a foreign country—for what?

Do not be afraid of your officer, but quietly pass this leaflet on to your best friends. Let them also read it and then talk over matters with them. You and your comrades will greatly benefit by it.

WHOM ARE YOU FIGHTING?

You are fighting the only legal government in Russia, the Council of Workers, Soldiers, and Peasants—as they call it in Russia—the Soviet Government. At the head of it stands at present the elected chairman of the council, Lenin, a man who all his life has been defending the poor against the rich, the workman against the capitalist. The Soviet Government is elected by the working people, acting only for the working people.

Why are you fighting this workers' and peasants' government?

We, who issue this are some of us born Americans, some Russians who have been in America. We know the arguments which have been used by those who have sent you on a job which might cost you your life.

One of the arguments was: That the eastern front must be reestablished so as to hit at the bloody Wilhelm and his hand from both sides. You were supposed to reestablish the "Eastern front."

Now, this argument exists no more since German militarism is crushed and Wilhelm is driven out of the country by the German soldiers and workers themselves, who have made their own revolution.

The second argument was that the Russian Soviet Republic refused to pay the debts of the Czar to Morgan, Rockefeller, Rothschild, and other American, English, and French bankers and millionaires. We are not going to discuss the question of whether it is just to demand from the Russian workers and peasants that they should pay the debts of the bloody Czar and their worst enemy.

The point is that last October 24, the Soviet Government, through its elected head, the chairman of the council of the peoples' commissars, Lenin, and the peoples' commissars for foreign affairs, Tchitcherine, declared that to avoid bloodshed between the Russian people and the American, English, and French people, the Soviet Government will undergo any hardship to pay the Czar's debts.

The second argument falls, therefore.

The argument was that the bolsheviks in Russia have brought chaos and disorder to the Russian people and you are sent to help establish order. Now, let us see what is going on in Russia at the present time.

WHO ARE THE BOLSHEVIKS?

The Bolsheviki are a political party existing since 1903. They were the majority of the Russian Labor Party. When the social revolution became imminent the Russian workers and peasants placed their confidence in this political party, which is since then at the head of the Government. This party calls itself also the Communist Party, for it stands for the community of the workers, peasants, and the poor generally, against the trusts, the millionaires, and money sharks.

The Bolshevik Party built up the Soviet Government, which is a pure workman, soldier, and peasant Government.

What have the Bolshevik done? The Bolshevik Government has abolished wage slavery. The Bolshevik Government has established the first socialistic order in the world. Under this order the workers are their own masters.

The guiding principle of everything that is being done in Russia now is the welfare of the working classes.

The Soviet Government in Russia is the only Government in the world which stands up for the workers, for the peasant, for the soldier, against the trust, against the landlord, against the officer, against the high officials, and generally for the poor classes against the rich. Why? This is easily understood when we look at the real nature of the Soviet Government and compare it with the Governments of other countries, and even yours. The main thing about the Soviet Government—never forget this—is that at the elections to the soviets no capitalist, no big landlord, no general, no officer, no high official has the right to vote nor the right to be elected. Only workingmen, peasants, and soldiers have the right to vote and to be elected. The Russian working classes have soon found out that the sly capitalist, greedy landlords, generals, powerful and wily high officials will always get the best of them if allowed into the Government, and they have therefore decided from the very beginning to oust the capitalist class and its servitors from the control of public affairs and to establish a pure workman, soldier, and peasant Government.

HOW WAS IT DONE?

In each locality the workmen, soldiers, and poor peasants gathered secretly and agreed to take the whole political power in their own hands. They armed themselves, they chose from among their comrades their most able and trustworthy, and these formed the local soviets, who drove away the former local government. The local soviets connected themselves into a provincial soviet, to which the local soviets sent their delegates. These provincial soviets, with the aid of the local soviets, drove away the governor and other provincial or State officials. A conference of all the local soviets was called in Moscow, which chose the permanent Government of all Russia, the Council of the People's Commissaries, 17 in all, whose chairman is now Wladimir Ilich Ulianov, or, as he is better known, Lenin, one of the foremost writers and thinkers of the labor movement in the world. The Council of the People's Commissaries, with the aid of the local and provincial soviets, soldiers, and working people has driven out of office the old central Government, which was always doing the will of the rich, and never looked for the interests of the poor and working classes.

As soon as the workmen, soldiers, and peasants overthrew the capitalist Government the soviets as the only rightful Government have declared all mines, workshops, jails, factories, ships, and railroads to be the property of the workers themselves. The trusts, the capitalists and their managers have been driven away.

Then the workmen constituted themselves, according to the place they worked in, into industrial organizations and have elected in each factory their own committee. Through this committee the workmen themselves manage the factory, workshop, or mine as the case may be. All factories in every district are connected through a local control organization to which each factory committee sends its delegates. These central organizations are in their turn federated in the supreme council of public economy, a central body of the whole of Russia, which has the general direction of the whole industrial life in Russia.

LABOR IN CONTROL.

The interchange of goods or materials between various factories, mines, and mills is carried on through the supreme council of public economy, without the many middlemen, the parasites of the capitalist countries.

The supreme council of public economy is a pure working man's organization. No sly and greedy capitalist is allowed to vote or to be elected there. The whole industry of Russia, the factories, mines, railroads, workshops, is in this manner, in the hands of workmen themselves, and is run by them for the benefit of the working classes and not for the profit of the trusts.

The conditions of work, the pay, the length of the working hours are fixed by the workers themselves. As there are no more parasite proprietors who

used to take the biggest share of the profits, it is clear that the general conditions of the work can be greatly improved. In some industries an eight-hour day and in some a six-hour day have been set down as the maximum the workers should work daily. The earnings of the workers have increased enormously even taking into consideration the higher cost of living.

As the factories are the property of the workers themselves there are no more "out of works."

Before the Russian industries were taken over by the workers there were tens ad hundreds of thousands of workers out of employment, penniless and hungry, walking the streets of Moscow. Now, there is not a single unemployed worker in Moscow.

What is the position of the Russian farmer peasant? Just as the industry has been taken up by the workers, the land which is the foundation of the welfare of the peasants has been taken up by the peasant. The great landlords who had thousands and tens of thousands of acres and who never did a stroke of work in their lives, but who used to suck the blood out of the peasants by high rents, and to give up their enormous possessions. The land has been declared to be the property of the whole people and the peasants and land laborers who actually till the soil and all others who went to work on the land are given the opportunity to do so without having to pay rent. In this manner, with one stroke the hundred million souls of Russian peasants have been lifted from misery and poverty into comparative well being.

To enable the farmer peasant to make the right use of the land, the bolshevik government, through the supreme council of public economy, has given them hundreds of millions worth of agricultural implements, live stock, and other materials which the peasant farmer needs for his work. The peasantry get also from the supreme council of public economy all the goods they need, at wholesale prices. In exchange the peasantry gives its land products. There is no banker, trust, or other money shark, by sly business tricks, to rob the peasant farmer or land worker, ruin him, take away his land, and drive him into poverty.

In one word, in bolshevik Russia each worker, whether in the factory, mill, mine, railroad, or on the land, is no more a wage slave who toils away the best part of his life for the profit of a greedy trust or capitalist, to be thrown on the street penniless and helpless. He, in cooperation with his fellow workers, enjoys the products of his labor.

SOCIAL INSURANCE AND EDUCATION.

According to laws passed by the soviets every workingman or peasant, artisan or intellectual, when he gets sick or old is amply provided for and actually gets all he needs from the well-maintained sick and superannuation funds. His wife and children or parents, as the case may be, are also well provided for from the same source. The bolshevik government is abolishing poverty through socialism.

How is it about the housing condition in bolshevik Russia?

The Russian worker and peasant does not live any more in the slums in which he used to live during the capitalist régime.

The soviet government has handed over, by special laws, all the fine houses and palaces of the millionaires to the workers and peasants. Instead of one millionaire having 20 or 40 rooms for himself, and big families of working people squeezing into one or two small dark rooms of the slums, every workingman has spacious, airy apartments for himself and his family.

The schools and universities are made accessible to the poorer classes not only on paper but in reality. To enable the grown-up worker to take up the study of any special subject he desires, every workman while studying gets his full pay from the place where he worked last.

Light, air schoolhouses in great numbers have been organized for the children of the working class and peasants, where by most up-to-date methods the growing generation is brought up to be not slaves bending their heads before the right and powerful, but free men and women who know how to lead an industrious, free, and happy life.

THE RED ARMY.

First of all, we must not forget that the Bolsheviks are conscientiously against all war. The system they are building, which is founded upon real economic justice, does not require war. The Russian soviet government now

maintains an army only for self-defense against the intrusion of the foreign capitalist. But as soon as the workers, soldiers, and farmers in America, France, England and the colonies make their own revolution and overthrow the régime of the trusts, the Russian working class will fear no more the intrusion of greedy capitalists and will keep no armies. At present there is being built up a powerful working class and peasant organization for the defense of the revolution. The whole working people is taught the science of self-defense while living at home leading the usual life. In this hour, when the Russian Republic is beset on all sides by the different Governments of the rich class of the whole world, amongst whom is also your Government, the Russian workers and peasants have organized themselves into a red army.

In the red army the position of the soldier-workman is nearly the same as that of the officer. With a few exceptions, the officers of the red army are taken only from the working classes. Any working man or soldier or peasant, if he wishes to do so, can enter the officers' training school. While he is studying, the difference between his army pay and his usual salary is made up by the place at which he worked last.

To sum up, in bolshevik Russia good living and working conditions, good housing and education, are actually given to each workman, soldier, and peasant. No workman need fear to be thrown on the street through unemployment or old age or sickness. The workers are their own masters. There is no exploitation of the poor by the rich, but cooperative production for the welfare of the whole community.

THE WORKERS' LIFE IN AMERICA.

On the other hand, what sort of life do working people live in the country where you come from?

In all capitalist countries working people are merely the beasts of burden for the property-owning class. They are obliged to beg for employment and to starve if there is a shortage of work. Many times in the past few years there were hundreds of thousands of men out of employment, without homes, food, or clothing.

Thousands of working people die every year in your cities through diseases that are the direct result of poverty. Young men who can not get a decent start are drawn into the pitfalls of crime. Girls who did not get the right chance sink into ruin.

You know it is true. Even your newspapers admit it.

It is all due to poverty, and poverty is due to a small class of capitalists owning all the factories, mines, lands, etc., which means that they own all the jobs.

The man who owns your job owns you. You are his slave if he can hire you, and hire you to suit himself.

We believe that the whole people should own the factories, mines, etc., which they work, and take all of the wealth created by their own hands and brains. We believe that the factories should not shut down when the people are in need, but should be run to make the things the people require.

The daughters of the poor are herded into unhealthy workrooms to be slaves to make finery for idle, rich women; they have no good homes, but the streets beckon to them, and the road to hell is straight ahead.

We, too, when we were in exile from the vengeance of the Czar, have walked the streets of your cities and seen the misery and crime and disease, and we frankly tell you that we do not want to live like that. We did not fight our revolution and overthrow our Czar Nicholas Romanoff just to step under the tyranny of your czars, Morgan, Rothschild, and Rockefeller.

We are determined that the poverty, misery, crime, and prostitution that are part of the daily life in your countries shall not be in ours. We are making here in Russia the greatest effort that mankind has ever made to build a decent country, with a fair chance for all who earn their living by work.

We advise you to do the same in your countries, instead of trying to destroy what we are doing.

DO NOT FEAR YOUR OFFICERS.

You probably would let us alone and go home, if your officers would let you. But they do not intend to let you do so. You are under their orders, and they are under the orders of "higher ups," and those are under the orders of "still

higher ups," etc. At the top of the whole pile are the wealthy capitalists who want to get their greedy hands upon the mines, the factories, railways, etc., of Russia. That is the reason you are here to rob workingmen and make millionaires richer.

We know that you are bound hand and foot by discipline and have been in blind ignorance of what you were doing here or why you came. The only way that you can do the decent thing is by breaking the discipline that drives you to this crime against your own kind, the working class.

The war is over. There is no honest reason for you to submit to military orders. You are not fighting "German militarism"; you submitting to it when you obey the commands of your own officer.

You can break away. We know that you can, for we did. You are powerful enough and numerous enough to arrest the officers or to do with them what you please. Or you can come over to us. We are not enemies, but workingmen like yourselves, and have nothing against you. Comrades! Refuse to be the murderers of your own class.

[Exhibit XXVIII.]

WILL YOU BE OPPRESSORS OF WORKERS' LIBERTY?

[Published by the English-speaking communists in Russia and distributed among the allied troops in the north (via Harzfeld Military Intelligence, No. 2276-D-12).]

FELLOW WORKERS: The German workers, soldiers, and sailors, following the example of the Russian revolution, have smashed the throne of the Kaiser, and the Hohenzollerns have fled terror-stricken to Holland. Everywhere the workers, soldiers, and sailors are forming their soviets and are taking the political power in their own hands. The workers of Germany are proclaiming the Socialist Republic! The brightest vistas are opening before the exploited toiling masses of the world. The workers everywhere have it now in their power to put an end forever to the rule of exploitation of man by man. The workers, the producers of all wealth, are now coming by their own. Labor is going to rule the world.

ALLIES THE FOES OF FREEDOM.

Hitherto when the workers rose against their oppressors, the capitalists and landlords could count upon the support of the Asiatic despotism of the Czars, who would send their troops in support of reaction everywhere. The next bulwark of reaction in Europe was the semiautocracy of the Hohenzollerns. Now, no sooner had the black bloodstained mantle of the last autocracies in Europe fallen into the dust, then it is greedily snatched at by your governments. Your rulers are now sending you to crush the revolution of the working classes of Russia and Germany. The greatest danger to the freedom of the world no longer comes from the East. From here, on the contrary, comes the greatest message of liberty that has ever rung in the ears of man. It is from the west, from the rulers of England, France, and the United States, that the darkest clouds are spreading to blot out the rising sun of socialism now dawning in the East.

British workers, owing to the peculiar geographical and also historical conditions of your country, you have, in the past, come very little in contact with the workers of the Continent. You are not familiar with our mental outlook, with our aspirations, ideas, and ideals. You have had to depend for information on the rapacious conservative bandits of the Northcliffe press, like the Times, Daily Mail, etc., on the one hand, and of the hypocritical Uriah Heep—Cadbury Chocolate press like the Daily News, etc., on the other, who, between them were fooling you, hiding from you the truth and feeding you on rubbish and inanities. During the war your rulers, by means of the censorship and the defense of the realm act, have cut you off altogether from connection with the workers of the "enemy" countries. They have left only one avenue open, the avenue of death through which you could commune with the workers opposite through the language of the bayonet and the bullet. Your rulers, your most deadly enemies, are assiduously spreading venomous lies and calumny against the revolution in Europe, so that you may act as their blind tools and perform the foul work they have set before you of being executioners of the freedom of the revolutionary workers in Europe.

SHAM DEMOCRACY.

British and American workers, your rulers are the most dangerous enemies of ours and yours. Of all the imperialists of the world they are the most cunning, the most treacherous.

They maintained the iron rule of capital under conditions of apparently democratic government and free institutions. They had to keep you down under their heel, to bring you in their factories, mines, and workshops and at the same time make you believe you are free. They played upon you with great success the trick of pretending they were split in two factions, Conservatives and Liberals in England, Republicans and Democrats in America, whereas all the time they were like the Siamese twins, two in one and one in two. They led you by the nose from election to election, raising empty cries and plenty of promises, granting you from time to time when hard pressed, some petty reform, like a bone thrown to a dog to keep him quiet. You were taken in by this trickery, thinking that you must choose between the bigger and the lesser rascal, between the nominee of the brewer, the soap, chocolate, or what-not manufacturer, or the shopkeeper, and you, in your ignorance and innocence, instead of kicking them all out, bag and baggage, have been voting them alternately into power—tweedle-dum following tweedledee. Decades of such practice upon you have sharpened their wits and they have learnt to perfection the art of concealing their mailed fist under a velvet glove, and their dastardly deeds with their glib lawyer tongue.

By publishing the secret treaties of robbery and plunder which your Governments have concluded behind the backs of the people in company with our late Czar, we have torn off the masks from your blood-thirsty Governments. We have also repudiated the loans which your money-lending capitalists have been advancing to the government of the Czar for the suppression and for the slaughter of the people. No wonder your Governments hate us. They hate us, however, still more with the hate born of fear.

They are in deadly fear lest your fellow workers learn the truth about our revolution, for they know that our example will then prove irresistible for you, and this will mean an end to the rule of capitalists, landlords, financiers, and lawyers and an end to the rule of the Wilsons and Lloyds-Georges. That is why they have determined to crush the Russian revolution before it has time to open the eyes of the workers of the world; that is why they are carrying on such a ferocious campaign of lies and mud slinging against us.

They will send you and are sending you already to occupy the Balkans, Austria-Hungary, and Germany. The object of this occupation is to stifle the revolution in these countries, which is as yet in its initial stages, and not to let the workers, soldiers, and sailors take the power in their own hands, but put them back again under the heels of the capitalists, landlords, and generals. Their idea is to create small, weak capitalistic States where the allied capitalists and money bags would feel at home, hunt for concessions, exploit the population, and squeeze huge profits out of them. Your rulers will assume their usual hypocritical pose of benefactors of the human race. They will tell you that they are sending you to liberate the small oppressed nationalities of these countries and help them create new States. Lies and falsehoods. If your Governments were really taking the interests of the oppressed nationalities so much to heart, they would follow the golden maxim of "Charity begins at home" and would set Ireland, India, and the other nationalities oppressed by them free and allow them to decide their own destinies. So they are sending you to establish "order," the order of the rich, of the exploiters, of the generals, and of all the deadly enemies of the people, and they will call upon you to use your bayonets against the working people of these countries.

A MURDERER'S JOB.

English-speaking workers, soldiers, and sailors, are you going to do this murderous job?

Workers of the allied countries, the fate of the Russian and German revolutions are trembling in the balance. It lies in your power to decide whether the liberties won at tremendous cost and sacrifice by the workers, soldiers, and peasants of Russia shall remain, or whether the toiling masses of Russia and Germany shall be delivered by you to their sworn enemies, the international bandits of capitalism, landlordism, and finance.

Remember, if you allow yourselves to become the executioners of the workers' revolution in Europe, you only fasten the rope of slavery tighter round your

own neck, for your masters, having crushed us, will be free to deal with you, grinding you to death and imposing on you the huge burdens incurred by the war, and in addition you will earn for yourselves a name which will stink in the nostrils of generations to come.

Remember, if you think that by obeying your masters you will be saving your skins, you are mistaken. We are not going to sell our newly won liberties cheaply at the bidding of your tyrannical capitalists. We shall fight with all our might and main for the great ideals of socialism. Even if you walk over our dead bodies, even if in your blind ignorance you will succeed in accomplishing the wish of your rulers and masters—that is, to extinguish the flame of your revolution—you will still not save your skins. For, remember, on the graves of our revolution there will rise the blackest reaction, the most rampant militarism and imperialism, the world has ever seen.

The now apparently happy family of allied bandits smacking their lips in anticipation of the bounteous thieves' supper awaiting them at the round table of the peace conference will very soon be at one another's throats. Hardly had the guns of the west front stopped their murderous booming when the news comes from the United States of a fresh program of super-dreadnoughts to be built in the course of the next few years. Workers of the allied countries, do you realize the meaning of this? It means that your scoundrels and humbugs, the Lloyd-Georges and Wilsons, are already preparing for the next war, may be against the "yellow peril" or some other "peril" that they will conjure up. Remember, if you allow yourself to act as the blind tools of your masters and crush the Russian and German revolutions, you will sign your own death warrant.

HOW HELP RUSSIA?

Fellow workers, there is only one way in which you can help the Russian revolution, and that is by helping yourselves. Dare to be free. Cease to be the slaves of capitalists, landlords, lawyers, and generals. Make a clean sweep of the whole accursed lot. Do as we have done. Seize the whole machinery of State; form your soviets of workers' and soldiers' delegates, seize the mines, railways, mills, works, factories, banks, all the means of production, exchange, and distribution; run them in your own interests and not in the interests of your own exploiters. Take away the land from the landlords and restore it to the nation. Take away the printing offices from the bandits of the press and use it for the enlightenment of the people. Proclaim that labor rules the world, and that those who do not work shall not eat. Get out of your wretched, miserable slums, in which your exploiters have kept you for ages, and take up your abode in the houses of the rich built by the sweat of labor.

All the good things of this world are the product of labor, and only labor had a right to them. Workers and soldiers, do it now, you have the greatest chance that has ever presented itself to the oppressed and the poor. Your exploiters, in the firm belief that you are fools, have put arms into hands that you may help them in their dirty business. Show them that fools are they and not you. Show them that you are going to use your arms in the direction they least of all expected, namely, in your own interests. Stick to your arms and remember that you are in millions and your exploiters are a few. Remember also that you are not alone, that the workers, soldiers, and the poor in every country are rising and that your example will carry still further the revolution on the path of complete victory of labor over all its enemies.

BEWARE.

Having had the experience of almost two years of the revolution, we warn you against the pitfalls and snares which your open enemies and your enemies in the guise of friends and benevolent advisers (these are the most dangerous) will spread before you. They will tell you that there is no need for revolution in such countries as England and the United States, that if you wish to establish socialism you can do it in an orderly, "legal" manner by voting at elections. Fiddlesticks! By listening to such advice you will fall into a trap. As old hands at the dirty game of politics, and, with their vast command of money they have a hundred and one tricks by which to gerrymander elections. If necessary, they will disfranchise you. Why, they have disfranchised your millions of soldiers already. What they will be out for is

to gain time, and meanwhile to have you disarmed. Beware of all such machinations. Bring down the whole rotten edifice of your capitalistic State with the shattering below of your arms. Throw into the rubbish heap your decrepit talking shop—the old mother of parliaments, the hunting ground of the corrupt politicians, the hangers on of capitalism and landlordism. You will have no need for this obsolete institution. The soviets of your workers and soldiers' delegates shall be the councils by which your new life shall be ordered, and, in cooperation with the soviets of other countries destroy forever the incubus of capitalism, imperialism, and militarism, and on their ruins build the real league of the tolling nations of the world.

THE GROUP OF ENGLISH-SPEAKING COMMUNISTS IN RUSSIA.

[Exhibit XXIX.]

ARE YOU A TRADE UNIONIST?

[Published by the English-speaking communists in Russia and distributed among the allied troops in the north (via Harzfeld Military Intelligence, No. 2275-D—12).]

IF NOT, WHY NOT?

Did you find the conditions of life in field or factory so pleasant that you did not desire improvement? Did you find your employer so obliging and ready to give you what you asked that you did not find it necessary to take other measures to get what you wanted? If you have, then you have been more fortunate than most workers, for that is not the usual experience.

If you are a trade-unionist, do you thoroughly understand the reason of your membership of a trade-union? You know that the employer does not employ you for love; you know that, if he can, he will press your wages down to the lowest level; you know that when you are organized you are better able to get your demands accepted than when your employees have to deal with each man separately. Even so, your employers have resisted your demands and you have been compelled to come out on strike.

You have learned that masters are no friends of workers.

You have learned the need for working class discipline and working class loyalty, for you will agree that there is no more contemptible creature than a blackleg. But being a trade-unionist means much more than this. Have you ever asked yourself why it is that in spite of your organization, in spite of your strikes, even successful strikes, your position as a worker has not improved? Even when you obtained higher wages you were not able to buy more food or clothing with it. Did you not find that prices were rising always higher than your wages? It was like chasing a will-o'-the-wisp in trying to keep up with them. In spite of reductions of hours, there were still plenty of unemployed. And how often have you found that with the introduction of a new machine your work has completely gone and the trade-union could do nothing to prevent it?

You see then merely to be a trade-unionist is not enough. You are not merely up against the particular employer you work for but against all employers as a class.

Your interests are not merely identical with the workers in your particular trade or industry but with all workmen.

THE CLASS WAR.

In fact, you are up against the whole capitalist system. What is capitalism? Capitalism is the system under which the land, the railways, factories, and the means of obtaining a livelihood are owned by private individuals, who use them for their own benefit.

Who owns England? Do you? Can you point to any part of England and say, "This is mine"? If you can, you are one of the lucky ones. There are not many workingmen in England who can say that. England, that you call "your country," is not your country, but the landlords'. In England women whose husbands are fighting "for their country" are being evicted from their houses. If you do not pay rent to the landlord, you can not live in "your country."

The tremendous industry of England is not run for the purpose of providing you and your family with food and clothing. It is run for the purpose of pro-

viding profit and interest for the capitalists, financiers, and rich shirkers generally to lead idle and luxurious lives, while you slave and toil to create it.

All wealth comes from labor. Does labor get it? If it did there would be no poor people in England. The worker is robbed of the product of his labor. He is robbed by those who take the rent, profit, and interest, i. e., the landlords and the capitalists. Between you and them there is an irreconcilable antagonism. As long as there are capitalists, workmen will be robbed, and continue to remain poor. Your aim as a trade-unionist, desiring to improve your condition in life, should be to abolish capitalism and landlordism, and take possession of your country. You would be doing more good for yourself if you conquered England for the English people.

THE WAR AND THE CLASS WAR.

The productivity of labor has increased to such an extent that the capitalists have to find new markets to dispose of the surplus wealth and profits you have created. This is what this war is about. The German capitalists, and the Allied capitalists are competing with each other as to who shall control the undeveloped parts of the world for the purpose of investing the profits they wrung out of the labor of their respective workers. This is why you have been brought to Russia. Your capitalists see in our country a rich field for investment. And so you have been brought here to overthrow our workmen's government, and bring back the rule of the landlords, capitalists, and the Czar. It is indeed a grim jest, that the workers of Europe are slaughtering each other by the thousands for the purpose of deciding where the wealth they have been plundered of shall go. Even during the war the class war has gone on. At the outbreak of the war the capitalists said to you, "We must not quarrel now. We are of the same race, we must all unite and show a solid front to the enemy." The workers believed them, and gave up everything in defense of their country. But the capitalists continued on their old business of bleeding the workers. With them it was "business as usual," only more so. For the people the war has been the cause of ruin, sorrow, grief, and disaster. For the capitalists it has been an Eldorado. They have made such profits as they have never in their lives dreamed of. Immense fortunes have been made out of the blood and tears of the working people.

It has been the same in every country. In every country the capitalists have used the workers as cannon fodder on the battle fields, and as material for exploitation at home. The capitalist class worship no other god but profit, and owns allegiance to any country where profit can be obtained.

Does not this show that the people are not divided according to nationality, but according to class?

The workers of each country are not enemies to each other. Their real enemies are at home—the capitalists—who are robbing and exploiting the people, and who have set the workers against each other in order that they may be able to fleece them the more.

The workers can only put an end to this exploitation and mutual slaughter by overthrowing the capitalists and taking control.

This is the local outcome of being a trade-unionist.

OUR REVOLUTION.

We, the workers of Russia, in our fights with the capitalist have always taken this view. In October, last, we swept the capitalists out of power, and declared that Russia belongs to the whole of the Russian people.

We are not going to grow food for the rich to feed, or weave cloth for the rich to wear. The people will enjoy the product of their labor.

Can you wonder that the capitalists of all countries should hate us? We have shattered their dreams of the vast fortunes to be made out the great stores of natural wealth contained in our country.

Besides, if they allow us to remain in existence, will not the workers in the other countries follow suit, and do as we have done?

They have decided therefore to crush us before we have time to consolidate our position. And you, English trade-unionists will be used for this purpose.

The Russian capitalists do not stand an earthly chance against us by themselves. But your capitalists know that their interests are the same as those of the Russian capitalists, and have come to their assistance.

Why do you not recognize your class interest in the same way? You as trade-unionists are fighting your capitalists; we have settled our account with ours.

What are you going to do? Are you going to undo the work we have commenced? Are you going to do the dirty work of your enemies, the capitalist class, or will you remain loyal to your own class—the working class—and support our effort to secure the world for labor?

REMEMBER!

By fighting us you are not fighting for your country, but for the capitalists whom your fellow trade-unionists at home are fighting. By fighting us you are fighting your fellow workers. Every blow you strike against us, is a blow against yourselves. If you crush us, you will only succeed in strengthening the power of your capitalists to rob you and exploit you.

Fellow workers, on whose side are you, the workers or the masters?

N. LENIN,

President Council Peoples' Commissaries.

G. TCHITCHERINE,

Peoples' Commissary for Foreign Affairs.

(Published by the department of Soviet propaganda.)

[Exhibit XXX.]

SAY! WHAT ARE YOU?

[Published by the English-speaking communists in Russia and distributed among the allied troops in the north (via Harzfeld Military Intelligence, No. 2275-D-12).]

We are living to-day in one of the most interesting, most crucial periods in the world history. We are standing on the threshold of a new age. We are entering into the period of the emancipation of labor from the thralldom of wage slavery. It is the time of which poets have dreamed—the time for which, in every country, men have striven for long years, have gone to prison, have sacrificed their lives.

For over a century the working people have slaved in factory and mine in poverty, in misery, and dirt—slaving that their masters may grow rich; living in hovels or teeming block tenements, while their masters lived in palaces; feeding on cheap and coarse food, while their masters fed on the finest that nature and the art of man produced; their clothes were of the slop and shoddy kind, while their masters could command all the art and skill to clothe them. The lives of the workers were a narrow round of work, sleep, with not infrequent intervals of unemployment—unemployment, that grim specter that haunted the workers day in, day out—the constant fear of that dread order, "the sack." The while the masters were living lives of riotous luxury that outrivalled the debauchery of the ancient empires.

The more he toiled and milled and added to the wealth of the world the richer his master became, the poorer and less secure became his own life and that of his wife and little ones.

Say! American and British soldiers, what are you? Are you not workmen? Does this not apply to you?

Four years ago the capitalists of the world plunged into this war for fresh territories to dominate, for new wage slaves to exploit. They deluded their peoples into believing they were fighting for freedom, for humanity. Millions have been crushed under juggernaut of the war.

But the war proved to be the last mad act of the greedy, plundering class. Four years of intense agony has at last aroused the world's wage slaves. At last they realize their subjection, and in doing so realize their strength. Like Sanson in the hall of the Philistines, labor crasps the pillars of capitalist society and the whole structure is shaking to its foundations. Thrones are tumbling like skittles. Revolution, like a cleansing gale, sweeps through Europe and stirs the workers into action. Russia led the way. The rule of czarism is ended forever. Capitalism has received its death blow. Henceforth in Russia the produce of labor will go to those who work.

Bulgaria has followed. Ferdinand has flown; the rank and file of the army have overthrown the authority of their officers and maintain a revolutionary discipline through soldiers' councils.

The ruling class of Turkey has collapsed.

The Austrian Empire has fallen to pieces like an old cask, and the workers are gradually securing the mastery.

Finally, in Germany the end of the Hohenzollerns and the junker clique has come. The workers and soldiers of Germany have overthrown the Kaiser and are now preparing for the final struggles to completely overthrow the capitalist class and establish a soviet republic, as in Russia.

East and central Europe is aflame with the revolt. The exploiting class has in some countries fallen, and in others are on the point of falling. The dawn of the day of labor's emancipation has come!

Say! American and British soldiers, what are you?

Do you not feel stirred by the throb of new life that is pulsating through the veins of your fellow workers? Are you just dull clods? Or are you living humans with hopes and desires for the future?

Are you forever going to allow your selves to be rolled in mud and blood for the sake of your exploiters? Are you satisfied to resume the life of endless toll, of dull monotony, and a pauper's end? Do you wish to condemn your children to the same stunted, purposeless existence? Or does not the future hold out something better both for you and them?

Then what are you waiting for? Do you think some deliverer from on high will come to your relief? If so, you wait in vain. "Those who would be free, themselves must strike the blow."

But we ask you a much more serious question. Are you going to act as the gunmen, the hired bullies for international capitalists in the criminal task of crushing the attempt of your own class to free itself? The capitalist class of the Allied countries see quite clearly that the tide of revolution threatens to overwhelm them, too. They are straining every nerve to stem it, and they use you for the task. They feed you with lies to poison your minds against your fellow workers, so that you will be the more willing to drown the workers' revolution in a sea of blood.

You have started on this criminal job already. What do you think you are doing here in Russia? In spite of all the lies you have been told, you are being used for the purpose of crushing the Russian revolution, and restoring the land to the landlords and the factories and mines to the capitalist. Your capitalists know that if they can crush the Russian revolution they will take the heart out of the revolutionary movement in other countries.

Just think! You, who consider yourselves the citizens of "free" countries, have come to put us back into wage slavery.

Comrades, refuse to do the shameful thing. Rid your minds of the poison instilled by the capitalists. Listen to the voice of freedom calling to you.

In your home countries, too, the spirit of the times is awakening. There are strikes and demonstrations; the workers are demanding your recall. Their cry is "Hands off Russia." You must respond to the call of your folks at home. Take the matter into your own hands and pitch it. You take the lead and the people at home will soon follow and sweep the gang of capitalists and landlords out of power.

You have arms. You know how to use them. Will you, like slaves, use them in defense of your master, or will you use them to help your class be free? If the former, then know that you will meet with the determined resistance of the united revolutionary people of east and central Europe, and history will be your judge. If the latter, then here's a hearty welcome into the ranks of international labor.

Is it war, then? Would ye perish like dry wood in the fire?

Is it peace? Then be ye of us, let your hopes be our desire.

Come and live, for life waketh and the world shall never tire.

For the host goes marching on.

On we march, then, we the workers, and the rumor that you hear

Is the sound of blended battle, and deliverance drawing near,

For the hope of every creature is the banner that we bear.

And the world goes marching on.

N. LENIN,

President of the Council of People's Commissary.

G. TCHICHERIN,

People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs.

[Exhibit XXXI.]

CAPITALIST UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND SOCIALIST RUSSIA.

What is the chief difference between the United States of America and Russia?

The United States of America is the most capitalist country in the world. Russia is the only socialist State in the world.

You know that every country has its boss. There is no bossless country upon the face of the earth. * * * Who is the boss in the United States and who is the boss in Russia?

You know who is the boss in your own country. The trusts, of course! And those who stand behind the trusts, Johnnie D., and Johnnie P., and Charlie M. Schwab and Senator I. Coleman du Pont, and Johnnie Wannamaker (Money-maker), and Guggenheim—and the rest of the bunch. In New York they say that "the whole country—i. e., all the wealth of the country—is owned by the two Johnnies"—by Rockefeller and Morgan. "The two Johnnies" are the "big bosses." They own all the big industries, all the large factories, all the large banks, the mines, the railroads, the land. You know, of course, that the "Standard Oil Co. of New York" is practically the sole owner of the city of New York, of all the street railways, elevated, and subway lines, gas and electric and water stations of the city. Johnnie D. is "earning" \$60,000,000 a year on the city of New York alone. * * * He's making some money! * * *

You have been talking so much of the German war lords, but don't forget your own American money lords. They are just as bad!

The worst of it all is that the money lords, the big bosses, and the trusts own your jobs and the very bread you eat. The trusts have full power in matters of raising prices, of breaking strikes, blacklisting, throwing workers out of shops and factories, creating so-called "crises," etc. * * *

Why! You remember the potato crisis, the onion crisis of 1916, and the bread and meat crisis of 1917. Surely, you yourselves cursed the damned trusts in those days! Surely the damned trusts made some money in those days!

We people in Russia have no money lords, no big, and even no small, bosses. We have done away with the bosses! We have no Johnnie D.'s and no Johnnie P.'s, no trusts, and no blood-thirsty capitalists. We have but one, all-Russian boss. And this only boss of ours owns everything in our country—owns the whole country. This only big boss is the working class.

Russia is owned by the Russian working people. The land, the factories, the mines, the railroads belong collectively to the working people. Everything is owned by those who work.

The big industries are managed by the so-called "factory committees." These committees are elected by all the workers, men and women of each factory and are controlled by the workers. These committees act in the interests of the workers.

Industry in Russia is operated for the benefit of the working people, and not for the profits of trusts. This is why we in Russia have no strikes and no lockouts, nor no "labor unrest" and no "industrial troubles." While you people are struggling for a "living wage," the Russian workers enjoy the product of their collective labor.

The Russian Government is itself composed of representatives of the working people—that is, of representatives of town workers and the peasantry. The Government is the chief organizer of industry. One of the very first decrees issued by our Soviet Government was the eight-hour-day decree. No person works more than eight hours a day. Then the palaces of the rich were converted into comfortable homes for the workers. While the working people in New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia live in tenement houses in the slum districts,

The estates of the wealthy landlords are confiscated and they are now the property of the nation. The peasants are organizing communes, peasant societies, in which life and labor is conducted on a cooperative plan. The Government is helping them in every way. They are getting agricultural machinery and other manufacturers from the Government at low prices, in return for which they supply foodstuffs for the town population. From a poor, oppressed slave, the Russian peasant has become a free citizen in a great republic of labor. Of course he is satisfied with the revolution. Of course he is supporting the Government. He is ready to give his life for the Soviet Government. And so, also, is the town worker ready to give his life.

There is no exploitation in Russia. There is no exploitation because there is no profit system. There is no profit system because there are no capitalists. The workmen factory committees and the supreme council of public economy (which is the chief managing board of industry, and which unites the efforts of all the workmen committees) are the only "captains of industry" we have.

We want you to understand that every country in the world—including your own—can become a socialist state, a workmen's country, if only it follows the Russian example. Every nation in the world—including the "Yankee race"—can become a really free nation, if it only does away with the trusts, the money lords, and the bloodthirsty exploiters. It is up to you, American soldiers, to do it! It is up to you to bring the great lesson of the Russian revolution home to your tolling and suffering brothers. It's up to you to start it there—in your own America; you just start it, and your brothers will follow you. You just dare! You have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to gain.

You just dare take home with you the red banner of the revolution—and inscribe upon them:

Down with capitalism!

Long live industrial freedom!

Long live socialism!

THE GROUP OF ENGLISH-SPEAKING COMMUNISTS.

[Exhibit XXXII.]

THE SHAME OF BEING A SCAB.

[Published by the English-speaking communists in Russia and distributed among the allied troops in the north (via Harzefed Military Intelligence, No. 2275-D-12).]

Is there a more contemptible creature in the world than the one who deserts his fellows and helps to defeat his own side? No; there is not.

Are you aware, American and British soldiers, that you are earning such contempt for yourselves?

It may seem strange to you, but you are really fighting against your own side. You are showing loyalty to the master class. But it is treachery to your own class, the working class.

You are working men. In your home country you have surely had many opportunities of experiencing the hostility of the employing class. You may have been working for a fellow countryman or he may have been a foreigner, it made no difference. Consciously or unconsciously you knew that the employer was no friend of yours. You knew that he did not employ you for your benefit but for his own. Even if you did not think it out, you felt that he was of a different kind to you. And you knew also that he regarded you as different from himself, as a cow to be milked or a sponge to be squeezed.

Most likely you worked for a company or a trust. You did not know who your employers were. It was simply an impersonal soulless machine pumping your life and vitality out of you.

Times came when your patience gave out, and you came out on strike together with your fellow workers. Then, you knew that it was open war between you and the employers. Then there were no ties of blood or calls of nationality. You experienced only the bitter hatred of the class antagonism. You knew that your security and that of your wife and children depended on the loyalty of the workers to each other.

It happened on some such occasions that some spineless creature did not stick it out and went sneaking back to work. What were your feelings then?

Rage, contempt, disgust.

The traitors! They betray their class. In the struggle for a decent living they go over to the wealthy, powerful sweaters.

Scabs! Blacklegs!

What mean, cringing curs they look as they march up to the factory gates under the protection of the police or even soldiers.

You learned then, did you not, that a nation is divided into two opposing classes, the working class on the one side and the employing class on the other.

The State machine, the Government, the courts, the politicians, and the press all condemn and persecute the striker but protect the scab. They are all the tools of the employing class.

A working man who sides with the employing class, no matter of what nationality, is a traitor to his own class.

There can be no worse treachery than being a scab.

You are a scabbing now! Are you not ashamed?

You are fighting on the side of the employers against us, the working class of Russia. You have come here avowedly for the purpose of overthrowing the Soviet government.

Do you know what the Soviet government is? It is the government of the working class. Try to imagine a federation of shop stewards acting as the governments of Great Britain or America and you will get some idea of what a Soviet government is.

Labor is in supreme control in Russia. When you fight against the Soviets you are fighting against labor; against your own class.

Our revolution was like a strike on a huge scale. We came out not merely for a raise in wages, but for the full product of our labor. We won because the workers and soldiers of Russia stood together. There were no scabs.

Just as in a strike all the forces of capitalists' government and its agents are employed against the workers, so in this great successful strike of the Russian workers the forces of international capitalism are being set in motion to crush the victorious workers in Russia and rob them of the fruits of their victory.

The capitalist class does not allow national differences to interfere with its class interests. The victory of the Russian workers was as much a blow to the capitalists of England and America as it was to the Russian capitalists. They have therefore come to take their revenge.

All their talk of intervention to "save" Russia amounts to this: That they are going to return the land to the landlords, the factories and mines to the capitalists—and incidentally to grab a bit for themselves in the way of trading rights and concessions. Furthermore they want to compel Russian workers to repay the loans contracted by the tyrannical and corrupt Czar.

And you are doing it for them. You are the tools of our mutual enemies, the capitalists. You hold the rifles, you work the guns to shoot us, your fellow workers, with.

Can not you see that this is part of the same class war that you have been carrying on in England and America?

Now you are playing the contemptible part of a scab. You are siding with the bosses and helping defeat your own class.

Comrades! Drop this dirty work. Turn your guns on your real enemies, the sweaters and capitalists.

Come with us in the far nobler struggle to establish the triumph of labor the world over.

N. LENIN,

President of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies.

G. TCHICHERIN,

People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs.

(Published by the department of soviet propaganda.)

[Exhibit XXXIII.]

FOR WHAT ARE YOU FIGHTING?

To American and British soldiers:

COMRADES: For you the armistice on the western front holds out no prospect of peace and of returning home to those who are anxiously awaiting you. For you it is but an interval before another act in the great world tragedy. The scene is now changed from France to Russia, where the great Napoleon more than a hundred years ago met with disaster.

For what are you fighting now?

When the allied governments began the invasion of Russia, they hypocritically claimed to be coming to help the Russian people. But they have dropped this pretext and now talk of saving civilization from the menace of bolshevism.

What is this precious civilization that your Governments are so anxious to preserve?

What does it give to you of the working class? All the accumulated knowledge, the great inventions, the tremendous development in science and industry, to what purposes have they been used? How much have you got out of it all? What is the life of a workman in modern civilization? A life of toil from

morning to night. A struggle to make ends meet. Always the dread fear of unemployment. A dull existence without art or beauty. Millions of our class and yours are condemned to live in the festering disease-ridden slums of the great industrial cities. Millions are condemned to live in filth and rags; to have a new suit of clothes is quite a memorable event. Millions of our fellow workers in the best of times are compelled to go hungry. Just recall the scenes of your home town, and you will know that this is no exaggeration. In England and America millions of children die every year through the sheer inability of their parents to provide them with the necessities of life. Millions of old people are condemned to end their days in the poorhouses or depend on degrading charity after a life of toil, piling up fortunes for others. Is this not a picture of the everyday life in your home countries? You know it is. But this is only one side of the picture of modern civilization. On the other side you have wealth beyond the dream of avarice, produced by the labor of the working class and enjoyed by the small crowd of landowners and capitalists who rule you. The gorgeous palaces in town and country. The feasts and banquets, yachting, and hunting; idleness, luxury, and debauchery—this is the manner in which your ruling class consume the wealth that you produce. Yes; modern civilization can boast of its progress in science and industry. The construction of a dreadnought is a wonderful achievement. That great siege gun is a masterpiece of science and technical skill; the rifle which you hold is a piece of clever mechanism. We have conquered the air; we can traverse the depths of the ocean. But all the ingenuity of man to-day is directed toward securing the pleasure and the power of the ruling class. The still smoking ruins, the mountains of dead, the rivers of blood, are these not a fitting monument to the civilization which you are risking your lives to preserve?

What is this bolshevism which your Governments have sent you here to destroy? Bolshevism is socialism; that which you no doubt have often said is a beautiful but impossible dream. That dream is now being realized in actual life here in Russia. The Russian workers and peasants have abolished landlords and capitalists. The land, the factories, the mines, the railways, all the great means of producing wealth are now the property of the whole Russian people. The Russian worker and peasants no longer slaves for idle parasites, the product of labor goes to those that work. Those who do not work do not eat. The Russian workman is no longer at the mercy of bullying foremen or managers. The factories are under the direct control of labor. Labor is its own master in Russia. The palaces of the rich are now used as homes and recreation halls for the workers. Kindergartens and schools are being opened for the children of the workers, and the higher schools and universities are thrown open to all those who have the inclination to take up the higher forms of study. We are building a new society in which knowledge, science, industry, art in all its forms, music, painting, literature, the stage will be developed for the enjoyment of all those who work. This is the terrible bogey which you have been sent here to lay.

Your rulers refer to it as the "menace" of bolshevism. So it is a menace. It is a menace to their privileges, to their power to rob and exploit the masses of labor.

They see that the ideas which animate the Russian people are spreading to other countries. Your rulers see this and tremble for their position.

They are determined while you yet obey their commands to crush Russia and so remove the menace to their power.

This is a war between socialism and capitalism, between the old order and the new. The Russian workers are fighting to defend their young Soviet Republic, which holds out the promise for a full and free life for all. You are fighting to defend the power of the ruling class to live on our backs and yours. The Russian people are fighting for the emancipation of labor; you are fighting to fasten the shackles of capitalism still more firmly on the wrists of labor. Is this a cause worth dying for? Think for a moment only, and you will see that you are fighting on the wrong side.

Comrades, don't fight to defend your exploiters.

Don't shoot your fellow workers. Demand to be sent home, and refuse to crush the working-class Republic of Russia.

THE GROUP OF ENGLISH SPEAKING COMMUNISTS.

[Exhibit XXXIV.]

APPEAL TO THE BRITISH AND AMERICAN WORKINGMEN ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE
BOLSHEVIST REVOLUTION, NOVEMBER 7, 1918.

[Published in English at Moscow (Naval Intelligence).]

This is our greeting to you for the anniversary of the Russian workingmen's revolution of November 7, 1917.

For 12 months we have successfully held the power of the workers against the onslaughts of Russian autocracy, against the criminal depredations of German imperialists, the equally criminal invasion by allied imperialists—and against the Czecho-Slovak famine plots, the uprisings, the dynamite gangs and assassinations paid for and arranged by the imperialists of your own countries. These imperialists, your enemies as well as ours, predicted that we should fall in six weeks. Yet we have lived one year and are to-day stronger than ever. We have weathered through the war that is about to close. We have invaded the German and Austrian empires and imperialistic France, Britain, and America, not with soldiers but with ideas that conquer more surely than guns.

Onward the revolution is sweeping through the world, inspired by the example of the Russian proletariat. The German and Austrian empires are doomed, with the working classes rallying to the socialist battle cries that are echoed from Russia. The French capitalists and British hardly dare make an end of the war for fear of the revolution smoldering in the hearts of their working people, ready to burst into flame immediately upon the relaxation of military discipline.

The idea of the working class immediately taking all the factories, industries, mines and lands for themselves—the ideas of "bolshevism"—are the real victors of this war. They are conquering the world.

So we celebrate triumphantly the birthday of the first workingmen's republic, November 7. It holds for us memories as sacred as the traditions of their own great revolution are to Americans.

November 7 is our "fourth of July."

We ask you common soldiers to be our guests in celebrating it, for you, too, are workingmen beneath those uniforms.

Perhaps you do not know just what our revolution was, as nothing like it ever happened before in the history of the world. Governments have been overthrown before, but this is the first time that private property has been overthrown. By that we mean private ownership of mines, factories, etc., by which the people must live.

We in Russia, the working classes of city and country, have won the wealth of one of the biggest and richest nations in the world. We are organizing all of the factories, mines, other industries, and farming the lands as the property of the workers themselves, without employers or parasites of any kind. The entire wealth produced in them is to belong to the working class. Thus every man and woman is entitled to have employment in the people's own workshops at any time he asks it, with the full product of his labor, untouched by the hand of an employer. Every ounce of food, every stitch of clothing produced, becomes the property of the workers.

All the real estate of the cities formerly held by the rich is the property of the working class—the finest homes, mansions, are being taken and inhabited by working families. There shall be no "slums," no "working-class districts," no class distinctions. We are building such a society as was never seen before. It is not completed yet, nor nearly completed, and has been delayed by our desperate fight against all the devices and violence of the combined capitalists of the world.

When our revolution was but a few weeks old agents of the British and French imperialists supplied with artillery and money a capitalistic "Rada" government in the Ukraine to form a center of counterrevolution from which to crush the Russian workers.

We defeated this capitalist government of the Ukraine, whereupon it made peace with the German Government, which we were still fighting, added German money to the sums the allied Governments had given it, and, with the aid of German armies, succeeded in cutting us off from the "bread country."

Then the diplomats of the Governments of Britain, America, and France, with over a million pounds sterling, bribed and deceived many thousands of

Czecho-Slovaks in order to starve us by seizing the other great wheat-growing country of Russia, the valley of the Volga River, and to capture the Siberian Railway for the Japanese Emperor's Army to invade the workers' republic.

Oh, the capitalist governments of all Europe and America did not hate each other too much to act together to crush the workingmen's republic!

But we are beating them! The deceived hirelings—Czecho-Slovak bands—have been first invited to quit and those of them who refused are being hurled back in their own blood upon the British, French, and Italian spies who pay them. A great army of workers and peasants has cleaned out the valley of the Volga and the bringing of the wheat to starving Russia has begun.

With such enthusiasm as no people has ever seen before, we Russian workers go ahead with our great work of building the freest society of the world upon the ruins of the darkest autocracy. We have only one obstacle, and that is:

You.

You have been sent here by the capitalists of the world to prevent our accomplishing these things. Why do they want to stop us?

Because they want to force upon us the so-called "democracy" of private property, for only in that way, by keeping the workers in poverty and need of employment, can their capitalists exploit our labor in the great Russian mines, railroads, and other industries that they intend to steal by the aid of Japanese troops and you. They want to put upon us the kind of "democracy" you have in New York, Chicago, London, and Liverpool.

Under that system billionaires—Rockefellers, Morgans, Rotchschilds—grow fat, and powerful. Richer than medieval princes they rule the world while the millions of common American workingmen and British are at the mercy of their will, starving and freezing in unemployment, or half-starved and slaving with a miserable wage. That is the "democracy" of the lands of Woodrow Wilson and Lloyd-George, the kind they want to force upon us, and we don't want any of it!

We are doing away with the kind of "democracy" that Wilson wants to make the world safe for.

Now, we are going to have industrial democracy of the working class.

And what do we want of you?

We want you to stand up like a man and quit being a murderer. Quit scabbing and black-legging on our revolution. Don't be the dirty bloodhound for Rockefeller and Morgan.

There is no more excuse about "fighting German imperialists" now; for your Governments are dicker with the German imperialists to join them in crushing the working class of France, Germany, and England, and the war will be over six months before you could come near Germany. There is no excuse left for you to be here except to steal mines and railroads for Morgan, Rockefeller, and Rothschild.

If you don't want to do this scabbing, you can quit and come over to us; you will be welcomed by comrades who speak English. Or, talk it over quietly with your friends in the ranks whom you trust, organize soldiers' committee—secret committees until you gather strength—as other armies in Europe are doing. Then you can be independent, arrest or shoot your officers, and join the world revolution without fear of helping the Kaiser.

The world war of capitalists is coming to an end.

The great revolution between the working class of the world and the capitalist class of the world is beginning.

Get on the side of right and your own kind; if you have red blood, celebrate our revolutionary birthday with us, workingmen, and do as we did.

Long live the revolution!

WORKERS, PEASANTS, AND SOLDIERS OF SOVIET RUSSIA.

[Exhibit XXXV.]

BOLSHEVIST ATTITUDE TOWARD ALLIES.

[Published in English in The Call, Moscow, Dec. 14, 1918.]

During the war the Allies posed as an alliance of the democratic countries against the autocracies of the Central Powers. It was into this alliance that President Wilson led the "free" Republic of America, into the holy crusade to make the world safe for democracy. The fact that this alliance included the bloody tyranny of Tzarism, and the Prussianism of the East, the Mikado's

Government, did not disturb them in the least. They still posed as an alliance of free peoples fighting to overthrow autocracy in central Europe.

Their real feeling toward the freedom of common peoples was seen by their reception of the Irish and Russian revolutions. In the British House of Commons, Mr. Bonar Law, the leader of the House, openly expressed regret at the overthrow of the Tzar, and the Irish revolutionists were ruthlessly murdered. The American governing class pretended to welcome free Russia at first, but as soon as the working class character of the revolution showed itself they made no attempt to hide their hatred of it, and are now proceeding with the aid of misled allied workingmen soldiers to crush it out. Now we have further evidence of the hatred of the allied capitalists for the liberty of peoples. The autocracies of the Central Powers have been overthrown. But instead of President Wilson welcoming the direct representatives of the German people and entering into relations with them, as he so often expressed the wish to do, he refuses to discuss peace with any government that does not stand for capitalism. Wilson would rather have dealings with Herr Ballin, the great German shipowner, and Krupp, who were the power behind the throne of the late Kaiser, then with the German working class. Similarly Admiral Beatty refuses to discuss armistice terms with the revolutionary seaman's council. He wants to deal with men of his own social standing of the type of Von Tirpitz the initiator of the submarine campaign. How often has President Wilson declared that the Allies have no intention of crushing Germany? In his periodical sermons to the world he has posed as the archangel of peace and international harmony. In the 14 points of his peace program he sums up what appears to be the basis of a just and lasting peace. Lloyd-George, on behalf of Great Britain, stated not long ago that Germany could have peace on the President's terms. But as soon as the German people fulfill all the conditions they set forth, having overthrown the Hohenzollerns, repudiated all plans of conquest, and above all express their desire to make peace on Wilson's own terms the allied Governments belie all they have said and impose crushing armistice terms on the German people. In fact, the allied Governments are doing now exactly what the Kaiser would do in their position, thus proving themselves to be no better than the Prussian junkers.

British statesmen charged the late Kaiser with planning to organize a huge black army from the natives of German East Africa with which to conquer the world. Now it is the Governments of the "democratic" countries who are using black troops to crush the very people who have just thrown off their autocrats. Black troops are being used to invade Russia from the east and the south and black troops are occupying Austria-Hungary. The situation now is completely opposite to what the allied Governments claimed it was. It is the Allies who are an alliance of plutocracies, combined to crush the rising industrial democracy of east and central Europe.

[Exhibit XXXVI.]

BOLSHEVIST PROPAGANDA.

[Article entitled "Morgan's International," published in the Call, at Moscow, Nov. 18, 1918.]

When capitalists see a foreign land that is rich in minerals or other valuable products, they find a pretext for war and send the workingmen to fight for it. They make the working class do this by preaching patriotism to them. After the shooting is over the captured foreign land, like the land at home, belongs, of course, to the capitalists.

In this way the German ruling class obtained the iron and coal mines of Alsace-Lorraine in 1871. In the same way the French ruling class has been trying to get back these iron and coal mines ever since.

Thus the British capitalists watered the hills of South Africa with workmen's blood to obtain the diamonds and gold of that country, just as they had long ago gotten the wealth of India.

French capitalists have the profitable privilege of mobilizing as many as they please of French working-class boys to take the wealth of the north coast of Africa; the Belgian capitalists long butchered the natives of the Congo as well as Belgian boys for the Congo rubber product; and the American Sugar Trust commanded armies of American boys to kill and be killed and to rot with fevers of the Philippines, so that the Sugar Trust could have the sugar plantations of those islands.

This is patriotism. Each foolish workingman thinks he is fighting for his country. "His" country? Yet nearly every square mile of it belongs to the wealthy class, not to him. About 70 years ago some workingmen decided to stop this idiotic business. The International Workingmen's Association was founded, with the purpose of uniting regardless of national boundaries and taking all the lands and factories and other industries by the working class for their own use, refusing to fight each other for the benefit of capitalists. They decided not longer to be patriotic to one country (owned by a wealthy class), but to be loyal to the entire working class of the world—to the international.

The capitalists in each country have ever since sternly preached to the workers that it is a sin not to be patriotic. They taught the workers in the schools and the churches and newspapers that to be an "internationalist" was criminal betrayal of the homeland. In every effort of the enlightened workers to throw off "national" patriotic institutions and free themselves by joining hands through all countries the ruling class was able to persuade some of the duped workers in the name of patriotism to murder their more enlightened brothers of the international.

But the "international" has grown fast. This is the last war the capitalists can get the workers to fight as "patriots" to any particular country. The capitalists themselves have not been so foolish as to stick to national boundaries, nor even to any one race. They formed giant coalitions of many nationalities—the black men from Africa, the whites from both sides of the globe, the brown Hindoo, the yellow Japanese, and numerous shades in between, have been stirred into one mixture for the capitalistic purposes.

"Nationalism" is gone, knocked into smithereens. You have just finished murdering 9,000,000 of yourselves because the capitalist told you to be "nationalistic," "patriotic," and now the capitalists tell you there is no more "nationalism"! For they are now forming an "international" of their own! A league of all capitalistic nations, with one central management!

Nine million lives lost for nothing! Socialists told you all these years that "patriotism" was merely a delusion; we shouted, "Workers of all countries, unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains, and you have a world to gain!" But the workers wouldn't do it.

Now the capitalists are doing it! They saw that the "patriotic" lie was worn out and discarded it without hesitation.

Now, at least, is the time for the workers to discard nationalism and be internationalists.

The great capitalist international League of Nations, with the German junkers sitting at the left hand and the London bankers sitting at the right hand of the central figure, Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, of Wall Street, New York, will be completed very shortly. Then the combined power of all capital will be centered on the destruction of the workers' international, which now holds Russia and is fast capturing Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, Germany, England, Italy, and France.

There is no more patriotism, no more nationalism! Only one world.

You have but two sides to choose from, the capitalist international and the workers' international.

[Exhibit XXXVII.]

DECLARATION OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AGAINST THE VERSAILLES PEACE.

To the workers of the world:

The Governments which began the war of plunder five years ago are making an effort to end it now with a predatory peace. The English, French, and American capitalists represented at Versailles have given to representatives of the German capitalists the so-called peace terms. Versailles becomes a new Brest-Litovsk. Each one of the points of the Versailles peace is a noose to choke one or another nation.

The anger and vengeance of the imperialist bourgeoisie of the victorious coalition know no bounds. The famous organization of the "League of Nations" is being put into practice by the American-Anglo-French bourgeoisie against the will of all nations of Europe. The bourgeoisie of the allied powers is making an effort to cripple Germany. They are cutting off from Germany a whole series of territories; they are taking away the coal from Germany and the bread; they wish to take away the merchant marine; also to force Germany to pay indemnities of enormous quantity. The bourgeoisie of the allied powers, which

in words fought against annexations of alien territory, is now committing a series of terrible and cynical annexations. They are trading with the colonies which belonged to Germany as with cattle. The imperialists of the allied powers have armed themselves with knives and are slicing the flesh of Germany.

But the predatory terms of peace which are dictated to Germany from Versailles are only one of the links in the chain of force used by the allied powers to imprison the world. At the same moment when these imperialists are trying to cripple and choke Germany, they are carrying on a murderous attack on the soviet republic of Hungary. (This attack temporarily has succeeded.)

It is they, the French and English bourgeoisie, who are the main instigators of the Roumanian soldiers at present carrying their white guard attack against our brethren—the Hungarian workers.

It is they, the representatives of the enlightened French and English "democracy," who are the instigators of those pogroms let loose upon red Budapest. It is they who are inspiring the Russian black hundreds of Kolchak, Denikine, and Krasnov in their bloody war against the Russian workers and peasants.

It is they, the Anglo-French bourgeoisie who have inspired the German white guard, led by Noske, Ebert, and Scheidemann, to crush the Bavarians' soviet republic. The imperialists of the allied powers put a direct preliminary condition to the government of Scheidemann to crush the soviet power in Munich.

It is they, the Anglo-French bankers and generals, who are disarming the revolutionary soldiers in Bulgaria.

It is they who are choking the mass movement of the people and the revolutionary spirit in Serbia and Slovakia.

International gendarmes—such are the Anglo-French and American imperialists, who claim to be the representatives of world "democracy."

All illusions are broken. The masks are thrown off. Those whom the long and terrible imperialistic war has not taught a lesson these will have to be taught by that imperialistic peace with which the "humanitarians" of Versailles are trying to "enrich" the world. The Governments which during the four and one-half years lied to their people about carrying on the war for "self-determination of nations," for "independence" of small peoples, for "freedom and culture," for "democracy"—these Governments are now unmasked as archcriminals, as the worst kind of slave drivers, showing mercy to none.

The fairy tale of the League of Nations is dying without having had a chance to flourish. After the Versailles peace terms it will be very difficult to catch many workers with the bait of the League of Nations. The League of Nations, at whose cradle stands Clemenceau, the butcher, is unmasked before the whole world as a league of murderers, who are nailing to the cross the millions of the laboring masses of Europe.

The Versailles peace, with all its weight, is first of all laid upon the working class of Germany. If the Versailles peace should work at all, it would mean that the working class of Germany would be forced to moan under a double pressure of both its own bourgeois and the slave drivers of the other nations.

Needless to talk of the fact that the sympathy of the communist international, the sympathy of the conscious workers of the whole world, is with the German working class. The worker communists of all countries will take the Versailles peace terms as a blow to the international proletariat as an effort which can only be put down by the combined strength of the proletariat of all countries.

The present German Government, which in words protests against the Versailles peace, in fact aids the imperialists of the allied powers to realize their hellish purposes in relation to the German working class. The executioner, Clemenceau, has no truer servants in Germany than Scheidemann and Ebert. The Scheidemann and Ebert party from the first moment of the German revolution humbly danced to the tune of the imperialists of the allied powers. Under the direction of Clemenceau, Scheidemann and Ebert sent White Guard armies against Soviet Russia. In order to satisfy the imperialists of the allied powers, the social democrats, under the leadership of Ebert and Scheidemann, killed Carl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg and with fire and guns crushed the great movement of the German workers to realize soviet power. Fulfilling the directions of the London and Paris exchanges, the government of Scheidemann has killed already not less than 10,000 workers—communists of Germany. Each time when the wave of the workers movement in Germany rose especially high, prepared to wash away the government of

traitor social democrats, Scheidemann and Ebert threatened the starved workers that if soviet power should come to Germany the Allies would refuse to give bread to German people.

The central committee of the Scheidemann Social Democratic Party, in its appeal in connection with the Versailles peace, maintains that the Versailles "lesson" is the "best evidence of the correct position of the German Social Democracy on the question of defending the Fatherland."

"Socialists of all lands, do you understand at last our way of acting at the time of war?" asks Scheidemann in his appeal.

Oh, hypocrites! Oh, cynics!

Two robbers in 1914 fell on the same prey. One of the robbers proved the more successful. This criminal not only grabbed the whole prey which his competitor wanted, but went into the pocket of his rival. Then the other thief, made benefactor through want and having on his face the expression of innocence, appeals to the world and exclaims: "You see the conduct of my rival has shown the entire righteousness of my tactics, is it possible that you do not yet understand that we, Scheidemanns, are whiter than the snow of the English mountains?"

The Versailles peace terms have proved to all conscious workers something altogether different. The enlightened workers of the whole world fully realize that if the German imperialists had been the victors they would have been as unmerciful to the defeated as their rivals are now to them. And then, most likely the Hendersons and Renaudels would use the same lying phrases as now Scheidemann and Noske are using.

The Versailles peace terms shows us that while imperialism exists in any country, until then force and robbery will also exist. The Versailles peace terms show that imperialism of any coalition is equally blood-thirsty. No matter how "democratic" the leaves which they use for covering. Imperialism, it remains the incarnation of barbarism and blood lust.

The Versailles peace terms have shown us that social-patriots of all lands have permanently and forever become the servants of the bourgeois. The Versailles peace terms show how meaningless are the hopes of the sympathizers of the Berne yellow "international," of Kautsky and his friends, about the disarmament under capitalism, shout the good and beneficent League of Nations under the wing of Wilson. The Versailles peace terms have shown that the bourgeois itself left for the workers of all lands only one road—the road of world revolution, the road across the corpse of capitalism.

Workers of France! Workers of England! Workers of America! Workers of Italy! The Communist International appeals to you. Upon you depends the destiny of tens of millions of workers of Austria and Germany. You must say your word now. You must pull out of the bloody hands of your Government that murderous knife which they have put over the heads of the German and Austrian workers. You must show that for you the lessons of the five-year war have not been in vain. You must not forget for a moment that the victory of the allied imperialists over the German and Austrian workers means a victory of the whole world, a victory over socialism. You, more than anybody else, have in your hands the destiny of international socialism. To you the enlightened workers of the world look. And we are sure that you will fulfill your duty, against the advice of your own Scheidemann.

Workers of Germany! Workers of Austria! Now you see that you have no choice other than the immediate overthrow of the government of traitors calling themselves Social Democrats, and, in fact, acting as the meanest agents of the bourgeoisie. You see now where politics of the Noske-Scheidemann type brought you. You see that your only hope lies in the international proletarian revolution.

But this revolution of the proletariat the Scheidemanns and Eberts are trying in every way to crush. When the Scheidemanns and Eberts call in your name to the international proletariat they will meet no answer other than hatred.

Those people who do not protest by a word against the crushing of Soviet Hungary by the armies of the landowners, those people who near Libau are fighting on the side of the German barons—those people can not count on support from the international proletariat. In your name should speak not Count Brockdorf von Ranzau, not the traitor Landsberg, not the executioners Noske and Scheidemann. While the present German Government is in power the quarrel between Berlin and Paris will be only between the bourgeoisie of two coalitions. All the power of your country must soon go into the hands of the workers' soviets. In your name, workers, communists must begin to talk.

Then, and only then, will you be able to save your country, will be able to count upon full support from the proletariat of all lands.

The time for indecision has passed. Now it is clear to each one of us that it can not be worse, that the government of social traitors has brought you to the edge of the precipice.

Workers of Germany and Austria! Know that proletarians of other countries will never believe in the German Social Democracy, that Social Democracy which did not utter one word of protest at the moment when the government of Wilhelm Hohenzollern forced upon soviet Russia the Brest-Litovsk peace.

Workers of Germany and Austria! Know that if the Brest-Litovsk peace forced upon Russia in 1918 collapsed so soon, it is because the Russian workers and peasants overthrew the government of the bourgeoisie and social traitors and took the power into their own hands. Only due to this were they able comparatively quickly to break the Brest-Litovsk noose.

World proletarian revolution—this is the only saviour for the oppressed workers of the world!

Dictatorship of the proletariat and the organization of soviet power, this is the only escape for the proletariat of the whole world from the Versailles methods.

While capitalism exists there can be no real peace. Permanent peace will be possible only on the ruins of the bourgeois State.

Long live the uprising of the workers against oppression! Down with the Versailles peace. Down with the new Brest-Litovsk! Down with the government of social traitors!

Long live soviet power throughout the entire world!

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL
G. ZINOVIEV, *Chairman*.

EXHIBIT No. 23.

[Bulletin of the Provisional Bureau in Amsterdam of the Communist International. No. 1. February, 1920.]

CONTENTS.

Announcement.—Establishment of an International Historical Archive concerning the World Revolution and the Third International.—Propositions and Theses for an International Conference: (1) Uniting groups into Communist Parties in various countries; (2) Appeal to the Workers of Europe and America; (3) Proposal of an International action of the Workers of all countries in support of the Russian Soviet Republic against the intervention of Imperialistic governments; (4) Theses on Nationalization; (5) Theses concerning Parliamentarism, Comment on the Theses concerning Parliamentarism; (6) Theses on Trade-Unionism; Comment on the Theses concerning Trade-Unions.—Summary of the Economic Situation.—Survey of the Tendencies in the Labor movement at the commencement of the year 1920.—The differences in the Communist Party of Germany.

ANNOUNCEMENT.

The executive committee at Moscow of the Third International has appointed a few Dutch comrades to form a provisional bureau at Amsterdam. The duties of this bureau consist in the organization of an international conference to prepare unity of action of the laboring masses based on the Communist International.

The bureau has decided to publish a bimonthly bulletin in the French, English, and German languages. The bulletin will contain articles on international conditions, newspaper reviews, and, above all, documents and information concerning the Third International. In addition, the bureau contemplates organizing a department to collect information regarding the movement in the various countries, which will be sent regularly to any communist organ and any communist group which apply for them.

At the same time the bureau will compile archives of all the communist literature published since the outbreak of the world revolution.

The bureau invites all communist parties or groups to enter into communication with it. Especially any parties or groups already affiliated to the Third International are requested to forward immediately their address for correspondence.

The bureau is in constant touch with the west European secretariate of the Third International, which has been founded in Germany. Provisionally this secretariate will undertake to edit the monthly organ of the Third International, which carries the title, "The Communist International" and is published at Moscow. In future a special and enlarged edition of this organ will be published for western Europe.

For the provisional Amsterdam bureau.

H. ROLAND-HOLST.

ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INTERNATIONAL HISTORICAL ARCHIVE CONCERNING THE
WORLD REVOLUTION AND THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL.

The supreme importance is self-evident of collecting betimes and as abundantly as possible all material concerning the world revolution that may prove available for the study and the understanding of this mighty phenomenon, both at the present day and in time to come. And it is as plain that the collecting should be directed toward a central point, the International Historical Archive in the Netherlands.

The archivist who provisionally will have only a small office at his disposition announces, acting in concert with the bureau, that the institution is to include:

1. An international library of communistic books, newspapers, periodicals, pamphlets published since the date of the Russian February revolution, and bearing on the Russian February revolution, and the German and Hungarian revolutions more especially, but in general on all revolutionary, political, and economical movements having occurred and occurring wheresoever since the date mentioned.

2. An international archive that is, more especially, to contain and to preserve writings and documents appropriate to the purpose, as viz, minutes, notices, reports of important meetings, and conferences; individual bequests and legacies; archives of dissolved or dissolving organizations, biographical notices, correspondences of private persons and of organizations put at the disposal of the archive by the authors, whether or not under certain restrictions as to use and appliance, with regard also to eventual publication at dates and on conditions further to be specified.

3. An international collection of graphic representations, portraits, journalistic illustrations, caricatures, graphic documents, curiosa, etc. As need hardly be said, it is only when all communists and revolutionaries apprehend the eminent importance to history of the institution and will support it to the best of their abilities that it has a chance of realization and of efficiency. Its own means and resources are necessarily exceedingly limited. In consequence the institution provisorily will have to devote itself exclusively to collecting and cataloguing and can not undertake to lend out or put at the disposal of students the contents of the library.

The archivist requests all persons reading this and wishing to contribute toward the realization of the project by the donation of communistic books, annual sets of newspapers, pamphlets, manuscripts, documents, cartons, and curiosa to communicate with the secretariat of the bureau of the Third International to the address of A. Beers, Leidschestraat 23, Amsterdam, which will put them into communication with the archive.

The bureau will conduct a regular correspondence and will send out questionnaires, the filling in of which is of the utmost importance.

Provisorily the correspondence will be conducted in French, German, English, and Dutch only, and attention will have to be given, in the first place, to what is published and obtainable in these languages, but, of course, all available matter published in other languages will be likewise thankfully accepted.

This first preliminary notice and appeal for help will be complemented in the following numbers of the bulletin by short items of information concerning the progress made in the matter of the archive.

PROPOSITIONS AND THESES FOR AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE.

The bureau for western Europe proposes a. o. to prepare an international conference, where the representatives of the various groups and parties of western and central Europe affiliated to the Third International may discuss the principles and tactics of communism and decide about common action.

Introductory to this discussion we offer the following propositions and theses: First. Proposition regarding the unity of the communist groups on the basis of principles recognized by all. Second. An appeal regarding the collapse of capitalism and the necessity of communism. Third. A resolution for international action against intervention in Russia and other countries. Fourth. Theses on nationalization. Fifth. Theses on parliamentarism. Sixth. Theses on trade-unionism. To avoid the latter becoming too lengthy, a more detailed comment on the principles has been given for these two points.

We offer the propositions and theses for discussion, begging the various groups and parties likewise to formulate their conception of these matters.

UNITING GROUPS INTO COMMUNIST PARTIES IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES.

In various countries groups have formed, which, starting from different origins, have been brought to communism by the present world development, and have joined the Third International. The congress invites the communists of every country to unite into one communist party on the basis of the following generally adopted points:

1. Class war of the workers without any compromise with bourgeois and social patriotic parties.
2. Direct action of the working masses as a means of conquering power.
3. Dictatorship of the proletariat.
4. Soviet constitution as the proper form of proletarian democracy.

The questions of organization and tactics upon which unanimity has not yet been arrived at, are to be cleared up within the party by discussion and examination of facts.

APPEAL TO THE WORKERS OF EUROPE AND AMERICA.

The capitalistic system, the system of production for the sake of profit, is hastening to its fall. The World War has destroyed the productive energies of Europe, wrecked the vital strength of the peoples, and burdened the States with enormous war debts. The world trade is hampered, the lack of raw material hinders the revival of industry, the fields yield but poor harvests. Money is depreciated, the fluctuations in the rate of exchange lame all international traffic. The exorbitant cost of living, which still keeps rising, reduces the middle classes to the level of the proletariat, famishes the masses, and forces the workers to defend their status of life in ever fiercer struggles against capitalism. The capitalistic class proves unable to build up again the system of production. Society sinks deeper and deeper into chaos. The continuation of the capitalistic system threatens humanity with destruction.

Hence, the necessity arises for the working class to take into its own hands the management of production and start it as production for the needs of the entire people, all capitalistic profit and all rent being abolished as a process of labor efficiently organized and centrally regulated.

This is possible only when the proletariat first conquers the political power and establishes its dictatorship over society in order to break the resistance of the bourgeoisie against expropriation, the abolition of profit.

The glorious example of the Russian Soviet Republic, where industrial workers and peasants have thrown off the yoke of the exploiters of all kinds and conquered political power shows the working masses of the other countries how the proletariat exercises its dictatorship by means of the soviet system. The soviet system, the system of proletarian democracy, consists in the representation on the basis of their association in the work itself, of all those who work in the factory or the field.

Therefore we appeal to the workers of all countries to follow this example, and with the utmost energy to wage the war for their deliverance. They must attack and undermine capitalism, enfeebled already, and the bourgeois State power by ceaseless mass actions—demonstrations, strikes.

At the same time they must build up their own class organizations, their soviets, as organs of the coming order of society. And when then, at last, the despotism of the bourgeoisie breaks down under their attacks they must boldly seize the power and create the new world of communism.

PROPOSAL OF AN INTERNATIONAL ACTION OF THE WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES IN SUPPORT OF THE RUSSIAN SOVIET REPUBLIC AGAINST THE INTERVENTION OF IMPERIALISTIC GOVERNMENTS.

1. The proletarian revolution on its onward march does not achieve victory at the same instant in all countries. Where the workers have won the power and founded a free soviet republic they are threatened and attacked by the imperialistic governments, who, by every means—by open war, by military expeditions, by instigating counter revolutionary insurrections, by providing counter revolutionary bands with arms, by economical boycott, and blockade by which a country is cut off from the world trade—endeavor to destroy the proletarian government and to force back the workers into the old slavery.

In this way the allied governments have destroyed the Hungarian people's republic. In this way they are trying to destroy the Russian soviet republic. And although hitherto the Russian people has heroically repulsed all attacks, and courageously endured the misery caused by the blockade, yet the imperialists of the Entente countries do not give up their attempts. All honor is due to the soldiers of these countries who refused to obey the order to fight the Russian people. All honor is due to the workers who, in various countries, refused to transport arms and ammunition to the counter revolutionary armies. But still, their deeds were only single instances of an action that should be universal. It is the duty of the working class in the Entente countries as a whole to stand up for the Russian brothers, who march in the front rank of the class war, carrying the flag of the deliverance of all the workers of the world, and who fight and suffer for the cause. The workers of all these countries must force their governments to make peace with Soviet Russia, to cease their overt and covert attacks, to stop supporting the counter revolutionary murderers, to raise the blockade, and to cease hampering commercial intercourse with the soviet republic. These demands they must put forward and repeat again in all their important actions, and these their mass actions in support of Soviet Russia they must continue to increase even to the bringing about of an international strike movement. They must moreover wherever feasible, endeavor to hinder by their own positive action every attempt directed against Russia (such as the sending out of arms or of white volunteer troops). They must, finally, wherever the chance offers, consider the possibility of actively supporting their Russian brothers by sending positive aid in any shape whatever.

2. As it is to be foreseen that the proletarian revolution will spread to other countries by which the universal supremacy of capital will be the more seriously threatened, the same holds good for this contingency. Whenever, in any country, the proletariat attempts to break down the power of the bourgeoisie, and to establish a soviet republic, it is the duty of the workers of the other countries with all their strength to hinder their governments from attacking directly or indirectly the new proletarian republic. They must counter every attempt of the kind by an intensifying of their own revolutionary action. The proletariat of the whole world must stand shoulder to shoulder in one front against the imperialism of the world.

When, in consequence of the economical breakdown of Germany the German proletariat is forced to take into its own hands the political power, the workers of the other countries must oppose by any and every means within their power any military intervention to which the Allied Governments, availing themselves of the formal right conferred by the Versailles peace treaty should see fit to resort.

THESES ON NATIONALIZATION.

1. The exploitation of the workers and the entire population by the big concerns possessing the character of monopolies (e. g. railroads, mines), and in which the personal initiative of the private employer has lost all meaning,

renders it necessary to put forward the demand of nationalization (socialization) of these industries.

2. Nationalization by the present capitalistic state, however, can never answer the objects of the working class; and it may even constitute a serious danger, as it enormously increases the power of the State over the workers. It replaces administration by the private officials of the companies by the jargon of a governmental bureaucracy of officials. It simply changes the profits made at present by the capitalists, into interests on the capitals which the State pay them as indemnities. As these interests must be made out of the undertaking, the exploitation of the workers by the capitalists continue under this system, only in a roundabout way, by the intermediary of the State.

3. When, therefore, the workers demand a real nationalization or socialization, this must be understood to mean: First, the abolition of the exploitation of the miners and the railway men by capital; that is, nationalization without indemnity to the present owners, who have made enormous profits at the expense of the community for too long a time as it is—thus as a first step toward the abolition of all profit out of the work of others and toward the deliverance of the entire working class from exploitation by capital; and, in the second place, the administration of the undertakings by the totality of the workers engaged in it—including the officials who do really productive work—represented by the shop committees, who unite with the representatives of the workers in the other industries of the whole country into a homogeneous, centrally-led organization of the entire economic system, to which every branch of industry has to submit as a part to its whole.

4. These great aims can only be fully attained when the entire working class unanimously fights the capitalists and their governments, and, with united forces, conquers the political power for the proletariat.

THESES CONCERNING PARLIAMENTARISM.

1. Under the capitalistic régime parliament was a means by which the bourgeoisie ruled the State and controlled the exercise of the State power. But it can never, even under a democratic constitution, be the means by which the proletariat puts an end to the mastery of the State over the people; it can only be the means by which the bourgeoisie camouflages this mastery. It is the task of the proletariat to break the mastery of the State by taking political power into its own hands. This can be done only by developing the soviet system as an organ of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Parliamentarism can never be an organ of the victorious proletariat; its place is taken by the soviet system as the organization of the autonomy of the laboring class as a whole.

2. However, whilst capitalism prevails as an economic system and the power of the State is unshaken, the use of parliamentarism (struggle for the franchise, for democratic institutions, for political rights, participation in the election campaigns) is a powerful means of awakening to class consciousness and organizing the laboring classes.

3. This holds true even when, under imperialism, parliaments in an increasing degree degenerate into show booths where tricksters deceive the masses, whilst the real business is being transacted behind the scenes by the bosses, and when free speech is hampered in parliament at the same time that the masses are being oppressed. In such circumstances parliamentary action, assuming the most energetic forms of protest against imperialistic brutalities, and this in concert with action outside parliament, will prove an effective means of awakening the masses and rousing their resistance.

4. When the capitalistic system of production has broken down and society is in a state of revolution parliamentary action gradually loses importance as compared with the action of the masses themselves. When, then, parliament becomes the center and organ of the counter-revolution, whilst, on the other hand, the laboring class builds up the instruments of its power in the soviets, it may even prove necessary to abstain from all and any participation in parliamentary action.

5. As in various countries, this process of social revolution does not develop at the same instant, at the same rate, and under the same conditions the decision as to whether, when, and in what way parliamentarism is to be made use of in the class struggle, must be left to the working class of every single country.

COMMENT ON THE THESES CONCERNING PARLIAMENTARISM.

The attitude adopted by the communists toward parliament and its utilization by the proletariat has been set forth at length in a circular emanating from the secretariat of the third international, dated September 1 and signed by Zinovieff. In this two different aspects of the question are distinguished—the first the importance of parliament when the proletariat has achieved power; the second, its importance during the long period of the proletariat's rise to power. For the former contingency it is stated that parliament can not be an organ of proletarian dictatorship; the democracy of the working people is embodied in the soviet system. But whilst the proletariat is weak as yet and has still to gather its forces, parliamentary action is an excellent and necessary means of enlightening the masses as to their class conditions, of rousing them to fight, and of inducing them to organize. Under imperialism, it is true, parliament gradually loses its power and more and more develops into a means of deceiving the masses, whilst at the same time free speech is often hampered, but this is not a reason why action in parliament should be given up as useless. Liebknecht's attitude in the German Reichstag during the war may serve as an example how an emphatic protest against the crimes of the rulers, even when uttered in a few words only, or by a vote, may ring out and rouse like a clarion call. The fact, however, should ever be borne in mind that in times like these the action of the masses in the street is the main thing and object in the class struggle to which all parliamentary action should be made subservient.

These main lines laid down by the Moscow secretariat have not since proved sufficient in all practical cases. In Germany there is a controversy on the question of participating in the elections for Parliament between communists who adhere to each and all of the main propositions mentioned. In December, 1918, the majority of the congress of the Communistic Party of Germany resolved to boycott the national assembly, the reasons actuating them being the following: In the first place, and as a general rule, the working class, in the midst of a revolution, is to build up its own organs, and participation in the parliamentary elections or parliamentary action not only are of no avail whatever for this purpose, but, whilst diverting the workers' thoughts from their own constructive activities, may even possibly weaken this, their most important action. In the second place, and in the particular instance, this bourgeois parliament would, as a matter of course, serve as a political center of the bourgeoisie against the proletarian dictatorship. This reality had to be exposed; the mask of a democratic representation of the whole people, under which this parliament might have deceived the people, had to be torn off; this it was, which, by the boycott they pronounced against the parliament, the Communistic Party proposed to do. Leaving aside the question whether the German communistic congress at the time judged the situation aright, every communist will be of opinion that cases are conceivable when it is desirable or even necessary to abstain from parliamentary action. Such cases occur when a country is in the midst of a revolution; that is, in an intermediary condition between the epoch of the rise of the laboring class under capitalism and the epoch of the proletarian supremacy in a state of transition from the unchallenged dictatorship of the bourgeoisie to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Whether, and when a country is in this condition, is a matter for the decision not of any international congress, but of the communists of this country. The proletarian revolution does not develop in all countries at the same time, nor does it proceed at the same rate; besides historical conditions, the position of parliament within the State, and the relation in which the working class stands to parliament, are different in every country. Nor is it possible to judge by a few visible symptoms, agreed upon in advance, whether in any country the revolution is so far developed as to justify opposition to parliamentarism; so many economical and psychological moments, appreciable only by those actually concerned, must be taken in consideration; that it is not feasible to indicate these conditions otherwise than by the general term that the capitalistic system has broken down and society is in a condition of revolution.

An international congress can only lay down general principles for the tactics of the class war. The application to the special conditions of any single country must be left to the communists of that country.

THESES ON TRADE-UNIONISM.

1. Under the capitalistic régime workers must unite in trade-unions which are to fight the battle for the improvement of labor conditions against the capitalistic employers. Although a raising of the real wages, not nullified by the rise of the cost of living is not attainable save under certain conditions, yet the industrial war is necessary to the workers as a means of successfully resisting the despotism of the employers in the factories and the misery-increasing tendencies of capitalism.

2. In countries where big industry has vigorously developed the trade-unions have become colossal organizations, ruled by a conservative bureaucracy of officials, whose policy it is to prevent conflicts, to effect compromises with the employers by means of wage agreements, and to keep industrial peace. During the war they have enlisted the trade-unions into the service of the imperialistic governments and helped to force the workers down under the yoke of army service and war industry. After the war they have sided with the bourgeoisie against the proletarian revolution. Wherever in the revolution the trade-unions, under their leaders, become the tools of the capitalistic system against the revolutionary workers they must be fought with the utmost energy; in the first place, by organizing the revolutionary opposition within the trade-union; and, in the second, wherever conditions are sufficiently developed by forming new organizations.

3. In contrast to the trade-unions which have proved incapable of carrying on the class war, new labor unions on an industrial basis, in which no conservative body of bureaucratic officials prevents an energetic policy and fighting tactics, have been formed in several countries. Trade-unions inspired by a revolutionary fighting spirit will be able to play an important part in the proletarian revolution by their action for political demands. Communists therefore must support them to the best of their ability.

4. The trade-unions as such are not the elements which go to make up the new proletarian society, as this society has to solve a number of problems, political and cultural ones amongst others, which lie beyond the scope of the trade-union. To the trade-unions in their enlarged form, as the organization of all workers belonging to the same profession or the same industry, the important function of the internal regulation of labor will be assigned in the soviet system.

COMMENT ON THE THESES CONCERNING TRADE-UNIONS.

Trade-unions are the necessary organizations which the workers need for the struggle against the capitalistic employers. The workers sell their working power to the capitalists; the capitalists continually try to beat down the price of working power whilst at the same time they exploit it to the uttermost, so that wages no longer suffice for the satisfaction of all wants, and for the repair of working power, whilst the workers' vitality is impaired by lengthened time and increased intensity of work.

Singly the worker is defenseless against these misery-increasing tendencies of capitalism; only by joining in trade-unions workers can win tolerable working conditions. Where trade-unions first arise, they often by untiring struggle succeed in effectively bettering wages, reducing inhuman working times, curbing the despotism of the employer in the factory, raising workers out of depths of degradation and awakening their pride and sense of human dignity. But this improvement of labor conditions does not always continue at the same rate. The statistics of the big unions show, it is true, a rise in wages for the last decades. But this rise is, generally, nullified or is even exceeded by the rise of prices, so that the real status of life is not improved. The struggle by which higher wages were won was therefore necessary as a defensive fight against a lowering of the standard of life. Although real improvements were but seldom achieved and, even, such a lowering was not always to be avoided, trade-unions have not therefore become superfluous. Whilst capitalism rules they continue to remain necessary, for only trade-unions afford workers a solid force of resistance against the depressing misery-increasing tendencies of capitalistic competition and greed. But they are necessary to the bourgeoisie also, in so far as they preserve the proletariat intact, and cause stable conditions of industry.

The growth of the trade-unions has therefore considerably increased the power of labor. At the same time, however, it has been a cause of the weaken-

ing of the fighting spirit and of the lessening of the successes of the trade-unions. In various countries the tremendous growth of big industry has caused the old craft-unions to develop into gigantic organizations, whose officials form a compact bureaucratic body having interests of its own, which disposes over the entire financial and organizational power of the unions. As against the tremendous power of concentrated capitalism (concentrated in trusts, syndicates, employers' associations) the bureaucracy of officialdom aims at a policy of compromise, wage agreements and industrial peace. This conservative policy causes repeated conflicts between them and the rank and file who wish to fight against the depressing tendencies of modern developments and often break out into wild strikes against the will of the leaders. In such circumstances the power of the unions changes in the hands of the leaders into an organ of the capitalistic employers for the prevention or the throttling of the workers' strikes.

The officials of the trade-unions have entered the service of the bourgeoisie still more openly during the war. They have supported the war policy of the imperialistic Governments, made industrial peace with the employers, encouraged workers to army service and to the greatest possible exertion in war industry, approved the abrogation of rights won in battle in the past, and suppressed every action of the workers in the present.

After the war this policy of support to the capitalistic class was continued. Wherever the proletariat has arisen in revolution the union leaders have turned against them. Exactly like the social-democratic politicians, they consider themselves solidary with the bourgeoisie, endeavor to strengthen the capitalistic system especially by inducing the workers to intensify to the utmost the output, and with main and might fight the revolutionary vanguard. The revolutionary workers then must strenuously fight these leaders, wherever this policy of theirs plainly shows. To this effect the revolutionary members must conduct a steady agitation for the enlightening of their comrades, for the organizing of a vigorous opposition, and for the fight against officialdom, in order that increasing numbers of members, hitherto indifferent, may be roused to fight. In the first place, the attempt must be made to drive the organizations into the way of revolutionary action. Where, by the power of the bureaucracy over the trade-union, such action is rendered impossible, or appears foredoomed from the outset, other means must be resorted to. Especially where a revolutionary situation exists, or when considerable masses of workers have already turned their back on the old unions. In that case new organizations must be built up in new forms and inspired with a new spirit to fight the economical battle as a revolutionary battle for the political supremacy and for the mastery in industry. Or extant forms of organization (as that of the shop stewards) must assume the leadership in important actions, by which course they at the same time may develop into new powerful organizations of the masses. According to the degree of maturity of the revolution and to the conditions obtaining in various countries these forms will differ, and the decisions on this point will, of course, have to be left to the workers of these countries.

New and different forms of labor unions of this kind have already before the war arisen in various countries. Where, as in America, modern developments rendered the old fossilized craft unions incapable of leading the mass of the workers in the class war, new organizations arose on the basis of industrial unionism, which led the masses of unskilled workers in the battle against concentrated trust capital; thus in America the unions united in the I. W. W.; and similar tendencies are embodied in the English shop-steward movement. Such labor unions are based on the recognition of the class war and are not hindered by large funds and by a conservative body of officials shy of fighting in their duty of arousing a new fighting spirit in the masses. Thus they contribute largely to prepare the workers for the revolutionary conquest of complete freedom. During the revolution they may play an important part by causing the masses, trained in fight, to attack the supremacy of the bourgeoisie in decisive instants. Wherever similar, essentially revolutionary unions exist or are formed, communists consider it their duty to support them to the utmost of their ability.

Many trade-unionists, especially in the revolutionary unions, believe that the trade-unions will be the constituent elements of the new organizations of society after the revolution, in so far as the trade-unions will be the cells of the new socialistic society, and society as a whole will form a kind of federation of trade-unions. This view is not confirmed by the practice of the first great

proletarian community. The Russian Soviet Republic has shown that the new organization has many problems to solve lying beyond the scope of unionism. It has shown that the grouping of human beings in their function within the process of production must at the same time be the natural basis for the construction of the entire system of government and administration. Society is essentially an organism of production, the single cells of which are the workshops; thence the groups of all the workers working together in a factory are the natural units, who choose their shop committees and their representatives in the soviets. These representatives, chosen according to industries, who keep in constant touch with their fellow workers, and can be revoked at any time, are the means by which the workers permanently keep the power in their own hands. It is on the industries that the entire soviet system, the superstructure of society, the political, economical, and cultural administration in all their successive degrees rests. Still the trade-unions will have an important function in this system. When the struggle against the capitalistic employers is eliminated and trade-unions have developed into organizations of all the shop committees belonging to the same trade, or to the same industry, the internal regulation of the work in every industry will, as a matter of course, be assigned to them. The success of the new social organization in this their new shape will depend in an essential degree upon their efficiency in fulfilling their task to solve this problem.

SUMMARY OF THE ECONOMIC SITUATION.

The index number of the English Economist for December, 1919, shows anew a considerable rise. The total figures have risen from 6,985 for November to 7,364 for December, whilst the percentage (in respect of average prices during the period 1901-1905, and these put at 100) is now 334.7 as against 317.5 in November. Since that legendary period of several centuries ago as it now seems the prices of the principal foodstuffs, raw materials, and industrial products have, then, risen by about 250 per cent. And even if the number for July, 1914, the last month of peace of capitalism, be taken as a basis, the rise amounts to no less than 187 per cent. Finally, for the one year of 1919 the rise in price for cereals and meat products—one of the rubrics, as is well known, under which the Economist summarizes the principal goods—is no less than 10 per cent, for "other food and drink" almost 13 per cent, for textile fabrics 35 per cent, for minerals 33 per cent, and for sundries (as rubber, wood, petrol) 9 per cent.

It is true that this rise in prices dwindles into nothingness when compared to that in conquered Germany, not to mention famishing and dying Austria. Only a few days ago the Handelsblad published a private letter dated from a town in the Hartz in which the writer stated that during the period August-December the prices of commodities, the most absolutely necessary, had risen by from 200 to 300 per cent. The terrible depth to which the German rate of exchange has sunk as against that of the surrounding smaller countries, such as Holland, Denmark, and Switzerland, which economically have made profits out of the World War—their bourgeoisies, that is, have—is another symptom of the ghastly economic breakdown.

But even if capitalists in these countries of triumphant imperialism would and could shut their eyes to the abyss yawning ever deeper and wider in central Europe, even then the continuance of the symptoms of rising prices at home would suffice to fill the rulers with misgivings and anxiety. Even in England, which of all the European "conquerors" is the one that has come out of the World War best, economically and financially.

And, for the matter of that, the fear of possibly coming events is as little disguised in the smaller countries of western Europe, where the shock imparted by the World War to the capitalistic system has been less violently felt than elsewhere—in Holland especially—as it is in England, where precisely in the camp of the big capitalists so many male Cassandras have raised their voices. The Dutch "leaders of production," big business men, financiers, are equally deeply alarmed. We would have no difficulty in quoting numerous opinions recently emitted on that side, opinions which retain their full weight and importance even although they advocate the interests of capitalism, and loudly resound in the general litany sent up to heaven these days by suffering capitalism, "Workers, work for us or else we perish." Among many others we will make audible one single echo only. It is the reviewer of the well-known daily *De Telegraaf* who, in a summary of 1919, writes:

"The high cost of living as a consequence of the disturbed equipoise between demand and offer of goods is, in its turn, the cause of the manifold complications in the money market, the capital market, the labor market. If we consider that within a period of a little more than 10 years economical evolution caused the index number to rise by 20, the conclusion is obvious that a rise by 200 within five years must have a disturbing and devastating effect on the general condition of things. How to explain the general rise in prices must remain a riddle unsolved, as there is no reliable method for the collecting of all the data needed. In the meantime the fact of the high cost of living is met with a consciousness that this condition of things can not continue and we are moving straight to a terrific crisis."

It should be pointed out that this capitalistic writer finds himself driven to confess that the obvious causes of the rise of prices can not be accepted as such without further restriction and qualification—a thing which now and again happens to him and his colleagues in certain, although rare, moments of sincerity and especially of insight.

He says: "How with the gradual, even although as yet imperfect, recovery of the world market rises in wages could possibly influence prices so as to double and triple them, there is no way of making out. Nor is scarcity an admissible cause. Take, for instance, the important group of the textile fabrics, with wool and cotton as principal articles. Neither the stock of sheep nor the cotton plant have been affected by the war; but in the case of these products a using up of the provisions can be surmised in a slight degree only, as in the long run production and consumption balance, and the production is renewed annually. Why should wool and cotton have come to be more expensive? With mass articles like these a rise in wages, or the cost of transport, has only a very inconsiderable influence per unit of weight. It is rather to secret corners that the rise in price of this sort of articles must be attributed.

Combinations of every kind, formed for the purpose of hoarding goods and establishing monopolies, are to be found, generally in a more or less disguised form, in every branch of trade. As to our country, rumor has it that Rotterdam merchants have had to hire storing room at Zaandam. The emporiums of Amsterdam, as those of Rotterdam, are packed to bursting; the transport by water and by land is largely fed by the home transit. There is no reason for assuming that conditions should be different elsewhere. For the rest, reports from all countries afford abundant proof.

This is a truly valuable admission, coming from thoroughgoing capitalistic side, that, in western countries at least, the capitalistic outcry about scarcity and the unsatiability of labor is mere humbug, as we communists have for these many months been endeavoring to the best of our powers to make plain to the workers. A thing most necessary, since reformists and social patriotic imposters and renegades are equally exerting themselves to temper the "greed" of the proletariat, because of this same "scarcity."

The capitalistic classes of the great western countries of England more specially have been digging their own grave during the four years of the World War; but have not grown any the wiser for the experience. Even although it is peace now in the west of Europe at least they remain true to their predatory instincts. The war has rendered them, if possible, even more rapacious, cruel, and obdurate; and so they go on doing what must bring about their ruin.

Meanwhile the European capitalists in their need cast imploring glances toward the other side of "the big pond" toward the United States, the one great capitalistic power—and the greatest of all at the same time—that has not been seriously affected by the war, not more seriously at least than some of the lesser European countries. Again, as during the World War, help and redress is expected from the United States. But, in the beginning of this, the first year of capitalistic peace, the capitalists of America evidently are thinking of one thing only besides profiteering; in the big industries where, in the absence of any protection by the caco labor is at present being literally devoured by capital, the workers are struggling to conquer the right of union and coalition which in Europe was the first won of all the rights of labor, and it is the one thought of American capitalists now to suppress this struggle. At the same time all that savors, however slightly, of radicalism is hunted out and furiously persecuted. If the strength of the revolutionary movement in the United States could be inferred from the rage with which the brutal and corrupt government opposes it, persecuting not only revolutionaries, but even ordinary "socialists" of the kind of those that in Europe prove the best bourgeois rulers, then indeed it would seem as if nowhere in the world the

movement were more vigorous than here. Unhappily, this is far from being the case. The steel magnates have just succeeded in suppressing once more the long-continued action amongst their slaves—an action fought for the right of coalition. The Steel Workers' Union has had to acknowledge the defeat. Once more the inhuman trust capital has triumphed, crushing hundreds of wretched lives on its way. Undoubtedly the class war has been rendered more acute by that protracted struggle as well as by the strike of the miners. But for the moment the steel magnates exult once more. And at the same time the chance is dwindling away that they should try to help capitalistic Europe to its feet again, financially and politically. The so-called Edge bill which is designed to afford long-term credits to Europe on a gigantic scale, has, it is true, recently been passed. But no less an authority than the director of one of the most influential financial institutes of Holland, Mr. Westerman, just back from a visit to the United States, has pronounced himself very doubtful as to the result of these endeavors, and for many reasons, technical and otherwise, this unfavorable opinion is shared by other competent persons in this country. The opinion adhered to by ever augmenting numbers evidently is that, for the time being, old Europe should be left to its fate as much as possible, and that all transactions of a binding character both financial and political should be avoided.

In any case it seems certain that the capitalistic classes of the western countries will have to help themselves in economic as in political matters. The task is, truly, not an alluring one.

To mention the strongest and biggest first—what good is it to British capitalism that it beholds its great rival on the Continent overthrown, impoverished, and all but annihilated, when its own difficulties are too many and so serious, both at home—though its home contain never so many and so spacious mansions—and on the continents of Europe and of Asia. In order to revive the courage of its capitalistic readers a leading English paper, the Daily Telegraph, has recently endeavored to draw a parallel between the condition of the England of a century ago, as it came out of the Napoleonic wars and the condition of the England of this day. It was pointed out how after those wars, England had for many years been convulsed by internal dissensions, had for many years been on the brink of a revolution and, how yet, it had issued out of the confusion unscathed and even considerably stronger than before. To anyone considering the present condition of the world internationally, it will, however, be plain, that the comparison holds up to a certain point only. It certainly is true that the economic condition, the condition of the working class was immediately after the Napoleonic wars, relatively as well as absolutely, much worse than it is at present.

But the mass by which alone a revolution can be brought about was exceedingly weak and helpless then as compared with what the British proletariat is now. And in the world outside, the difficulties in 1816 were incomparably less. For at this moment, the British Empire in consequence of the world war has in some of its most vital parts to contend against national movements, movements which comprehend entire people, hardly if at all known a century ago. And, above all, in the Europe of that day every trace of revolutionary action had disappeared. Now, the revolutionary proletariat rules in Russia, and the Russian glacier has become a torrent which threatens the bulwarks of British power in Asia.

SURVEY OF THE TENDENCIES IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE YEAR 1920.

Two main facts stamp the position of the laboring masses and determine the trend of the revolutionary movement at the beginning of the opening year.

The first is the growing power of Soviet Russia, from the military, as well as from the political, economic, and moral point of view.

Military, for toward the end of 1919 the Soviet Republic succeeded in striking blow after blow against the counter-revolutionary armies equipped by the Entente. All the attempts of the latter to force the mercenary states which she holds by the throat or by the purse, to quench the luminous hearth of nascent communism, only resulted in the annihilation of Yudenitch, the downfall of Koltchak, the retreat of Deniken as far almost as to the borders of the Black Sea.

Political, for the heroic and triumphant resistance of this first State governed by the laboring masses, spreads confusion amongst the allied governments,

strengthens the desire for a compromise in certain bourgeois circles, revises the hope of delivering among the workers of all countries, reinforces the communist movement in the western world, as well as the national-revolutionary tendencies among the millions of Asia, that beehive of numberless peoples.

Economic, for each courier who succeeds in breaking through the iron ring with which the Allies have encircled Russia, brings us tidings of the resumption of labor, of the improvement—slow, it is true, because of the terrible handicap imposed by the war and the blockade—of the transport, of the organizing of the production in the Provinces that have been wrested from the counter-revolutionary hordes—such as the Ural region—and of the miracles accomplished by an ever increasing elite in the voluntary work of the "communist Saturdays."

Moral strengthening lastly, for each day the immense educational effort, the sublimest effort for the deliverance of the spirit ever attempted in this world, coordinate itself, expands, penetrates deeper into the layers of the people. And, which is of no less moment; more and more the government of the soviets is becoming a truly national government. The lesser bourgeoisie, and the middle layers of the peasantry, who have had their eyes opened regarding the nature of the white gangs, which they now recognize as the instruments of czarists and bourgeois reaction—that is to say instruments of butchery and torture—rally in ever greater numbers to the workers government; the mensheviks from the capital join its ranks, the Siberian population receives the red armies with bread and salt, the symbol of welcome and brotherhood.

The second fact of a primary order, of which we are considering the influence on the working class, is the high cost of living, the enormous and ever increasing rise in the prices which renders any raise of salaries illusory, and forces the workers to wage a ceaseless war against capital, for fear of seeing their standard of living go down with an alarming rapidity, and of sinking themselves, and their children with them, into pauperism and misery.

These two facts dominate the tendencies in the labor movement as a whole, in this beginning year, as they dominated them in the year gone by. The influence of Soviet-Russia is the factor of an ideal order, awakening in the masses the enthusiasm for new ideas, the immense craving for social justice, which causes them to discern magnificent horizons, a luminous future of liberty, peace, and happiness. The example of Soviet-Russia, the true knowledge of the new world developing there is a collective, continuous, and heroic effort, that knowledge which is gradually triumphing over the waves of noisome slander poured ceaselessly by an abject press over the cradle of the communist society, wakes in the minds of millions of workers the consciousness of their strength, the sense of their human dignity. It kindles moreover the sacred flames of class solidarity in a vanguard that triumphantly rushes forward across the frontiers, the blockade, and the barbed-wired fences. To the example of Russia it is also due that the idea of the soviets as organs of the whole of the laboring masses, and the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the form of government needed in the transition from capitalism to communism are constantly gaining ground over the obsolete and counter-revolutionary notions of the old labor parties.

As for the high cost of living, its influence constitutes the economic basis of all the popular struggles of all the mass strikes that have taken place in Europe and America since the armistice. It is the strong motive power of a material order, moving the great mass of the workers, including the half-conscious and the unconscious elements, to revolt against the system that oppresses them and causes them to suffer thus cruelly in their persons, in their human dignity, and in their family affections. It engenders in them impatience and exasperation against that system, the will to break their fetters, to have done once and for all with a social order that to them means only insecurity and suffering. The high cost of living keeps the masses in a state of fermentation favorable to the communist propaganda and to the conception of great, spontaneous revolutionary actions.

The influence of these two great factors, the radiant and attractive force of the Russian Soviet Republic and the sting of the terribly high cost of living, can be traced in every movement of the working class in all the political and economic struggles the latter has sustained in the course of the year 1919. This twofold influence can be traced in the tragic episode of the communist revolution in Hungary, as well as in the great strikes of England and America; it can be traced in the armed fights of an energetic vanguard in Germany, as well as in the brilliant electoral campaign of the Social Party of Italy.

Already to-day a strong group has realized that the only remedy to the terrible crisis under which humanity is now laboring is communism. This vanguard is aware of the need there is to overthrow the capitalistic state and accepts the action of the masses in every form—from peaceful demonstration to the armed fight—as principal instrument of proletarian emancipation. It follows the glorious banner of the Third International, the Communist International. Behind this vanguard moves the great vacillating mass of the workers that have felt the first impact of the revolutionary idea, such as the Independent Socialists of Germany, most of the members of the Socialist Party, and of the C. G. T. of France, those of the Independent Labor Party, and of many of the syndicates in England, etc. These masses do not yet see their way clearly, they hesitate between the old formulas of democracy, of parliamentary, indirect action, of peaceful evolution toward socialism, and the new ideas, the *de facto* adoption of which requires of the masses a great physical and moral courage, a clear understanding of the economic process during the imperialistic period, and a spirit of energetic initiative. One need only glance at the way accomplished by these masses during the last year and listen to the still deepening sound of the response the revolutionary and communistic ideas evoke from the masses, in order to realize the irresistible power of the ideal that magnet-like attracts the working classes to the left, as well as of the economic force that is driving them to action.

It goes without saying that the situation of the working masses in the principal countries of the victorious Entente, and that of the workers of central Europe, that have been bled to death by the champions of the peoples' rights and of civilization, present considerable differences. It is on the latter that the crushing burden of meeting the monstrous demands of the Allies will fall: men, women, and children, all will by the intermediary of their own capitalistic classes, be forced to toil from morn till night, to produce the surplus value that is to enrich the Anglo-Franco-American capital. For the workers of central Europe the communist revolution is the only alternative to an abject slavery, a new bondage chaining the laborers to the mine and the mill, as of old it chained them to the soil. For them, as for the peoples of Austria, of Czechoslovakia, of the Balkans, and of Poland, it is the only deliverance, it offers them the only possible means of escape from unemployment, famine, misery, and degradation. Unless the working masses of central Europe wake up and unite in the fight against the classes in power, unless they seize the state power, and organize production on a communistic basis, the world will witness the stupefying spectacle of tens of millions of civilized, educated beings, possessed to a high degree of the genius of organization, suffering themselves to fall a prey to individual and collective ruin, to utter degeneration, to annihilation and death. Notwithstanding the temporary recoil of the German revolution, due to the savage repression by the Noske régime, to the murdering of the great chiefs of the working class, the heroes of thought and action, to the lack of unity, of revolutionary initiative in the masses, to the tenacity of parliamentary illusions, and in general to the force of social-democratic traditions acting like a break on the masses, notwithstanding all this, we refuse to believe in the subjection and in the annihilation of the nations of central Europe. Before long we expect the revolutionary struggle in Germany to become far more intense, under the two-fold influence of economic misery, the high cost of living and unemployment, and of the luminous force of communist Russia.

Superficially considered, the situation of the masses in the so-called "victorious States" should be altogether different. However, leaving aside the devastated and decimated countries like Poland, where already the revolution is imminent, Bulgaria, where it seems about to break out at the very moment we write these lines, or Serbia, which has been reduced to a skeleton country, it is generally admitted that France and Italy are in a deplorable condition, financially as well as economically. In France there is an ever-increasing disparity between import and export: the enormous debt, six times that of 1913, threatens to consume all the resources of the country, whilst the capitalist class in power, in its stupid cupidity, sees no other means of balancing the budget than by increasing the excise duties, by doubling the price of bread, by raising that of sugar, and by raising the fares of railways and omnibuses, the price of gas, postage, and the telegraph. As for Italy, a poor country as compared to France, lacking capital, as well as foodstuffs and raw material, and burdened even as France is by an immense debt, caused by the war, its condition is even more critical. Unless the working masses of Italy are willing either to toil for a pittance in the service of Anglo-American capital or to emigrate and serve as food for the Pittsburgh

and Chicago mills, they will have to liberate themselves from the exploitation of the venal gang of big proprietors, bankers, and politicians to take possession of their patrimony—the land and its riches, and to institute the soviet régime.

Remain England and the United States, the two countries where the bourgeoisie as a whole has profited most by the war, the countries where public profit is least shaken, where business is reviving, the countries that constitute the economic center of international reaction.¹ The economic center of reaction, it is true, is fortunately a center of labor activity also. Though the workers of England are not, like the masses in Germany, gnawed by hunger, they are none the less in a state of continuous fermentation. The two great influences briefly analyzed above are powerfully acting on them also. During the war the British workers have become conscious of their power; they have begun to realize the fact that the exploiters can not do without them. That is why now they refuse to suffer under the high cost of living; they refuse to see their wages lowered or their working hours lengthened to comply with the watchword given out by the capital of the world, "Production, greater production." Though unfortunately the great majority of British workers lack the deepest insight, the comprehension of the economic and social process—that is to say, the marxist theory—they are fortunately inspired with the firm resolve to better their fate. Millions of British workers demand the 40 hours' week, high wages, the nationalization of the mines and of the means of transport. They strive for these things with all the tenacity of their race; they have fought for them and are ready to go on fighting.

This is not yet, to be sure, the general attack on one united front against the capitalist order. In England, as in other countries, tradition, the past, weighs on the present, hindering its development. Without a doubt, however, it is the overthrow of the principal conditions of capitalism which the British workers prepare. At the same time there is probably no other country where the sympathy for soviet Russia stirs up public opinion so profoundly as it does in England. For months a magnificent campaign of meetings was carried on all over the country for peace and the opening of commercial relations with Russia, and this campaign has not failed to influence the politics of the Government. And if the Triple Alliance, the great union of the railway men, the transport workers, and the miners holds firm—the miners, especially, refuse to be lured by the false promises of a double-faced, treacherous Government—we may in the course of this winter witness the first strike of huge masses, where the demands of an economic order and the desire to come to the aid of communist Russia will be blended into one gigantic effort. Then it will be in truth the revolutionary struggle, for the revolutionary struggle has at all times been inspired as much by the breath of a generous idea, a sublime desire, as by the imperious demands of economic and material necessity.

The movement of the masses toward the left will no doubt continue in the beginning year. This movement, however, did not suffice, unless it be reinforced by international unity of thought and action. The action contained within national boundaries is obsolete and powerless against the already formed front of international capitalism; it urgently requires to be enlarged. The masses all central, southern, and western Europe over must learn to act in common, as the masses of one single country have learnt to do in the period preceding this. The first attempts of this kind—the 21st of July, the 7th of November—were a miserable failure, as much through the treacherousness and the impotence of the leaders, the men of the "juste milieu" in France and England, as though the lack of decision and spontaneous action in the masses. This, however, is by no means a reason to give up striving for international action, as has been excellently understood by the General Federation of Syndicates in Italy. Moreover, it must be owned that those who proclaimed the strike have had too much confidence in the solidarity and the initiative of the masses. For a universal strike to be possible at a fixed date over the half of Europe, there would be needed a degree of spiritual unity and combative ardour we have by no means risen to as yet. At the present moment of revolutionary evolution other tactics impose themselves; we must profit of every velleity of revolt, of every political movement of the masses against the high cost of living, of every big economic strike, to rouse in them the will to fight, to overthrow the capitalistic State and to seize the power. Unceasingly there should resound in their ears these words: "Compel your governments to im-

¹ Before long our bulletin will give a survey of the revolutionary labor-movement in the United States.

mediately stop all open or secret hostilities against Soviet Russia, and to renew the commercial relations. In saving Russia you save yourselves. Love of self and solidity; that is to say, class love are indissolubly linked in the fight against the economic strangling and the military subjugation of Russia."

In all probability the Allies are preparing a new expedition against the Russian Republic for the spring; it is possible that in cooperation with Japan they are plotting new machinations, new crimes. It is the duty of the Communists to frustrate these sinister schemes. Let them unite, let them take the offensive, let them redouble their propaganda, their efforts to spread the revolutionary ferment among the masses, and then when the time has come let them gather and raise up the masses to one grand, collective effort for their economic demands and for the action on behalf of Russia. It is from that action that unity will spring; it is at that moment that the Third International will in truth become embodied in the working masses of western Europe.

H. ROLAND HOLST.

THE DIFFERENCES IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY.

These differences can partly be traced back to the days of the rise of communism. The opposition in Germany during the war, against the Government and social democracy, had its origin in various centers and in various ways. K. Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg (with Fr. Mehring) maintained an unflinching and inexorable opposition against the war policy, by means often of illegal writings, and were therefore kept in prison most of the time. The Spartacus group which they created constituted the extreme left wing of the Unabhängige Sozialistische Partei (the U. S. P., which, under Haase and Kautsky, carried on a timid opposition in the spirit of radical socialism) and strove to bring about revolutionary movements. In Bremen and Hamburg the Internationale sprang up (organ. Arbeiterpolitik; editor, Knieff). The activities of this group tended above all toward an education of the masses on revolutionary lines, so that it waged a fierce contest against the wavering policy of the Independents. In Hamburg, Lauffenberg and Wolfheim adopted the attitude of circumspect criticism with regard to the world problems of imperialism.

After the German revolution, on the first conference in December, 1918, these various tendencies united (Spartacus had by that time seceded from the Unabhängigen) into the Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands. Soon after this the workers' action was violently suppressed by the Noske troops. Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were murdered, the communists persecuted, and the party forcibly reduced to the conducting of a secret, illegal propaganda. Gradually the communist papers were suppressed, only in Bremen the Kommunistische Arbeiterzeitung (Lauffenberg) managed to maintain itself. The policy propagated by this paper came into conflict with that of the Zentrale (the executive of the party), especially with regard to their attitude toward parliament and the unions. At a secret conference at the end of October, 1919, the Zentrale proposed theses which were to define the tactics of communism; whosoever voted against them was to cease to be a member of the party. The opposition protested, claiming that the conference had been taken unawares by the proposal of these theses, so that the members were not prepared to pronounce on them. The minority of the conference rejected them and were excluded from the party. To this opposition belong the strongest sections: Hamburg, Berlin, Bremen, etc.; it comprises about half the number of members of the K. D. P. According to the opposition, these dealings of the Zentrale were a cunning trick to split up the opposition, which, in the question of parliamentarism constituted the majority of the party, and might have dismissed the Zentrale. The Zentrale maintains that this cleansing was needed, as the Hamburg and Berlin members had strayed away from communism, and drifted into syndicalism, so that it was necessary to draw a sharp line of demarcation. The opposition does not admit its expulsion, nor has it formed a separate party yet, only a loose link. Many other sections do not consider the decrees of the conference as lawful, and demand a new conference. The Zentrale endeavors to separately bring around each of the various parts of the opposition, and so far it seems likely to succeed. Since the raising of the state of siege it has continued the issue of its daily paper, Die Rote Fahne; it disposes, moreover, of the funds of the party.

The differences between these two tendencies are in part essential; they are rooted on the one hand in the different origin of the groups from which the party sprang, and on the other in the question as to the tactics which in the

present difficult state of affairs in Germany (economic ruin, power of the Noske guards, impotence of the workers) will lead to the revolution.

In the present state of Germany the opposition is against participation in parliamentary action. The Zentrale wishes to take part in the next Reichstag elections. The opposition wages a sharp contest again the independent social democrats of the U. S. P. The Zentrale wishes to join forces with the independents (whom it considers almost as communists) after they shall have shelved their conservative leaders. A main factor in the antithesis is the attitude toward the big unions (the leaders of which, Legien, Schlicke, Bauer, are the most powerful supports of the Ebert government, and some of them ministers). The independents wish to dismiss these social patriotic leaders, and to substitute to them members of their own party. The opposition wishes to smash the bureaucratic organization of the union, and to substitute to it a new form of union on the basis of the industrial union instead of the craft union). The unions thus formed, however, were a success in few places only (in the coal basin of the Ruhr the miners' union affiliated itself to the feeble syndicalist groups), but for the greater part they remained weak. At first the Zentrale likewise recommended withdrawal from the big unions, not individually however, but in groups, and after a previous vigorous opposition only; now it recommends the formation of revolutionary groups of opposition within the unions. The opposition considers the industrial organizations, including all workers, irrespective of party membership, as the firm basis for the political power of the working class, and as the organs for the dictatorship of the proletariat. The functions of the Communist Party will consist in discerning the aims, in directing the masses, and in educating them on class lines but not in governing.

The Zentrale criticizes this attitude as implying a belief that by means of a new form of organization it will be possible to avoid a revolution as the forcible means of conquering the power; and furthermore as debasing the communist party to the level of a harmless educational union.

The Zentrale considers it to be the task of the communist party to call the masses to the battle when the time has come; the dictatorship of the communist party. The opposition condemns this as a policy of artificially organized outbreaks, for it is from the ranks of the masses that action must break out, and it is only then that communism can come forward and take the lead. A revolutionary minority can not carry through the dictatorship of the proletariat; its victory would mean no more than the dictatorship of a few leaders.

The Zentrale says, the opposition is syndicalistic, because it rejects parliamentarism, it considers the communist party as superfluous and it substitutes the federalism of industrial organization for the rigidly centralized revolutionary party. The opposition says, the principle of the conquest of the political power by the proletariat as well as the recognition of the need for centralization of the proletarian state, divides us from syndicalism whilst our conception of the functions of the industrial organizations exactly coincides with that of the Russian soviet system.

Some confusion was occasioned in these antitheses, when the Hamburg leaders of the opposition, Lauffenberg and Wolfheim declared, in a manifesto to the German people, that the general misery necessitated a speedy revolution in Germany and that this revolution necessitated the tearing up of the Versailles peace treaty, which meant the renewal of war by the Entente against Germany; and that on account of this, the proletariat whilst establishing a strict class dicture, should endeavor to conclude a new truce with the bourgeoisie against the Entente. This dangerous tendency towards a national bolchevism was soon vigorously opposed by comrades belonging to either wing of the party; the groups constituting the opposition have not adopted the manifesto.

K. H.

EXHIBIT No. 26.

BRIEF HISTORY OF THE L'ERA NUOVA GROUP OF ANARCHISTS AT PATERSON, N. J., INCLUDING ACTIVITIES OF CERTAIN LEADERS, OFFICIAL ORGANS, AND CONNECTION WITH THE FRANCESCO FERRER ASSOCIATION.

Brief historical sketch of the L'Era Nuova group.—Organized in Paterson, N. J., in 1898, by Gaetano Bresci, the assassin of King Humboldt of Italy, together with one Agresti and Ester and Grannotti. They founded and published the Italian anarchist newspaper *La Questione Sociale*, of which Ester,

a Spanish anarchist, was editor and principal writer. Grannotti was the first treasurer of the group and accompanied Brecci from Paterson to Italy to make the assassination. The Italian Government has attempted for two years to locate Grannotti, who was known as "the blond." Brecci was a liberal contributor to *La Questione Sociale*. When the two disappeared in 1900 for the trip to Italy none of the other members knew what their plans were or where they had gone until news of the assassination arrived. In the same year Enrico Malatesta (see personal history below), came to Paterson to reorganize the *L'Era Nuova* group. He became associated with Estev, editor of *La Questione Sociale*, and lived at the home of the latter 12 or 13 months. Malatesta made frequent editorial contributions to the paper; also went about to lecture to Italian colonists in various cities. Malatesta appears to have advocated more the "organization" rather than the "individualistic" terroristic theory. Immediately upon his return to Italy he became a member of the Chamber of Deputies and began organization activities to further the cause of anarchy. In 1901, at West Hoboken, Malatesta was shot by an individualist terrorist, one Pazzaglio, presumably because of the clash of the two theories. Shortly after this incident Malatesta returned to London, England, where he had many supporters.

Estev frequently lectured before Italian groups in other cities on the subject of anarchy. Ludovico Caminita was secretary of one of these groups, an Italian social club at Jessup, Pa., and in a debate there convinced Caminita that anarchism was a better theory than socialism, and shortly thereafter Estev influenced Caminita to come to Paterson to assist him in the group as a writer for *La Questione Sociale*.

In the summer of 1902, Galleane came to Paterson with one Grossman, a Jew; William McQueen, an English anarchist; and Emma Goldman. They became identified with the *L'Era Nuova* group and conducted the silk dyers' strike, which involved much disorder, violence, and bloodshed. All were indicted and McQueen and Galleane were found guilty of inciting to riot. McQueen died in State prison. After the unsuccessful termination of the strike a few of the members of the group—Gallo, Caminita, and Guabello, chiefly—kept the organization alive.

La Questione Sociale continued publication until some time in 1907, when it was replaced by *L'Era Nuova*, which was published by Franz Widmer and Caminita until 1917, when it was barred from the mails and the place raided, but without producing evidence sufficient for prosecution. Several attempts at revival were made without success, and Caminita sought employment as a clerk and subscription manager for *La Follia* in New York City. He remained only a short time before seeking employment in the printing house of Nicolletti Bros., not far away.

During the war several members of the group were arrested for the circulation of antidraft posters.

When the bomb explosions of June 2, 1919, occurred, there was an explosion at the home of one Klotz, president of the Suanaha Silk Co., who was not connected with governmental activities in any way. The fact that at least two known members of the group had recently been discharged by the company on account of labor trouble, and characteristics of the explosion being similar to those at the homes of officials, furnished the lead upon which the most effective investigation of the nation-wide plot developed, although the investigation passed beyond the *L'Era Nuova* group through the connections and associations of certain other members. Copies of the pink circular found in other cities directly connected with the plot also were found in the Paterson angle, and are known to have been prepared and printed, not by the *L'Era Nuova* group, but by associates of some of its members.

Within the *L'Era Nuova* group are men who are skilled mechanics, capable of making death-dealing devices, and there are members who would not hesitate. Each member donates \$5 per week to the "cause." Revolvers were taken from several members of the group.

On the bookshelves of the library of the group are several works extolling the virtues of Brecci as a martyr to the "cause."

La Jacquesie (printed in Italian).—Official organ of the *L'Era Nuova* group of anarchists; whose headquarters is Paterson, N. J.

Successor to *Il Boletino de L'Era Nuova*, and printed by Caminita at Mazzotta's and later at Nicoletti's, where the last issue (January) was printed. Subscribers, about 300, although in a letter recovered and dated November 5, 1909, Caminita states 3,000 copies of the paper were printed at a printing cost

of \$45; postage for issue No. 10 was \$28; cost of travel of three companions, who went to mail it in other cities, \$5. When *Era Nuova* was discontinued its editorial staff sent letters signed "The Editorial Group of the *Era Nuova*," to subscribers advising them *La Jacquerie* would succeed and that *Caminita* would receive the mail, etc.

It is understood the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America support the paper.

After the paper was printed secretly, various members would meet and prepare the same for mailing, several of them then taking bundles to New York and other cities, and depositing a few of the copies in numerous letter boxes. The same method had been followed in the mailing of *Era Nuova*.

Neither the editor's name nor the place of publication appears on the paper.

In the issue of September 13, 1919 (p. 2): "Against monopoly and all the ills which follow from it there is only one remedy—the abolition of private property. Every other expedient, even if not silly and useless, is a dishonest subterfuge of which the politicians make use in order to deceive the proletarian masses."

In the same issue Malatesta (see historical sketch above), writing from England on the subject "The proletarian dictatorship," says: "It seems to me that upon this question the opinion of anarchists could not be doubtful, and, in fact, before the bolshevist revolution was doubted by no one. Anarchy signifies nongovernment, and therefore with greater reason no dictatorship, which is absolute government, without control and without constitutional limitations." And referring to the Bolsheviks, he continues: "We respect their sincerity, we admire their energy, but as we have never been in agreement with them on theoretical ground we shall not be able to consolidate with them when they pass from theory to practice."

Page 3, columns 2 and 3, contain excerpts from the works of Michael Bakunin, under the heading "Our conception of revolution," of which the following is an example: "The means and the condition, if not the principal end of revolution, is the annihilation of the principle of authority in all its possible manifestations; it is the abolition, the complete and, if need be, violent destruction of the State, because the State, the younger brother of the church, as Proudhon has very well proved, is the historical consecration of all despotisms, of all privileges, the political reason for all economic and social enslavement, the very essence and center of every reaction."

In an article on "Race hatred" (p. 3, cols. 3-4), and referring to the condition of negroes, the following appears: "In the United States, this land of the free and the home of the brave, it is a crime to kill a dog but an honor to lynch a negro. * * * During the war while the American negro soldiers were allowing themselves to be massacred at the French front in behalf of the triumph of democracy their relatives were being murdered in their own houses by the democratic rabble."

In the issue for September 13, 1919 (p. 2, col. 2), referring to the action of a Federal court against certain Italians deported, an article continues: "We know by experience that no discussion can be held with tyrants. The only method of discussing with them is the open square and the only argument is behind the barricades."

In soliciting financial aid for a new paper, *Umanita Nova*, *La Jacquerie* publishes a letter from it (Milan, Italy), which gives in detail the aims of the new publication. The following are interesting excerpts (remembering that *La Jacquerie* is using them in soliciting money for the publication).

"We are anarchists in the proper and general sense of the word. * * * No one, above all, could be an anarchist and think of imposing on the others the form (of liberty) which appears better to him. * * * Then (meaning, therefore we advocate) abolition of capitalism, * * * abolition of the State, however camouflaged, with its judicial, military, and legislative organs. * * * And, practically, the day in which the Government will be overthrown will therefore have the material possibility; taking possession * * * on the part of the insurgent people of all existing wealth, houses, alimentary substances and other articles of consumption, and equal distribution amongst all, proportionally to the needs and to the available quantities. * * * Seizure on the part of the workers of the land, shops, the means of transportation, raw material, machinery, and other working tools, and an immediate organization of production and exchange by the cooperation of everyone, to the advantage of everyone in the manner, always modifiable, and to render it perfect, as judged best by the interested ones. * * * Organized resistance against the possible attempts or

reaction and restoration of the false régime. Opposition to every attempt of new governments, new oppressive and authoritative organizations."

It is interesting to note the above by comparison with the tactics of the manifesto of the communist-anarchists as published by the Union of Russian Workmen of the United States and Canada. Umanito Nova is the more detailed and more extreme, especially when considering the communists would have at least a semblance of authority in the local organizations, communes, or soviets, whereas the anarchists would permit absolutely no authority, according to their theory as expressed above by Bakunin. I agree with them here also that "no discussion can be held," for it would be interesting to find even one authority on the subject who can give some light on "what they would finally do with it after they got it." The point I desire to emphasize is that La Jacquerie is soliciting funds for the above propaganda in addition to disseminating it.

Emma Goldman is referred to as "Our Emma." (P. 2, col. 1, issue Sept. 13, 1919.)

Under "The military service," the following appears: "The workingmen know no such duty; military duty means to them sacrifices of their strength and their blood for the defense of the stock exchange and the pockets of the capitalists, the very same ones who, with the assistance of Parliament (or Congress—the same on translation), have exploited and do exploit the workingmen. And this stupid submission poses as a virtue! The law of compulsory military service is a shameless violation of the principle of individual liberty. * * * The workingmen of every country should unite and proclaim the whole world as their country and fight with all their strength for the abolition of borders and of nations which are divided under different banners."

An article entitled "The Bourgeois Ideal" (p. 3, col. 4, issue of Oct. 18, 1919), justifies the use of violence in the mass struggle. "But as soon as aspirations and contrary ideas begin to enter into the heads of the masses; from the moment that these millions of workers of industry and the soil, tired of their passiveness and not wishing to serve any longer as a pedestal for the liberty and civilization of the privileged minority, begin to claim for themselves their rights as humans, and that they show themselves disposed to acquire those rights by violence, if necessary, then this system of bourgeois liberalism crumbles to earth. Its humanity is transformed into rage. We have seen it in June, 1848, and we see it everywhere to-day; and its respect for the individual, its cult of liberty, give way to fierce suppression. The political liberalism of the bourgeoisie disappears, and not finding in itself the means or the necessary power to suppress the masses sacrificed to the economic preservation of the bourgeoisie, it resorts to military dictatorship."—Taken from the works of Bakunin.

In the issue for November 1, 1919 (p. 3, col. 2), the following appears in quotations from the work of Bakunin: "Abolish the state, which has no other mission but to protect private property; that is the spoliation of the collective labor of the popular masses by any privileged minority. Once the political states are abolished and the ancient system of organization of society by means of authority is rendered impossible, by what means can society be organized? By means of the free federation of local associations, no longer political, as they are to-day, but economical as they will be, no sooner have they freed themselves from all political rule in one great international association."

In the same issue, under the title "The Syndicalists and the Anarchists," the following appears:

"If there are any who, though partisans of class organizations on revolutionary soil, antiprivate property and antiprivate state, can not decide between socialism and anarchy and prefer to call themselves syndicalists, let them do so. The dissent among them will not prevent us from fighting a useful battle with their aid, since we know that we agree with them in many things on the field of action."

Referring to a strike at Utica, N. Y., which involved clashes with the police, the issue of November 1, 1919 (p. 2, col. 2), continues:

"If the strikers could illuminate the earth with the torch of revolution! It would be a ghastly illumination, but it would be the last of its kind."

This is a direct appeal to the strikers for the destruction of law and order.

In its New Year greeting to the anarchists (Jan. 10, 1920), "Oh! Assassins of the proletariat, to you not the evil wishes but the promise that in the not far future we shall entertain you on the barricades."

Enrico Malatesta (Errico Malatesta).—Leader in "terrorist-individualist" anarchy. Came from a royal Italian family and renounced all his interest in a large estate. Came to the United States in 1898 from Italy, for the express purpose of propaganda. He found Paterson a very fertile field—Bresci (the assassin of King Umberto) and his confederate Graonitti, both members of the Paterson anarchist group when the assassination was plotted—having indicated by their successful attempt that Paterson was the headquarters of a circle of real and willing terrorists. Through the offices of Malatesta the L'Era Nuova group was definitely formed, always in small numbers and centering around him. Bresci had been a member and Grannotti the treasurer of the same group prior to the arrival of Malatesta, and both of them were considered "graduates."

Malatesta was banished from Italy and lived in London for some time—returning to London from the United States and leaving as his chief representative Ludovico Caminita, with whom he was in constant communication. (Excerpts from published works of Malatesta follow.)

Volunta is an anarchist newspaper printed in Italy on funds secured and with material contributed by Malatesta. Copies of this paper have been found in the possession of L'Era Nuova members, as well as letters from Malatesta regarding funds for the same.

Ludovico Caminita (examined by Agent Stone, Newark, Feb. 14, 1920).—Born in Italy, 1879, and graduate of several Italian colleges. Has had first papers 12 years. Came to United States in 1902. (Photo and measurements in file.) Printer by trade. Ordered deported.

Worked for Mazzotta in preparation of reply to article of Carlo Tresca in La Folla. Admits he was editor of La Questione Social; that he has been an anarchist 12 years and was such while he was editor; that he helped to print La Jacquesie at Nicoletti's, on Canal Street—that he printed the January (last number) issue of La Jacquesie at Mazzotta's. He is a member of the Francesco Ferrer Association and lectured there. Stated Franz Widmer was editor of L'Era Nuova. (See historical sketch on "L'Era Nuova Group.")

Under cover operative knows that Caminita, in addition to printing La Jacquesie also supervised the publication and wrote articles for the same. He was the party referred to in the letter to subscribers announcing discontinuance of the publication L'Era Nuova and the establishment of La Jacquesie as its successor.

Caminita almost from the start has been a moving spirit in the work. He is a fluent, vitriolic writer on anarchistic subjects and typifies in his work the teachings of Malatesta, whose chief representative in the United States he was after Malatesta returned to London, and the two were in constant communication.

Subject was author of an anarchistic pamphlet in Italian and entitled "The Free Country," from which the following is taken:

"A nation ruled by government, whatever may be the form of it, can not boast of true and absolute liberty.

"Does not the Declaration of Independence itself declare that the people have the right to overthrow the Government and to provide new systems for the security of the commonwealth at any time it is not satisfied with current conditions, is this in true and complete liberty of thought and action? * * * The United States are free on paper; in the practical things of every-day life, they are, instead the antithesis of liberty and equality. The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution are to-day anachronisms for the American people, which do not deserve the honor of a glance, still preserved in archives to furnish documents for the story that America once had men of great hearts and gigantic intellect." * * *

He refers to republican France as "that other wench from the boulevard." Another phrase which appears is "the law and the idiots who believe in it." Still another, "Americans who make idols of the laws."

"To live in the bowels of the earth, to grow fatigued, to challenge black death every day, every minute, every instant; and then, when desire is manifest, when a right is claimed, the law of the Free Country" (the title of the work) "is ready to seal you up from behind with a state of siege, a hedge of bayonets, a deluge of lead." * * *

"Oh, shame and disgrace of this Republic! The Government in silk hat and frock coat, as if in derision of the people who pretend to be free enough, does not wish to be behind any other Government in point of ferocity. Thus, after having imitated the Russia and its despotism in Colorado, it surpasses that

the 1902 silk dyers' strike, participated in by Emma Goldman and others. (See historical sketch of the group.) Italian organizer for I. W. W. Writes for *La Jacquerie*. Deportation warrant canceled April 10, 1920.

Andre Grazione.—Member of L'Era Nuova group and engaged in propaganda work for the I. W. W.

Taldi Coppa.—Active member of the L'Era Nuova group.

Salvatore Palmieri.—Italian alien, 22 years old. Active member of both L'Era Nuova group and Francesco Ferrer Association, attending the school of the latter. No evidence other than membership.

Casur Palmieri.—Italian alien, 30 years old. Active member of L'Era Nuova group and attendant at meetings of Francesco Ferrer Association. No evidence other than membership and association with other members of the groups. Deportation warrant issued and canceled on March 26, 1920.

Pietro Marino.—Italian alien, 27 years old; wife and child in Paterson. Member of L'Era Nuova and Francesco Ferrer Association. No additional evidence.

Paolo Guabello.—Italian alien, 27 years old; married; wife and child in Paterson. Member of L'Era Nuova group, and large quantity of anarchistic literature by Caminita and Propotkin found among his effects. Also propagandist for the I. W. W.

Spartaco Guebello.—Born at Paterson, N. J. Nineteen years old. Member and formerly secretary of Francesco Ferrer Association. Denies he is an anarchist. Fled to Mexico to evade military service, and upon his return was indicted and served five months at Del Rio, Tex.

Francesco Pitea.—Italian alien, 23 years old; single. Member of L'Era Nuova group and Francesco Ferrer Association. Denies he is an anarchist. Deportation warrant canceled April 9, 1920.

Jacques Pitea.—Italian alien, 34 years old; common-law wife and child in Paterson. Brother of Tony and Frank Pitea, all being members of the Mutual Aid Society, which is a camouflage for an anarchistic group in Paterson. Claims he is a left-wing Socialist or Social Democrat, and believes in such a government as exists in Germany at present. Known to be a member of L'Era Nuova group, and claims the anarchistic literature found in his suitcase was purchased at a festival. Known by undercover operative to be interested, with his brothers, in distribution of Volunta, Proletario, and Libretario. Deportation warrant canceled March 26, 1920.

Umanita Nova (New Humanity).—Anarchist daily newspaper published in Milan, Italy, by Errico Malatesta and others. Subscription blanks contain instructions to forward mail either to the Milan address or to Libreria Sociologica, Paterson, which is owned by Fermino Gallo. These subscription blanks were sent into practically every State in the Union, and a number of them returned to Gallo. Lists of contributors to the fund for establishing the paper, and found in the possession of Gallo, contain the names and amounts from 460 contributors in California, Illinois, New York, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Massachusetts, Kansas, Michigan, and several other States. One contributor in Jerome, Ariz., signs "The Executioner" instead of his name. Individual amounts range from 10 cents to \$7. Total known contributions sent to Gallo, \$355. Proceeds from many festivals, picnics, dances, etc., were sent direct to Milan, and do not appear on the Paterson lists, this information being procured from acknowledgements appearing in the first copy of the paper received. The first issue of Umanita Nova is dated February 27, 1920, and for some time an average of 10 copies a day arrived in Paterson alone.

Under the heading, "Our Propositions," the following appears:

"Abolition of capitalism with its system of production.

"Abolition of the State (every State) with its legislative, judicial, and military organs.

"Constitution of free communities (anarchist communities) voluntarily united in effective brotherhood and cooperation of all the people of the world.

"Seizure (by the workers) of the land, factories, medium of transportation, machines, and all other tools and organization of production and exchange.

"Organized resistance against the possible attempt of reaction and reestablishment of the overthrown régime.

"Opposition to any attempt at new governments, or authoritative and oppressive organizations."

La Folla (The Mob).—Bimonthly organ of the Italian Interstate Federation of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut. The editor and business manager is G. Valenti and the address of the publication 7 East Fifteenth Street, room 505, New York City.

This is the Italian paper which accused Ludovico Caminita of being a spy, which resulted in a bitter controversy. It is claimed the exposure of Caminita was caused by his attack on Carlo Tresca.

Francesco Ferrer Association.—"Philosophic" anarchist organization. Composed largely of the sons of members of the L'Era Nuova group, but also including members of that group. Most of the members are under 21 years of age. It is the purpose of the association to inculcate among the young Italians the principles of the L'Era Nuova group. The foundation of its teaching is anarchy. An educational committee arranges meetings and lectures by prominent members of the L'Era Nuova group and others, using the guise of education. In January, 1920, there were 37 paid-up members. I. W. W. influences have been at work in the attempts to one Blossom, organizing secretary for the I. W. W., at Paterson. However, the anarchistic theory does not agree, and effort is being made to force Blossom out of the association by certain radical members.

During the war the Ferrer Club maintained a strong antidraft propaganda through circulars and posters.

Ludovico Caminita (see L'Era Nuova) speaks every Friday night on the subject of anarchy. James Gallo, son of Fermino Gallo (see personal paragraph) is the leading spirit in the association and chairman of the educational committee.

On December 9, 1919, prior to the departure of the *Buford* Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman wrote a joint letter to the Young Men's Ferrer Club, the original having been recovered. It contains, in part, the following:

"We appeal to you most probably for the last time * * * Friends, we have often in the past called upon you to support the great struggles for free speech * * * and for numerous similar causes. Your response has always been fine spirited and generous. Indeed, it was your affection and cooperation that have been our greatest inspiration and support."

The Ferrer colony at Stelton, N. J., is an anarchist settlement established about three years ago and consisting of about 200 families as permanent settlers. In the summer the colony is increased to 300 by visiting radicals who commute to Philadelphia and New York. The colony is not incorporated, but their "modern school" is incorporated under the laws of the State of New Jersey, and attempts are being made to organize schools at Detroit, Buffalo, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, San Francisco, Erie, Pa., and Washington State.

They publish a monthly magazine called "The Modern School," which magazine is devoted to libertarian ideas in education. The editor is Carl Zigrosser and the circulation manager, E. S. Pratt. In the number for September, 1918, appears an article entitled "The Ferrer Modern School; Interpretation and Appraisal," by William Thurston Brown, from which the following is taken:

"The Ferrer modern school consists of a group of men and women with vision who launched this school eight years ago in New York, and who, with still greater and surer vision, planted it here three years ago last May. * * * They saw about them a visionless school system; the public machine in charge of the system. They felt education to be the most precious thing life holds the possibility of. * * *

"Four years ago where now Ferrer colony stands there was nothing but an unusually ugly farmhouse, an uglier barn, and 140 acres of poorly cultivated land with a stream of water that never runs dry winding its way in graceful curves through a part of it, fringed for most of its course with bushes and trees. It was on such a site that those men and women of vision and courage and idealism proposed to organize a school whose produce should be education. * * *

"The creation of a true school at Stelton depends upon the moral, intellectual, and spiritual development of Ferrer colony. The atmosphere of Ferrer colony can not be one thing and that of the school a totally different thing. The one can not be sordid and the other fine, the one narrow and the other broad, the one trivial and the other earnest. Every member of Ferrer colony is as really a teacher in the school as if he were included in its staff.

"What has happened during these three years on this 140 acres of land? It is not much to say that nowhere in America has so remarkable a change been wrought in three years as here. Houses and shacks to the number of 51 have been built, and the population in summer must be not less than 200. About 20 families live in Ferrer colony the year throughout. * * *

"A dormitory housing 24 children in single beds has been built, its central room equipped with sanitary toilets, a bathroom and tub, washbasins for the children, and a shower bath. * * * September 1, on land belonging to the school, a swimming pool, 120 by 60, will be dedicated. * * * Mistakes have been made, and much remains to be done before we can approach very closely to the fulfillment of our hopes. While we have in Ferrer colony the beginnings of a moral and spiritual atmosphere impossible in the average community, on account of its blindness and conservatism, more remains to be done in this direction, and an esthetic conscience has been conspicuous by its absence. * * * What of the school itself—its curriculum, its methods, its results? * * *

"It takes time to demonstrate results in education. Its proofs can be seen only in character, in personality, in the quality of manhood and womanhood, in the vital citizenship produced. Progress is also registered in the growing clearness of vision and conviction as to goal and methods in the minds of teachers. Mere numbers in the teaching staff do not signify. Passing examinations is no test. The evidence of progress is to be found in the minds and spirits of teachers quite as much as in the mind and spirit of pupils.

"Convincing demonstration of the value of our school has been made by the record of pupils who have gone from this school to high school. * * * Our two graduates who have just completed a year in high school could not have passed the entrance examinations. By an oversight they were admitted without examination. But one of them has been told she can finish high school in three years instead of four—no doubt, both can—and both have been unsurpassed in scholarship and unequaled in other and more significant ways.

"Who make the best citizens for America? Boys and girls who are mere echoes, parrots, who accept the conventional views of their teachers or of society at large, without question? Or boys and girls who show themselves capable of forming their own moral judgments, who see the defects as well as the excellencies of the political or social system in which they live, and who have courage to make known what they think? If not the latter, citizenship has neither meaning nor value. Measured by the above standard, graduates of the Ferrer modern school belong in a class by themselves in any high school in America. They have at least the foundations of citizenship for a dynamic society—a social order that grows and outgrows * * *.

"WILLIAM THURSTON BROWN."

Brown is the director of the school and Joseph J. Cohen acting director. The curriculum of the school is founded on the usual pedagogic system with the elimination therefrom of patriotic and religious concepts. In other words, the love of country or the doctrines of christianity are not taught, being inconsistent with the principles of the so-called modern thought, which, stripped of its subtle definitions, is anarchy. In fact, the reasons for the establishment of this colony find root in the principles of anarchy. The predominant motive being the avoidance of all governmental (Federal, State or municipal) control or direction, merely observing such forms as are expedient, the aim being to ultimately practice pure anarchy. The cult at present finds expression in but few of the anarchistic doctrines, viz, communism, although modified to the extent of the owners of the land owning and having legal title to the property; internationalism, national boundaries, and allegiance to any State being tabooed.

This latter phase finds expression in a uniform failure of any of the colonists to purchase Liberty bonds or war savings stamps; the failure on the part of all concerned to exhibit the American emblem, whereas a large red flag was prominently displayed from the water tank on the day Germany declared its first revolution at the Kiel Canal, which is well known as a Spartecide movement, and the American flag, Liberty bonds, and other mediums of expression of patriotic sentiment have no part in their doctrines, and the red flag, being the color of blood, symbolized mankind rather than any one country. Although free love is not practiced nor encouraged, and the children are not permitted to run about naked in the hot weather, their code provides for liberalism and respect for living and no insistence is made upon the marriage state; they believe it is no concern of theirs whether a man and woman are married so long as they conduct themselves properly.

As to religion, every person in the colony would worship God in his own way, and accordingly the church is not recognized there. The colonists located at Stelton, each with a small farm raising produce and chickens, only want to be

let alone to live their life in their own way, basing the desire in the common-law doctrine of all humans living so as not to interfere with the rights of others, and the others on their part not interfering with them.

Respectfully submitted.

WARREN W. GRIMES.

EXHIBIT No. 27.

SAMPLES OF I. W. W. LITERATURE.

SABOTAGE.

ITS NECESSITY IN THE CLASS WAR.

I am not going to attempt to justify sabotage on any moral ground. If the workers consider that sabotage is necessary, that in itself makes sabotage moral. Its necessity is its excuse for existence. And for us to discuss the morality of sabotage would be as absurd as to discuss the morality of the strike or the morality of the class struggle itself. In order to understand sabotage or to accept it at all it is necessary to accept the

GENERAL FORMS OF SABOTAGE.

Sabotage was adopted by the General Federation of Labor of France in 1897 as a recognized weapon in their method of conducting fights on their employers. But sabotage as an instinctive defense existed long before it was ever officially recognized by any labor organization. Sabotage means primarily the withdrawal of efficiency. Sabotage means either to slacken up and interfere with the quantity or to botch in your skill and interfere with the quality of capitalist production or to give poor service. Sabotage is not physical violence; sabotage is an internal, industrial process. It is something that is fought out within the four walls of the shop. And these three forms of sabotage—to affect the quality, the quantity, and the service—are aimed at affecting the profit of the employer. Sabotage is a means of striking at the employer's profit for the purpose of forcing him into granting certain conditions, even as workmen strike for the same purpose of coercing him. It is simply another form of coercion.

There are many forms of interfering with efficiency, interfering with quality and the quantity of production; from varying motives, there is the employer's sabotage as well as the worker's sabotage. Employers interfere with the quality of production; they interfere with the quantity of production; they interfere with the supply as well as with the kind of goods for the purpose of increasing their profit. But this form of sabotage, capitalist sabotage, is anti-social, for the reason that it is aimed at the good of the few at the expense of the many, whereas working-class sabotage is distinctly social; it is aimed at the benefit of the many, at the expense of the few.

INTERFERING WITH QUALITY OF GOODS.

The second form of sabotage is to deliberately interfere with the quality of the goods. And in this we learn many lessons from our employers, even as we learn how to limit the quantity. You know that every year in the western part of this United States there are fruits and grains produced that never find a market; bananas and oranges rot on the ground, whole skiffs of fruits are dumped into the ocean. Not because people do not need these foods and couldn't make good use of them in the big cities of the East, but because the employing class prefer to destroy a large percentage of the production in order to keep the price up in cities like New York, Chicago, Baltimore, and Boston. If they sent all the bananas that they produce into the eastern part of the United States we would be buying bananas at probably three for a cent. But by destroying a large quantity they are able to keep the price up to two for 5 cents. And this applies to potatoes, apples, and very many other staple articles required by the majority of people. Yet if the worker attempts to apply the same principle, the same theory, the same tactics as his employer we are confronted with all sorts of finespun moral objections.

"DYNAMITING" SILK.

Let me give you a specific illustration of what I mean. Seventy-five years ago when silk was woven into cloth the silk skein was taken in the pure, dyed and woven, and when that piece of silk was made it would last 50 years. Your grandmother could wear it as a wedding dress. Your mother could wear it as a wedding dress. And then you, if you, woman reader, were fortunate enough to have a chance to get married, could wear it as a wedding dress also. But the silk that you buy to-day is not dyed in the pure and woven into a strong and durable product. One pound of silk goes into the dyehouse and usually as many as 3 to 15 pounds come out. That is to say, along with the dyeing there is an extraneous and an unnecessary process of what is very picturesquely called "dynamiting." They weight the silk. They have solutions of tin, solutions of zinc, solutions of lead. If you will read the journals of the Silk Association of America you will find in there advice to master dyers as to which salts are the most appropriate for weighting purposes. You will read advertisements—possibly you saw it reprinted in *The Masses* for December, 1913—of silk mills, Ashley & Bailey's, in Paterson, for instance, advertised by an auctioneer as having a plant for weighting, for dynamiting silk par excellence. And so when you buy a nice piece of silk to-day and have a dress made for festive occasions, you hang it away in the wardrobe and when you take it out it is cracked down the pleats and along the waist and arms. And you believe that you have been terribly cheated by a clerk. What is actually wrong is that you have paid for silk where you have received old tin cans and zinc and lead, and things of that sort. You have a dress that is garnished with silk, seasoned with silk, but a dress that is adulterated to the point where, if it was adulterated just the slightest degree more, it would fall to pieces entirely.

Now, what Frederic Sumner Boyd advocated to the silk workers was in effect this: "You do for yourselves what you are already doing for your employers. Put these same things into the silk for yourself and your own purposes as you are putting in for the employer's purposes." And I can't imagine, even in a court of law, where they can find the fine thread of deviation—where the master dyers' sabotage is legal and the worker's sabotage illegal, where they consist of identically the same thing and where the silk remains intact. The silk is there. The loom is there. There is no property destroyed by the process. The one thing that is eliminated is the efficiency of the worker to cover up this adulteration of the silk, to carry it just to the point where it will weave and not be detected. That efficiency is withdrawn. The veil is torn from off production in the silk-dyeing houses and silk mills and the worker simply says: "Here, I will take my hands off and I will show you what it is. I will show you how rotten, how absolutely unusable the silk actually is that they are passing off on the public at two and three dollars a yard."

NONADULTERATION AND OVERADULTERATION.

Now, Boyd's form of sabotage was not the most dangerous form of sabotage at that. If the judges had any imagination they would know that Boyd's form of sabotage was pretty mild compared with this: Suppose that he had said to the dyers in Paterson, to a sufficient number of them, that they could do it as a whole, so that it would affect every dyehouse in Paterson: "Instead of introducing these chemicals for adulteration, don't introduce them at all. Take the lead, the zinc, and the tin and throw it down the sewer and weave the silk, beautiful, pure, durable silk, just as it is. Dye it pound for pound, hundred pound for hundred pound." The employers would have been more hurt by that form of sabotage than by what Boyd advocated. And they would probably have wanted him put in jail for life instead for seven years. In other words, to advocate nonadulteration is a lot more dangerous to capitalist interests than to advocate adulteration. And nonadulteration is the highest form of sabotage in an establishment like the dyehouses of Paterson, bakeries, confectioners, meat-packing houses, restaurants, etc.

Interfering with quality or durability, or the utility of a product might be illustrated as follows: Suppose a milkman comes to your house every day and delivers a quart of milk, and this quart of milk is half water, and they put some chalk in it and some glue to thicken it. Then a????

PUTTING THE MACHINE ON STRIKE.

Suppose that when the engineer had gone on strike he had taken a vital part of the engine on strike with him, without which it would have been impossible for anyone to run that engine. Then there might have been a different story. Railroad men have a mighty power in refusing to transport soldiers, strike-breakers, and ammunition for soldiers and strikebreakers into strike districts. They did it in Italy. The soldiers went on the train. The train guards refused to run the trains. The soldiers thought they could run the train themselves. They started and the first signal they came to was "Danger." They went along very slowly and cautiously, and the next was at "Danger." And they found before they had gone very far that some of the switches had been turned and they were run off on to a siding in the woods somewhere. Laboriously they got back onto the main track. They came to a drawbridge and the bridge was turned open. They had to go across in boats and abandon the train. That meant walking the rest of the way. By the time they got into the strike district the strike was over. Soldiers who have had to walk aren't so full of vim and vigor and so anxious to shoot "dagoes" down when they get into a strike district as when they ride in a train manned by union men.

The railroad men have mighty power in refusing to run these trains and putting them in such a condition that they can't be run by others. However, to anticipate a question that is going to be asked about the possible disregard for human life, remember that when they put all the signals at danger there is very little risk for human life, because the train usually has to stop dead still.

Where they take a vital part of the engine away the train does not run at all. So human life is not in danger. They make it a practice to strike such a vital blow that the service is paralyzed thereafter.

With freight, of course, they do different things. In the strike of the railroad workers in France they transported the freight in such a way that a great trainload of fine fresh fruit could be run off into a siding in one of the poorest districts of France. It was left to decay. But it never reached the point of either decay or destruction. It was usually taken care of by the poor people of that district. Something that was supposed to be sent in a rush from Paris to Havre was sent to Marseilles. And so within a very short time the whole system was so clogged and demoralized that they had to say to the railroad workers, "You are the only efficient ones. Come back. Take your demands. But run our railroads."

"USED SABOTAGE, BUT DIDN'T KNOW WHAT YOU CALLED IT."

Sabotage is for the workingman an absolute necessity. Therefore it is almost useless to argue about its effectiveness. When men do a thing instinctively, continually, year after year and generation after generation, it means that that weapon has some value to them. When the Boyd speech was made in Paterson immediately some of the socialists rushed to the newspapers to protest. They called the attention of the authorities to the fact that the speech was made. The secretary of the Socialist Party and the organizer of the Socialist Party repudiated Boyd. That precipitated the discussion into the strike committee as to whether speeches on sabotage were to be permitted. We had tried to instill into the strikers the idea that any kind of a speech was to be permitted; that a socialist or a minister, or a priest, a union organizer, an A. F. of L. man, a politician, an I. W. W. man, an anarchist, anybody, should have the platform. And we tried to make the strikers realize, "You have sufficient intelligence to select for yourselves. If you haven't got that, then no censorship over your meetings is going to do you any good." So they had a rather tolerant spirit, and they were not inclined to accept this socialist denunciation of sabotage right off the reel. They had an executive session and thrashed it out, and this is what occurred:

One worker said: "I never heard of this thing called sabotage before Mr. Boyd spoke about it on the platform. I know once in a while, when I want a half day off and they won't give it to me, I slip the belt off the machine so it won't run, and I get my half day. I don't know whether you call that sabotage, but that's what I do."

Another said: "I was in the strike of the dyers 11 years ago, and we lost. We went back to work, and we had these scabs that had broken our strike working side by side with us. We were pretty sore. So whenever they were supposed to be mixing green we saw to it that they put in red, or when they were supposed to be mixing blue we saw to it that they put in green. And soon they realized that scabbing was a very unprofitable business. And the next strike we had, they lined up with us. I don't know whether you call that sabotage, but it works."

As we went down the line, one member of the executive committee after another admitted they had used this thing, but they "didn't know that was what you called it!" And so, in the end, Democrats, Republicans, Socialists, all I. W. W.'s in the committee voted that speeches on sabotage were to be permitted, because it was ridiculous not to say on the platform what they were already doing in the shop.

And so my final justification of sabotage is its constant use by the worker. The position of speakers, organizers, lecturers, writers who are presumed to be interested in the labor movement, must be one of two. If you place yourself in a position outside of the working class and you presume to dictate to them from some "superior" intellectual plane what they are to do, they will very soon get rid of you, for you will very soon demonstrate that you are of absolutely no use to them. I believe the mission of the intelligent propagandist is this: We are to see what the workers are doing and then try to understand why they do it; not tell them it's right or it's wrong, but analyze the condition and see if possibly they do not best understand their need and if, out of the condition, there may not develop a theory that will be of general utility. Industrial unionism and sabotage are theories born of such facts and experiences. But for us to place ourselves in a position of censorship is to alienate ourselves entirely from sympathy and utility with the very people we are supposed to serve.

LIMITING THE OVERSUPPLY OF SLAVES.

It is my hope that the workers will not only "sabotage" the supply of products, but also the oversupply of producers. In Europe the syndicalists have carried on a propaganda that we are too cowardly to carry on in the United States as yet. It is against the law. Everything is "against the law" once it becomes large enough for the law to take cognizance that it is in the best interests of the working class. If sabotage is to be thrown aside because it is construed as against the law, how do we know that next year free speech may not have to be thrown aside? Or free assembly or free press? That a thing is against the law does not mean necessarily that the thing is not good. Sometimes it means just the contrary; a mighty good thing for the working class to use against the capitalists. In Europe they are carrying on this sort of limitation of product. They are saying, "Not only will we limit the product in the factory, but we are going to limit the supply of producers. We are going to limit the supply of workers on the market." Men and women of the working class in France and Italy and even Germany to-day are saying, "We are not going to have 10, 12, and 14 children for the Army, the Navy, the factory, and the mine. We are going to have fewer children, with quality and not quantity accentuated as our ideal, who can be better fed, better clothed, better equipped mentally, and will become better fighters for the social revolution." Although it is not a strictly scientific definition, I like to include this as indicative of the spirit that produces sabotage. It certainly is one of the most vital forms of class warfare there are, to strike at the roots of the capitalist system by limiting their supply of slaves and creating individuals who will be good soldiers on their own behalf.

It pierces the nerve centers of capitalism, stabs at its hearts and stomachs, tears at the vitals of its economic system. It is cutting a path to freedom, to ease in production and ease in consumption.

Confident in his powers, he hurls his challenge into his master's teeth—I am, I was, and I will be—

"I will be, and lead the nations on, the last of all your hosts to meet,
Till on your necks, your heads, your crowns, I'll plant my strong, resistless
feet.

Avenger, liberator, judge, red battles on my pathway hurled,
I stretch forth my almighty arm till it revivifies the world."

I. W. W. TACTICS OR METHODS.

[A pamphlet by Vincent St. John and published by the I. W. W.]

As a revolutionary organization the Industrial Workers of the World aims to use any and all tactics that will get the results sought with the least expenditure of time and energy. The tactics used are determined solely by the power of the organization to make good in their use. The question of "right" and "wrong" does not concern us.

No terms made with an employer are final. All peace, so long as the wage system lasts, is but an armed truce. At any favorable opportunity the struggle for more control of industry is renewed.

As the organization gains control in the industries, and the knowledge among the workers of their power, when properly applied within the industries, becomes more general, the long drawn out strike will become a relic of the past. A long drawn out strike implies insufficient organization or that the strike has occurred at a time when the employer can best afford to shut down, or both. Under all ordinary circumstances a strike that is not won in four to six weeks can not be won by remaining out longer. In trustified industry the employer can better afford to fight one strike that lasts six months than he can six strikes that take place in that period.

No part of the organization is allowed to enter into time contracts with the employers. Where strikes are used, it aims to paralyze all branches of the industry involved, when the employers can least afford a cessation of work—during the busy season and when there are rush orders to be filled.

The Industrial Workers of the World maintains that nothing will be conceded by the employers except that which we have the power to take and hold by the strength of our organization. Therefore we seek no agreements with the employers.

Failing to force concessions from the employers by the strike, work is resumed and "sabotage" is used to force the employers to concede the demands of the workers.

The great progress made in machine production results in an ever-increasing army of unemployed. To counteract this the Industrial Workers of the World aims to establish the shorter workday and to slow up the working pace, thus compelling the employment of more and more workers.

To facilitate the work of organization, large initiation fees and dues are prohibited by the I. W. W.¹

During strikes the works are closely picketed, and every effort made to keep the employers from getting workers into the shops. All supplies are cut off from strike-bound shops. All shipments are refused or misssent, delayed, and lost if possible. Strike breakers are also isolated to the full extent of the power of the organization. Interference by the Government is resented by open violation of the Government's orders, going to jail en masse, causing expense to the taxpayers, which is but another name for the employing class.

In short, the I. W. W. advocates the use of militant, "direct action" tactics to the full extent of our power to make good.

GUARDING THE SHRINKING DOLLAR.

[Taken from the One Big Union, I. W. W. magazine for May.]

Steel turrets or "pill boxes" like the above are being installed in banks all over the country. This pill box shelters two guards, armed with high-power guns. The narrow slits permit them to cover the entire floor space of the bank with their guns. The banker robs the depositor with impunity through the depreciation of the dollar, but that is business. If the masked bandits interfere with the "business" of the big robbers, they get a few "pills."

PANIC!

Do you know that the banking associations of this country have willingly and criminally caused a panic?

¹ Some of the craft unions charge from \$25 to \$250. One, the Green Bottle Blowers' Union, charges \$1,000.

The banking and big interests, in order to reap fat interest on foreign investments, have maliciously and criminally exhausted the credit of their own country.

United States of America money now can be easily had for only twelve per cent.

Why do you so willingly lend these criminal and unpatriotic interests your money for 2 per cent and 4 per cent? This is what you do when you deposit money in the bank.

Investors in and owners of Liberty bonds, do you know that the banking interests are trying to make your bonds worthless? Try to realize on your bonds at the bank and see for yourself.

Soldiers, this is what you fought for and this is what your comrades laid down their lives for.

Citizens, this is what you underwent privations for in order to buy Liberty bonds.

Workers, this is what you reap as your share of victory.

Go to the banks, demand your money. Do not intrust these thieves any longer with the country's finance. Legitimate business offers a much surer and safer investment than the banks.

The facts are this: The country is now entering on the first few days of the worst panic that the country has ever seen. The banks in diverting the finance and credit into foreign markets have caused this.

Discipline the thieves.

CHRISTIANS AT WAR.

[By John F. Kendrick.]

[Taken from I. W. W. songs, to "Fan the Flames of Discontent," February, 1917.]

(Tune, "Onward, Christian Soldiers.")

Onward, Christian soldiers! Duty's way is plain;
Slay your Christian neighbors, or by them be slain.
Pulpiteers are spouting effervescent swill,
God above is calling you to rob and rape and kill.
All your acts are sanctified by the Lamb on high;
If you love the Holy Ghost, go murder, pray, and die.

Onward, Christian soldiers, rip and tear and smite!
Let the gentle Jesus bless your dynamite.
Splinter skulls with shrapnel, fertilize the sod;
Folks who do not speak your tongue deserve the curse of God.
Smash the doors of every home, pretty maidens seize;
Use your might and sacred right to treat them as you please.

Onward, Christian soldiers! Eat and drink your fill;
Rob with bloody fingers; Christ O. K's the bill.
Steal the farmer's savings, take their grain and meat;
Even though the children starve, the Savior's bums must eat.
Burn the peasant's cottages, orphans leave bereft;
In Jehovah's holy name wreak ruin right and left.

Onward, Christian soldiers! Drench the land with gore;
Mercy is a weakness all the gods abhor.
Bayonet the babies; jab the mothers, too;
Hoist the cross of Calvary to hallow all you do.
File your bullets' noses flat, poison every well;
God decrees your enemies must all go plumb to hell.

Onward, Christian soldiers! Blighting all you meet,
Trampling human freedom under plous feet.
Praise the Lord whose dollar sign dupes his favored race!
Make the foreign trash respect your bullion brand of grace.
Trust in mock salvation, serve as pirates' tools;
History will say of you: "That pack of G—— d—— fools."

EXHIBIT No. 28.

RAILROAD WORKERS' ONE BIG UNION.

[Headquarters, Chicago, Ill.]

STRIKE WHILE THE IRON IS HOT.

The transportation department is out to raise their standard of living and to have their grievances settled. We have been wanting for a long time to improve our conditions. Now is the time to do it.

Throw yourself in with the other railroad workers who are now struggling to better their conditions and raise your own standard of living at the same time. You will have to it later anyhow, when the chances perhaps are not so good. So, do it now. Do not wait to do it until the transportation workers have been defeated by our staying at work and have been compelled to again shoulder the yoke they have now thrown off.

Let us all be men together. Let us all be brothers in this common cause. Do not stand idly by and allow the labor misleaders and detective agencies to crucify those who have taken the initiative in this struggle, but come out now.

If you don't you will be locked out—like the Pennsylvania shopmen.

Let us be men among men in this common cause and walk off the job now. Pay no attention to the stool pigeons who are paid from the slush fund provided by the railroad managers to keep on the job, but join the big railroad strike now.

It is a glorious chance of a kind that comes only once in a century. We stand at the parting of the ways. One road leads to continued slavery under employers and labor politicians to increasing poverty, misery, and degradation. The other road leads to freedom, self-determination, abundance, peace, and happiness. How can we hesitate?

Yours, for immediate action,

RAILROAD WORKERS' ONE BIG UNION.

(Pittsburgh headquarters, corner James and Foreland Streets, North Side, Pittsburgh, Pa.)

RAILROAD WORKERS' ONE BIG UNION.

[Headquarters, Chicago, Ill.]

ATTENTION—RAILROAD SHOPMEN.

The railroad transportation workers have walked off the job to protest against starvation wages. Every important railroad center in the country is now tied up by the walkout.

The labor politicians—the brotherhood officials whom we have so insanely depended upon to secure our rights, have joined hands with the detective agencies, the sluggers, and the railroad managers to drive us back on the job and into immediate starvation. We are weary of the betrayal by our false prophets in Washington (the official family) and can no longer live on promises. Our representatives and leaders in Washington could not have led us into bondage any better if they had received a price for so doing. Already are the fences being built that will reduce us to little better than slavery if we do not act at once. We believe that men in the railroad industry have intelligence enough to realize that another month will disrupt our organization.

The railroad officials are already using their most barbarous tactics against us and are trying to break our union of shopmen in the Pennsylvania Railroad shops. This is the beginning only, as in week's time one-half of the shops in Chicago and other outside points will be in the same position.

The yardmen and the roadmen have blazed the trail, and we must now open our eyes and see the truth.

Join now!

ONE BIG UNION OF RAILROAD WORKERS.

(Corner James and Foreland Streets, North Side, Pittsburgh, Pa.)

RAILWAYMEN AND PORT WORKERS!

Your enemies are howling loud.

Your leaders and bosses, the union, newspapers, and the Government are against you. That is to be expected. But you are prepared for it.

They said you were only workers—railroad and port workers—and did not care whether you earned enough to live on or not. You were the kind they could replace any day. But suddenly you struck, and they found that you were among the most important in the whole country.

By stopping work, you kept food supplies from reaching the city. In the name of the dear "commuters," they said your action was a crime. But that is just your power—to cut off all supplies. Remember that! You must learn to use your power and use it well.

If your bosses object to your stopping work, why don't they give you wages and conditions that will keep you satisfied? Because they think they don't have to. But you are showing them this time.

Of course, you are rebelling against your leaders. What do they know about working for a low wage? Once they worked, too, but they've long outgrown that. Now they have soft snaps and are drawing good salaries. (Do you remember when John Mitchell, the labor leader, died? He left something like \$172,000? How much do you think you'll leave your wife and kids?) And there are various "tips" and "presents" they get from your bosses for keeping you quiet.

And your unions? Oh, they are just like your bosses, furnishing union scabs to take your places. Next they will call in the police to protect the precious strikebreakers from you, the "outlaws." But you will have the upper hand soon. Then throw these leaders and their unions into the streets, where they belong.

In your name your leaders made agreements with the United States Government not to press the wage-raise question till the Government brought the cost of living down. Well, you see it has come down skywards! The Government bluffed you—it knew very well it could not lower prices. Your leaders betrayed you. And at last you have rebelled and rebelled right.

You didn't give them six months' notice, but went out when you could hit them best. That's the way to do it.

The Government is using all its motor trucks to scab on you. It is going to call on private owners to furnish their trucks and drivers. Bankers, lawyers, college men are scabbing on you. The Government is going to issue injunctions against you, it will prosecute you, jail you. And then will come Government troops!

Get a powerful number of your fellows rebelling at the same time and show them who you are. Tie up the whole system! Show your mass power.

But don't stop when you win this strike. You've got to learn to strike for more—for everything! Higher wages and better conditions are not going to free you; you will be the same wage slave as ever. And every penny you gain will be swallowed up by the higher cost of living, higher rent, etc.

Strike to put an end to the whole capitalist system! Strike to take over the industries and country for the benefit of the workers and the workers alone!

Form transport workers' committees in your shops and docks. Link them up into local, district, and national councils to take over the management of all industry. Agitate for the one big union and shop committees and workers' councils in all the industries. Make it a single revolutionary organization, prepared to fight for the overthrow of the rule of the bosses—the millionaires of Wall Street.

Don't you do all the work on the railways and docks? Didn't you prove it by bringing everything to a standstill when you went out on a strike? Aren't the workers in all industries the ones who do all the actual work—from the manager down to the lowest man?

It is the bosses, the owners, the banks, and big sharks who take the profits. And the Government, their Government, backs them up in bleeding you by means of the Army, injunctions, fake industrial courts, etc.

Your workers' councils and your one big revolutionary union must get ready to fight the United States Government. Prepare to take over the Government and to run it for the benefit of the workers alone.

Our members are supporting you in their unions.
 Out with the bosses!
 Out with your fake leaders!
 On with your revolutionary workers' councils!
 All power to the workers!

CENTRAL REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL OF AMERICA.

THE GREAT RAILROAD STRIKE.

WORKERS: Our daily capitalist papers are keeping up their good work of being the capitalists' tools. Their latest thing to fool and blind the people—the workers—with, is the great general strike of the railroad workers, which is a fact, despite the great words of wisdom of the president of the American Federation of Labor, Mr. Samuel Gompers, who is quoted in the Evening World of April 12 as having said, "Remember there is no strike. Congress has prohibited strikes on the railroads, but, of course, there is no law to prevent individuals from quitting their jobs—if they choose to do so." Think of it! The president of the greatest national union to utter a statement like that, when almost all the trains in the Nation are tied up, and even all the conservative, reactionary papers speak about the great railway "strike," which is spreading so rapidly all over the United States. Workers, these sheets are proclaiming it as "unlawful," "outlawed," and hint (in quite loud tones) that the Government may intervene if necessary.

First. Let us analyze the question awhile. The strike is "outlawed." "unlawful." Well, all know what a strike is, but why does any strike occur? Of course, there are always many minor reasons, but always the main and basic reason is the dissatisfaction and the discontent of those workers of a particular industry who have gone out on strike. Workers usually and principally strike for shorter hours and more pay, for these things form the basis of their discontent. So it is with these railroad workers.

But before proceeding further, let us go back some months to June, 1919, at that time when the war was in full swing and the railroads were controlled by the Government. Our "dear" President, this archhypocrite, this traitor to the people and to everything he ever said, for all his acts have proven his words to be hideous lies, Woodrow Wilson, distinctly told the workers who desired more pay to wait—to be "good" while the war was on—to be "patriotic" and to endure; that the high cost of living would surely go down and life become better and normal again. The workers did not yet fully realize that what Wilson said and what he did were entirely opposite to each other. They listened and they waited. When again restless, some months later, they were appealed to again, and persuaded to wait. Now, when the railroads were turned to private control, and the owners came more fully and openly into their own again, the high cost of living not only did not come down, but soared higher than before; but as for the workers they had received no increase as yet. So all the promises of the archhypocrite, Woodrow Wilson, fell through. Now, some private owners of the railroad thought that as the men were so patient and mild, and obeyed the mandates of their Government so quietly, they would make some farce of selling some boats to some other company (though the investors and shareholders of both companies are the same) and thus not only not shorten but actually lengthen the hours of the workers.

However—for once these smug, greedy, capitalistic hogs missed their laugh! The workers did not bend the knee to these plans of their exploiters. They struck! Then all the railroad workers who had grievance upon grievance piled up, waiting for the kind President to carry out his promises, decided to wait no longer, therefore, we now have the general strike of the railroads.

Now then, when this great mass of workers all with one accord find themselves dissatisfied (and have a perfect right for doing so), but when the officials of their unions (who are kept up by money drawn from the workers' pockets) are not in accord with the decisions of the workers, being well satisfied with the salary which they draw every week, if these majesties, (and many of them are in full sympathy with the exploiters of labor) declare that the workers wait before going out until these high-paid traitors (union officials) of the workers get good and ready (after much debating and talking about "negotiating" with the government and the railroad companies, these nego-

tations dragging on for two years now) to give their most gracious and kind permission to the workers to go out on strike for the workers to get more of the comforts of life; then, if for once, the workers are self-reliant, and refuse to wait for the almighty officials to give their permission, then "our" newspaper "friends," the hirelings of capitalism, proclaim it "outlawed" and "unlawful." Is it unlawful for workers to desire and go after greater benefits of their labor? How perfectly legal and proper is it, though, for the capitalists and profiteers to amass millions from the blood and toll of workers!

Workers, it is a lie, to blind and fool you again! The capitalistic class fears ours, the workers, awakening. They fear our becoming self-reliant, and ready to stand on our own feet and think with our own brains, they fear this, the cowardly traitors, and, therefore, do they write these dirty lies in their capitalistic newspapers, only to befuddle us and prejudice us against our fellow workers! We workers who are not railroad workers, and therefore, not in this strike, must show our sympathy and do all we possibly can to help our fellow workers win! We must help them by every one of us going out on a sympathetic strike, until the entire country is tied up, and the nation-wide general strike is a fact! Then we must not let our good work be lost, we must not retrace our steps. We should go and take from all storages and warehouses whatever is necessary to our welfare, for we, the workers, have been filling them up for years and years, and it is time that at last we get what we had produced, and what is, therefore, rightfully ours.

Workers, no matter what the capitalist sheets say, remember they say all things for the benefit of capitalism, and in such a way as to fool and deceive us workers. Therefore, we must keep that ever in mind—they lie—they hide the truth—they put false, glaring headlines, and want us workers to swallow it all with no questions. But workers, we must not permit these paid hirelings of capitalism, nor the exploiters of labor to fool us, we must think for ourselves! Be friendly and sympathetic to our fellow workers. Unite together, then the world and all the wealth and beauty thereof, will be ours to enjoy!

As for you the railroad, harbor, and other workers out on this general strike, we hail you, and bid you welcome to the aggressive ranks of labor! You have now seen what traitors your trade-union leaders are; do not trust any new labor people, or any official who come out and tell you in nice words they are with you, and, at the same time, are thinking of and for capitalism's interests. Trust no man who is not a worker in the ranks of labor!—who is not sincere, who speaks nice words and means others. Do not go for leaders outside of your own men! You need no mayors of cities, or wealthy officials for your leaders. Your brains are as good, and as clear! Surely, no one can do more for you than you can yourselves! You realize how hypocritical and shamming the government is, which keeps on promising, but never acts. You appreciate the value of class consciousness and solidarity! Stick hard—brave workers! Keep hope and courage ever with you. Remember the words, "courage never to submit or yield! Work hard! Get all workers of different trades to sympathize and help you; and workers, the day is not far away when every worker in this country shall realize the two great factors of our class struggle. Class consciousness and solidarity, and in working all united, in forming commune soviets, we shall inevitably win and keep the earth for the toilers, on the earth each worker getting the full benefit of his labor and all the joys of life. This is the anarchist society, the society where truth and beauty and sympathy shall prevail!

Watch for the next Anarchist Soviet Bulletin.

STRIKE!

They are all striking, railwaymen, machinists, dock workers, miners, elevator runners. They have tied up transportation and crippled industry. They are showing the bosses what they can do when they stick together.

Oh, how Wall Street is howling! Capitalist newspapers and churches are denouncing them. The "better classes" are calling them all kinds of names, "outlaws," "conspirators," "Bolsheviki," "enemies of the country."

Bankers, business men, the American Legion, college men, Y. M. C. A.—all the "best people"—are scabbing on them. These are the same patriots who bleed ex-doughboys when they ask for anything. They are a bunch of skunks!

What are the strikers demanding?

They are asking for nothing more than a living wage and decent conditions. They are not asking for the "democracy" promised them during the war. The Government and the bosses have long forgotten that. The men only ask to live like human beings.

And what do they get?

The Government jails their leaders. Palmer threatens them with arrest for "conspiracy." The price of everything is rushing up—the bosses are robbing the people, sucking them dry. This is a splendid chance for profiteers—the same "best people."

And the union?

The unions and the leaders, of course, side with the bosses and the Government. But the workers have got sick and tired and are rebelling. They know that their unions are nothing but feeding troughs for a bunch of leaders, who take money from both sides. The unions give them fat salaries for doing nothing, and they are "greased" by the bosses. And the Government puts them on boards of arbitration that cheat the workers in the name of the "public."

The Government knew very well that it was lying when it said it would bring down the cost of living. Wilson knew he could not more do that than fly to the moon—and the union leaders knew it too. Instead, things have been going skyhigh and there is no hope of a stop.

What can you expect of the A. F. of L. and the railroad brotherhoods?

For years the leaders from Sam Gompers down have played a slick game by splitting the unions into as many parts as they could. This has given them a hold on the unions, given more jobs to the union politicians, and given the bosses a whip over the workers who could never strike together.

The union leaders and the bosses have been working together against the workers.

But now a halt has been called.

You other workers are disgusted with your unions, too. You have your fakers just as the strikers have. You are totally in sympathy with the "out-law" strikers. They are showing you what you are going to do yourselves.

Don't wait.

Make it a general strike to support the railway men, machinists, miners, dock workers, and elevator runners. Call out every last man. Show the bosses that you are all of one class—the working class. Show them you will stick together and fight together. Agitate in your unions to support the strikers in every way. Vote funds for them. Our members are working in their unions for it now. Follow their leadership.

Show them that the worker knows he has only one enemy—the capitalist and the capitalist government.

Oh, the capitalist may well be satisfied with the United States Government. It is their Government. It uses the injunction only against the working class. It jails only workers and their leaders. It breaks up only labor meetings, stops only the labor press. It lets only workers be lynched, murdered, tortured, and deported and does nothing. It uses troops only against workers.

Put an end to the capitalist system and the capitalist government. Form shop committees and workers' councils for agitating and organizing. Establish industrial unions in the different industries and join them into one big revolutionary union of all the workers to fight the bosses and their government.

We, the workers, who do all the work, are going to cut out the capitalist, who does nothing in life but grind out profits from our work. We are going to take over the capitalist government and change it into a workers' government for the benefit of only the workers.

The government of the capitalists is not going to give in so easily. It is going to protect the right of the capitalists to live in luxury on our work. And the government has its army and machine guns to protect them with.

So we know what to expect and to do. We remember Ludlow, Colo.; Calumet, Mich.; Centralla, Wash.; Paterson, and Bayonne.

Prepare and act.

All power to the workers.

CENTRAL REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL OF AMERICA.

WORKERS, THIS IS THE WAY—AT LEAST YOU, THE RAILROAD WORKERS, HAVE STARTED TO REBEL.

More than six months ago, we called on you not to listen to the treacherous charlatan of capitalism, Woodrow Wilson, who called on you to continue slaving, let yourselves be exploited, robbed, and promised you that within three months' time the cost of living will surely go down.

He knew that he was lying. We also knew and told it to you. Your officials, who, if they are not in direct pay of your bosses, they ought to be, for they more than anyone else are responsible for your consent to be led astray by government tools of capitalism, assented to this betrayal. We called on you not to listen to your leaders, but to take matters into your own hands.

The Government tricklessly waited and delayed until they returned the railroads to the legalized theft owners of it, thinking that you will continue to submit.

While the cost of living continued to rise, your treacherous leaders did absolutely nothing to convey out your will to force concession to your "demands."

Instead of doing anything for you, they united with capitalism's favorite labor traitors, the officialdom of the American Federation of Labor, thus preparing to break your spirit of revolt against themselves and your exploiters!

At last you, workers, have realized that what we told you again and again is true, for at last you have arisen and rebelled!

You started to go on strike in defiance of your misleading officials, and the strike is gloriously spreading throughout every part of the country!

Your officials who carry the union rubber stamps in their pockets are now showing their real, treacherous black-body and soul-sold characters, by trying to call upon your fellow workers to scab on you, who had courage enough to rebel!

In other words, your union has become a scab union—to break strikes—a direct agency of your bosses!

The leading union official traitor of the country, Samuel Gompers, has at last discovered that you have a grievance, but at the same time announced that he and his whole outfit of the country's labor traitors stand ready to do all they can in helping to defeat your strike.

Capitalism's tool, the Government, calls you outlaws, and are ready to break your strike by saying that if you do not return to work the public will suffer, and are preparing troops to shoot you down.

Do not be discouraged or scared by your now open-faced treacherous enemies! You have started on the right roads by organizing new revolutionary workers' organizations!

Down with the present unions that serve only the bosses interests!

Be prepared workers, your downtrodden leaders will yet help the Government to jail, kill, and cripple some of the most active ones in your ranks, let such action by them not scare you!

The police and soldiers who come from the workers, will surely be man enough not to carry out the orders of capitalism's and union officials!

Let this not be a peaceful picketing strike, but a real start of our liberation.

Use every weapon or reason and force that is needed to win, in order that your strike against such a combination of crooked enemies should be crowned with success.

We call upon all the passenger railroad workers to cease working at once.

We call upon the workers of all industries to go out on a sympathetic general strike.

Workers, wherever you are, organize workers' committees to take over all warehouses and food stores, so that no worker will need to starve. Then start taking over every industry in the country and reorganize into anarchist communes, based on the principle from each according to his ability and to each according to his needs.

Be not scared by being called red or anarchist, for it is much more to be proud of being a revolting anarchist against this present system of society than to be a submissive slave to it.

Capitalism exists to exploit you, the rent sharks to rob you, the business men to build capital, the church and press to mislead you by lies, the Government to force you under the name of law and order to submit to your enslaving, and, the worst enemy of all, your leaders, who betray and sell your interests right and left in order to continue their well-paid jobs.

Those are all the enemies that we workers must face in the struggle for freedom. Whether we are railroad men, miners, longshoremen, or coatmakers, no matter what industry we work in, and if we do not wish to be exploited any more we must rise against them all.

That is why we anarchist workers have always appealed to you to have no faith whatsoever in any leaders of unions or parties.

We must once for all have faith in our own will and power.

Let us, then, all workers of the entire country, join hands with our comrades, the fighting railroad workers, and go out in sympathetic general strike.

Let us turn the general strike into a real social revolution.

Let us not stop our war of liberation until all the institutions that enslave us will be destroyed.

The land, factories, warehouses, food stores, and whatever riches they contain belong to us workers, who have produced them.

Let us, then, begin to take hold of what belongs to us.

The rebelling railroad workers have started the war of liberation. Will we, the workers of the country, not join them, and thus liberate ourselves from the present economic and political slavery?

Now is our great chance.

Let us not pass it by.

Let us start the social revolution by going out on a general strike.

Let us all join hands and begin to act, begin to fight, until the dawn of a new day—the dawn of real freedom from all that oppresses and exploits us—is an accomplished fact.

(Issued by the American Anarchist Federated Commune Soviets.)

[Communist Labor, official organ of the Communist Labor Party of America.]

“Workers of the world, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to gain.”

DOWN TOOLS MAY 1, 1920.

The sun of communism is rising in the East. From Russia its invigorating rays are awakening the proletariat of the world. The workers everywhere, inspired by the success of their first workers' government, will celebrate May 1 their international labor day with a determination only satisfied with a complete victory.

Never in the history of May 1, never since the International Congress of Paris in 1889, were the prospects for a final victory of the working class brighter, never the spirit of the workers less breakable than to-day, on the eve of May 1, 1920. Although the capitalist governments of all countries are preparing the hangmans' noose for all those that dare to think in terms inimical to the interests and principles of man-devouring imperialistic capitalism, the working class sees in these persecutions only the last efforts of the dying beast to escape its destiny.

May 1 is the workers' day.

The revolutionary advance guard of the proletariat calls upon the workers everywhere to break the bondage of economic and political slavery and demonstrate on that day for the cause of real freedom!

May 1 is not a labor day decreed to you by the powers that be to dope the workers into the belief that the government stands above the classes. No! May 1 is the workers' own day, on which, by their own determination they down tools and test their strength.

The power that decrees a holiday to you to-day tells you to-morrow: Thou shalt not strike!

But your power can take a holiday to-day, can strike to-morrow, in spite of everything.

May 1, as international labor day, is the day on which the workers by their own action demonstrate that they must fight for what they want, and for what they are entitled to, and that they have the power to win.

May 1 gives the answer of the revolutionary proletariat of all countries to the manifestations of solidarity of international capitalism.

And that answer is: Solidarity of the international proletariat.

Workers of America: You have fought for higher wages for years. By hard struggle you succeeded here and there. And yet you find yourself to-day as much the slave of profit-making capital as ever.

You have fought for shorter hours. You have succeeded. And yet to-day you must work more of your own life into the product of your toil on one day than when you worked 12 hours.

In years past we demonstrated for the eight-hour day on May 1.

To-day we demonstrate for: All power to the workers!

Capitalist society is built upon our sweat and blood, our misery and want. All our "victories" on the economic field are turned against us, and our economic slavery is reinforced by an absolute political dictatorship of capitalism. Thus our economic struggle must of necessity become a political one; the proletarian struggle ceases to be a struggle for higher wages and shorter hours, and becomes a struggle for the supremacy of the working class.

This struggle can only be fought to victory by the masses of the workers. On May 1 the workers exercise this mass action, demonstrating no more for the eight-hour day, but for the dictatorship of the proletariat. On that day we down tools to show our determination to fight and our power to win.

Comrades and fellow workers: In demonstrating our determination to fight and win we must join hands with the workers of the world. We must unite in our struggle with the revolutionary proletariat in Russia and elsewhere. They have fought our battles which they knew were theirs. We must fight their battles which we know to be ours.

Finding the capitalist governments in a conspiracy to crush the workers' Republic of Russia, it becomes our task and duty to direct our demonstration, on May 1, against this murderous conspiracy.

In their actions against Russia the capitalist governments of all countries belle their phrases of "freedom" and "democracy," and demonstrate that their highest science of statesmanship is the piratical principle: Sacrifice everything (in the name of the people, if you find fools enough to believe you), sacrifice even the people themselves for the right and the chance to make profit. Carrying out this principle with merciless rigidity they murder freedom in the name of their capitalist freedom, they suppress the people in the name of the people, their victims.

Enslaving the people economically under the disguise of a nominal political democracy, the capitalists hypocritically shed tears because the workers of Russia free the people of that country economically with the power of a dictatorship. And the answer of the capitalist dictators to the Russian people are murderous expeditions against the Soviet Republic.

Workers! To get free, you must answer the war cry of united capitalism against the workers of Russia as well as the workers in other countries with the war cry of united labor against capitalism. The answer to the capitalists of the world in their war against the social revolution in Russia and elsewhere must be the social revolution against capitalism everywhere.

But, workers: To be free, you must dare to be free. The chain holding us down in wage slavery is our submissiveness, our lack of revolutionary spirit. The determination of the workers to exert their power in united mass action aiming at the complete destruction of the capitalist dictatorship is the long-range gun that will shatter the power of our exploiters.

Let the 1st of May, 1920, kindle that spirit.

Comrades and fellow workers, let us be free!

Let us down tools in answer to the capitalists' war on the revolutionary proletariat everywhere.

Let us down tools on that day in honor of the victims, the countless soldiers of the revolution that were murdered by international capitalism in its effort to save the right to make profit.

Let us down tools that day so that we may have a test of strength of the revolutionary army of the proletariat in united action the world over.

Let us down tools on that day so that the workers may be inspired with confidence in their own power; so that May 1, 1920, may awaken the spirit of revolutionary class solidarity. This spirit will unite the proletariat the world over in its fight for real freedom. It will bring peace to the people everywhere; not the peace of the graveyard, dictated by voracious capitalist imperialism, but joyous peace known only to a free people from among whom greed and profit has been removed as cause for human slaughter.

Let us down tools on that day as a sign of our allegiance to the principles our comrades in Russia are fighting for, to help them win their battle. Down tools on May 1, 1920. Let the battalions of labor demonstrate their power upon that day.

All power to the workers! All industries to the workers! Long live the social revolution!

FROM THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL—AMSTERDAM SUBBUREAU.

AMSTERDAM, *March 20.*

COMRADES: We have learned with the utmost indignation how ruthlessly the ruling class of America is persecuting you. The brutality with which it strikes at the best workers for the cause, flogs, and tortures, imprisons and deports hundreds of brave men and women, fills our hearts with the same bitter feeling of being powerless to assist you against your cruel oppressors, as we so often experienced when, in former days, the sad stories reached us of the suffering of the Russian revolutionaries.

But at the same time, the heroic way in which you are bearing up under the blow, fills us with admiration and with confidence in the future of the American working class. We know you are as yet only a vanguard; we know how American capitalism, by combining the brutality of the former Russian autocracy with the hypocrisy that is the proper gift of the Anglo-Saxon bourgeoisie, has succeeded till now in misleading the masses of the workers.

But we also know that persecutions have always been in the great epochs of the proletarian class struggle "the seed of the church." So it was with Czarism, so after the promulgation of the antisocialist law in Germany under the rule of Bismarck; so in Russia after the terrible reaction of the years 1907-1910. Socialism always arose triumphant out of all persecutions. And so will communism in our own days. Far from striking fear in the hearts of the fighter pledged to the revolution, the white terror in America will arouse in thousands of workers consciousness of the class war, and the true nature of bourgeois democracy. It will turn the thought of thousands and thousands to the principles of communism and make them realize that there is neither freedom nor justice nor any hope of a better life for the masses as long as the capitalist class owns and controls the machinery of production.

The social revolution is making great strides in Europe; the light that has arisen in Russia floods the West; the ideas of the mass struggle, the soviet system, and the dictatorship of the proletariat as means of realizing the reorganization of production on communist lines gain daily in strength and sweep onward like an irresistible flood. In the whole of Central Europe capitalism is waiting for its deathblow; in the Latin countries—France, Italy, and Spain—it is considerably weakened, being undermined by economical and political difficulties. Till now Anglo-American capitalism stands almost unshaken, powerful, and strong. Great Britain still relies on her colonial empire; she hopes to be able to avert the revolution by offering to the classes some slight betterment of their lot, by lightening the chains a little of the exploited hundreds of millions of her colored subjects. Well, we think Britain will soon be disappointed in her hopes. Revolt already raises its head in Egypt and in the Indies.

As for the United States, the employing classes hope to retain their power by widening the chasm between a small aristocracy of labor, led by treacherous leaders, and the masses of the workers. They hope to retain it by fooling and buying the minority, by coercing and victimizing the vanguard of the masses.

It is the glorious task of American communists to carry on, on broader lines, the task that the I. W. W. first took in hand, to lead the masses against capitalism; to become the nucleus, the heart and the brain, of a strong and determined working-class movement.

The arising of such a movement is of the utmost importance for international communism and for the cause of the social revolution. We all know that the world revolution can not triumph, as long as Anglo-American capitalism remains in power, and we have reason to believe that the decisive struggle between capitalism and communism will be waged on the American Continent. Nothing short of the fall of American capitalism will mean the end of that gigantic historical drama of which the World War seems to have been the prologue. The ruling classes of America know this, and that is why they try to crush communism before it has taken hold of the masses; they want to violently tear it out, before it has deeply struck root into the American soil. But you, comrades, will not let them commit this crime; you will not let them destroy your organization or compel you to desert it; you will find ways and means to shift your methods of action, you will place your organization beyond the reach of your enemies and carry on, undaunted, the agitation amongst the masses. You will rally these to the flag of communism, to the world-wide uncompromising class war. And when the economic crisis that is spreading over

the world, reaches your country—when the revolutionary storm, kept back neither by mountain ranges nor broad oceans, rages over the American Continent—when millions of starving workers no longer, like in former times, cry out for bread, but for power, then you will lead the way to the general attack on the capitalist system. Your persecutions, your martyrdom to-day, your heroic struggle against fearful odds, all of this will design you for leaders of the masses just as the fortitude and determination of the Russian Bolsheviks designed them to take the lead in the revolutionary struggle of 1917.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE AMSTERDAM
SUBBUREAU OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

COMMUNIST UNITY IMPERATIVE.

Lately a dispatch made the rounds of the daily press according to which the Letts are reported to have captured a courier from Russia carrying letters to the American Communist Parties, advising them to unite. A detailed report of the contents of these letters, printed in the New York World of March 29, leaves very little doubt that the letters are genuine. Though they have been edited by the reporter, they in substance give a clear résumé of the conditions.

"The concentration of American bourgeois forces," the document relating to the question of unity reads, "has increased to an unprecedented extent and the struggle demands unprecedented sacrifices. The split is not caused by any profound differences of opinion as regards the program. At bottom are but certain disagreements as to tactics, principally questions of organization. Under such circumstances the split has not the slightest justification and should be liquidated at once."

"In so far as both parties stand on the platform of the Communist International—and of this we have not the slightest doubt—a united party is not only possible but absolutely necessary, and the executive committee insists on this being immediately brought about."

As a basis for unity the report continues, the Communist International and the orders of its executive committee should be taken. These orders, together with the fundamental principle of the Third International, are summed up in the following nine points:

1. The communists should strive to unite all elements which recognize the seizure of power by the working class through workers councils, and the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship.

2. There should be a complete break with the old socialist parties, though individual members of those parties should be accepted as members of the communist organization.

3. The stage of verbal propaganda has passed and the time for decisive battles has arrived. Revolutionary mass action must be organized as a first essential.

4. Cooperating to hasten the process of dissolution of all craft unions, the party must strive to establish the closest connection with the one big union movement. Supporting the industrial unions in their every-day strikes for direct demands, the party should strive to deepen and widen the struggle and convert it into a struggle for final revolutionary aims.

5. Supporting the formation of factory committees, which are to serve as the nucleus for soviet management when the revolution is achieved.

6. The chief function of the so-called national (foreign) federations is to prepare foreign workers to take places in the English-speaking communist movement. Though the sudden and complete break-up of these federations is undesirable, they must be subjected to their real purpose.

7. During the revolution the absolute control over the affairs must be secured for the working class by an unlimited dictatorship of the proletariat.

8. Establish large newspapers that will give real news from a communist viewpoint.

9. Established underground organizations even though it may be possible to function legally, for the purpose to carry on direct revolutionary propaganda among the masses.

The united parties should be known as the United Communist Party of America.

The Communist Labor Party stands ready to unite upon the above basis with all communist elements in the United States. It insists, however, that the

form of language federations which the united party should agree to is not that of autonomous federations, which subject the party to their control and incidentally give control of the party to unscrupulous persons who sell the welfare of the communist movements for personal aggrandizement.

EXHIBIT No. 29.

UNITED STATES V. JOHN GRUNAU ET AL.—VIOLATION LEVER ACT—RAILROAD SWITCHMEN'S AND YARDMEN'S STRIKE.

As per instruction from Division Superintendent Brennan, agent prepared the following statement of facts tending to show that one John Grunau, of 1145 Mansfield Avenue, Chicago, et al, by means of strike cessation from labor amongst the yardmen employed in the movement of freight in the railroad yards of the city of Chicago and elsewhere, entered into a conspiracy with others in violation of the act of Congress of August 10, 1917, as amended by the act of Congress of October 22, 1919, commonly known as the Lever Act.

Said defendants attempted by means of subterfuge to conceal the true purpose and intent of their conspiracy, using methods which were designed to give color of lawful conduct to their unlawful acts.

In furtherance of their conspiracy the defendants under the name of the Chicago Yardmen's Association and the United Enginemen's Association induced others to leave their employment with said railroads, and induced those who had already left their employment with said railroads to remain away until such a time as the defendants decided that the strike should come to an end.

To give lawful appearances to their acts said conspirators substituted the following words and phrases for the word "strike," to wit: Vacation—resignation—quit—just left—leave of absence—I am not on strike, but I quit my job—I can not tell you to go back to work, but I will not go back until, etc.—nobody asked you to go on a strike, you just quit—remember you are not on strike, you just quit—if anyone should ask you do not use the word "strike," but state that you quit your job and words to that effect.

Said defendant, John Grunau et al, in anticipation of said conspiracy on or about January 24, 1920, called on the firm of Mayer & Miller, printers, located at 525 South Dearborn Street, and caused said firm to print eleven thousand (11,000) copies of a booklet entitled "Constitution and general rules Chicago Yardmen's Association—Organized at Chicago, January 3, 1920," and paid to Charles J. Mayer, of the above-named firm, the sum of two hundred dollars (\$200) in cash per thousand (1,000). On the inner cover of said booklet appears under the name "Our motto—cooperation—harmony—more money—better working conditions."

Further said defendant at a meeting—which was a regular meeting of Englewood Lodge, No. 2—held at 6416 South Halsted Street, Chicago, on March 7, 1920, in anticipation of said conspiracy, made the following statement, to wit:

"That the Harbor, C. & O., Monon, and Belt insists on a lodge at Hammond, Ind., and that the committeemen on the Erle at Hammond had a couple of grievances to adjust, and after he had taken care of them he was with them heart and soul—and he would bring more with him—and that if they gave him a 75 per cent organization he would get them the money or wreck the organization doing it."

And, further, at a meeting held on Sunday, March 14, 1920, said defendant, John Grunau, who had called the meeting to order, spoke in regards to the Esch-Cummins bill:

"That the working conditions for contracts could not be forced, but inside of a year they could demand the money; that we all have waited for the large organizers to get us something, and they have not done so. It will take another year for the new board appointed by Wilson to decide, so that they may just as well wait with the rest of the 'Big Four,' and then, if they get nothing, we will get it for them."

Grunau further stated:

"That some one was telling about every time that he was organizing at some new location; that they were always there, throwing cold water on the movement."

He further stated:

"That next Sunday they would organize No. 3 at Hammond, Ind., then Blue Island, Ill., next, and then Gary, Ind."

He further stated:

"That Sauers, on the Chicago & North Western was or had put a damper on the movement, but it has done him nor Bruce, on the C., B. & Q., any good, as they are getting applications from both roads."

Further, on March 21, 1920, at a mass meeting at Long's Hall, Hammond, Ind., at a meeting called to order by President Fresh, defendant, John Grunau, being introduced as the grand president and grand organizer, among other things, said the following:

"There was the famous committee of 16 and the grand lodge officers there telling the members to stick to the trainmen, as they would bring home the bacon, and they did not even bring home a soup bone. Now, give me a 75 per cent organization, and I will get you the bacon or wreck the organization doing it."

And, further, at a meeting held at Williams's Hall of Lodge No. 1 on March 28, 1920, the defendant, John Grunau, as grand president, called a meeting to order; a communication or resolution was introduced reading in substance as follows:

"That we are Christians and law-abiding citizens and live up to the laws of the country, and that as such we will not work on Sundays or holidays without time and one-half for the first eight hours and double time for every second eight hours. This is to take effect May 15. Adopted.

"It is to be sent to No. 2 and No. 3 at Hammond to be acted upon, and then, after adoption, they are to canvass every yard in Chicago to see if the men wish to have the organization make that demand. It is to be presented to everyone—C. Y. A., B. R. T., S. U.—and the no bills during the month of April."

Said defendant, John Grunau, et al., in furtherance of said conspiracy, on or about April 3, 1920, called on Charles J. Mayer, of Mayer & Miller, printers, first above named, and caused said Mayer to print five thousand (5,000) hand-bills entitled "Notice to all switchmen and switch tenders working in the Chicago switching district—C. M. & St. P. Ry. yardmen in Chicago are out solid for more money—We want your assistance—What are you going to do?—This is what we want:

"Rates of pay:

"For switchmen: One dollar per hour for foremen, ninety-five cents per hour for helpers. Time and one-half for overtime, Sundays, and legal holidays. Double time for all time worked over eight hours on Sundays or legal holidays. Eight-hour basic day for all.

"For switch tenders: Five dollars per day for switch tenders for tending not more than three switches. If required to handle more than three switches, helpers' rate of pay to apply.

"COMMITTEE ON ADJUSTMENT,

"Chicago Yardmen's Association."

Said defendant, John Grunau, in furtherance of said conspiracy, caused to be circulated and to circulate said booklet entitled "The Chicago Yardmen's Association," and said leaflet entitled "Notice to All Switchmen," set out above, among the railroad employees employed in the movement of freight in the railroad yards in the city of Chicago and elsewhere, to wit:

"Yardmen, switchmen, foremen, yard engineers, etc. For the express purpose and intent to induce and incite said railway employees by means of strikes to leave their employment with said railroads, contrary to law, and actually did induce a large number of them to do so."

Defendant, John Grunau, in furtherance of said conspiracy, on or about April 2, 1920, at a meeting called to order, said defendant stated:

"That the reason that the men were out was because they placed a conductor on the service train, displacing a man of a job, so the men had him come out to the yard, as they were not going to stand for any such a thing, so he got in touch with the officials—waited until 12.28 p. m.—the men then on the north hump quit at 12.30 p. m. and went over to the south hump—they quit at 12.35 p. m. The men went through the yards at Mannheim and called the rest out, and that he told the officials at 12.28 p. m. that if he did not get an answer he was going, or the men were going, to proceed to Galewood—Western Avenue—freight and passenger yards and Goose Island and call the men out by 4 p. m. There was no reply, so the show went on, and it was on to stay until we get the money."

Further, at a meeting called to order by John Grunau on Saturday, April 3, 1920, he stated:

"That the show was on for good—that the men, as individuals, were out on the C. M. & St. P. R. R. Also, that the men on the C. J. R. R., as individuals, were out, and every engine on the pit, and that by Monday noon every road in Chicago would be out."

He then called for men to go out to the Blue Island district with dodgers entitled "Notice to all Switchmen," to pass among the men on the various roads, giving the information of the St. Paul road and the C. J. being out. Then he called men and automobiles to go to Hammond, Ind., district and convey the same information and posters to the men in that district—seven automobiles being for their use, of which three were at the door. He then called for men for the C. & N. R. R.—5 for Proviso, 5 for Fortieth Street, 5 for Grand Avenue, 5 for Wood Street—and obtained 15 men. He further stated:

"That they had been waiting, you may say, for three years for more money, as we have been told that after the war we were to get more money, but have not. We have been getting * * * all the time."

Further, at a meeting held on Sunday morning, April 4, 1920, at Conway Hall at 9 a. m., said defendant, John Grunau, called a meeting to order and stated that he had two meetings to make, and spoke on the starting of the organization; speaking about the strike, he stated that it was an individual strike and that he was not calling out anyone. He said the B. R. T. was a year getting the bacon, but he was going to bring the bacon home. He further stated that according to the Esch-Cummins bill he could not call anyone out, so the men would have to call themselves out.

At a meeting at 12.10 p. m. at 729 South Western Avenue—B. & O. C. terminal transfer—the men voted to call a strike for 8 a. m., Monday, April 5. Great Western men were to vote at 5 p. m. Grunau, the defendant, was then introduced and spoke along his usual line, after which the B. O. C. T. T. and Grand Trunk Western were to vote again. A committee on the C. & E. I. was appointed to start out to call the men, and at 4.15 p. m. reports returned that the Santa Fe was out; 4.40 p. m. reports returned that the C. & A. was out; at 5 o'clock with engineers; also Englewood No. 2, 6414 South Halstead Street; everything is tied up in that district, and all lodges and meetings moved that they will not go back to work until they get what they asked for and that every man goes back at the same.

In furtherance of said conspiracy said defendant, John Grunau, while addressing a meeting at Conway Hall of the Chicago Yardmen's Association (striking switchmen), on April 12, 1920, called upon the strikers to remain out until they had won.

Further, said defendant, John Grunau, on April 11, 1920, at a meeting of the Chicago Yardmen's Association, among other remarks stated:

"That they would starve Chicago before going back to work."

As per information supplied by Mr. A. F. Whitney, vice president of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen.

Further, on April 17, 1920, the defendant, John Grunau, and H. E. Reading, presidents of the Chicago Yardmen's Association and the United Enginemen's Association, respectively, made the following joint statement to E. C. Shanahan, special agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice:

"The original demand of one dollar an hour for switchmen and ninety-five cents an hour for switch tenders must stand together with recognition of the Chicago Yardmen's Association, and as he nor Reading had not the authority to accept any other than what the board had voted on unanimously, he could do nothing further; and that if the Government had any suggestion to offer for arbitration purposes they would be more than willing to rent either Carmen's Hall or the Coliseum and get the men together so that a referendum vote could be taken on any proposition offered. H. E. Reading said that the same applied to the United Enginemen's Association. He also stated that the statement made by the Associated Press in to-day's paper to the effect that he was willing to call the men back is wrong; that as he was not the authority to do so without first getting the consent of the men, there was no truth in the above statement made in the daily papers."

Further, on the same date, April 17, 1920, R. S. Murphy, one of the conspirators and publicity manager for the Chicago Yardmen's Association, gave E. C. Shanahan, special agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Chicago, Ill., the following statement, which was signed by John Grunau as president of the Chicago Yardmen's Association:

"At a meeting of the grand lodge officers, board of directors, and board of trustees, held at Conway Hall at 10 a. m., April 17, it was unanimously decided that the original demands of the Chicago Yardmen's Association which have been presented to the General Managers' Association stand; also, that as far as the switchmen and switch tenders are concerned, they must be recognized as the governing body; that there shall be no discrimination made against anyone who had withdrawn as an individual from the services of the various railways, and they must be reinstated to their former seniority rights.

"J. GRUNAU.
"President Yardmen's Association."

Said defendant, John Grunau, in furtherance of said conspiracy, on April 1, 1920, told one C. S. Christoffer, superintendent of terminals of the C. M. & St. P. R. R. Co.:

"That the men had called him at his home at 7 a. m. and advised him that if the conductors were not removed from the coaches that they would all walk out at 10 a. m., and that he, Grunau, was going to Hammond, Ind., to solicit some business for the Chicago Yardmen's Association, and that he had changed his plans and had gone to Bensenville. Christoffer then told Grunau that this arrangement was agreed to between the order of C. R. C. and B. of T., who held contracts on the lines of the above railroad, and that he, Christoffer, was not in a position to make any changes in the situation, but would refer it to general manager, Mr. Gillick. Grunau replied, 'O. K.; get Mr. Gillick, and I will try to hold the men until noon; but unless I have an answer by that time they are going to strike.'"

Said Christoffer, while being in the office of General Manager Gillick, of the above-named railroad, at about 11.45 a. m. received a telephone call from Grunau, who was then at the office of Asst. Supt. Hills, at Bensenville on the said day, said Grunau demanding to know what decision had been made. Christoffer informed Grunau that he had just been able to see Mr. Gillick and was not able to give an answer just then. Grunau then demanded that Christoffer call said Grunau just as soon as he could possibly find out what the railroad was going to do. At 12.25 p. m. Grunau again called Christoffer by phone and demanded an answer. Christoffer turned the phone over to Mr. Gillick, and after some telephonic conversation between Gillick and Grunau, Gillick indicated to Grunau that the railroad would arrive at a definite settlement by about 3.45 p. m., April 1, 1920, which apparently was acquiesced in by said Grunau.

Said Christoffer, about 1.10 p. m., left General Manager Gillick's office and proceeded to Bensenville. Arriving there, Christoffer met W. L. Bond, also a defendant, and one Frank Fennima, who were just leaving the North Hump, on being addressed by said Christoffer in the following words:

"What is the matter with you fellows?"

Bond answered by saying: "Any time they are going to slip anything over on us we are not going to stand for it. Further, we want the jack and we are not going to switch cars for \$5 per day."

Fennima then said: "That they stood all the bunk they were going to stand and that they wanted more money before going back to work—and that they were not going to lose any seniority to the Illinois division conductors."

In furtherance of said conspiracy, on April 1, 1920, between noon and 1 p. m., one Frank Fennima, who was accompanied by another man, whose name was not known, but who had been employed as a switchman on the C. M. & St. P. R. R. at Mannheim, Ill., approached one William H. Ormsby, also a switchman in the employ of said railroad at Mannheim yards, who resides at 3307 West Grand Avenue, Chicago; the former two asked Ormsby where he was going, who replied that he was going to Western Avenue with his train. Fennima then informed Ormsby that the strike was on. To which Ormsby replied, "By whose orders," and Fennima answered, "Grunau." To which Ormsby replied, "That he was a member of the B. of R. T., and Fennima in answer said, "To hell with the B. of R. T., that we belong to the Chicago Yardmen's Association."

Said Ormsby also noticed a printed notice hanging up in one of the switch shanties at Cleveland Avenue, Mannheim, calling attention to a meeting of the Chicago Yardmen's Association.

In furtherance of said conspiracy, said defendant, John Grunau, in talking to switchmen of the C. M. & St. P. R. R. at Mannheim, Ill., on April 1, 1920, stated:

"That if you men go on a strike you will have to go as individuals, as they might put me in jail as your leader."

A man by the name of Mathews then spoke up and said: "You are our leader," which statement was made in the presence of one Patrick Hayes, yardmaster for the C. M. & St. P. R. R. at Maunhelim. Hayes further stated that one J. J. Carlson, also a defendant, and one J. A. Woods, at about 12.50 p. m., April 1, 1920, signaled the railroad yardmen to quit, which signals were given in the following manner: Both Carlson and Woods stood on top of a box car, their arms being stretched out and their thumbs pointing upward. Said defendant, John Grunau, being present in the C. M. & St. P. R. R. yards on the morning of April 1, 1920, when all of this took place.

In furtherance of said conspiracy in the Chicago Yardmen's Association, and the United Enginemen's Association, with offices at 209 Masonic Temple, Chicago, Ill., on or about April 29, 1920, distributed the following bulletin to all striking railroad men, to wit:

"From: Grand Lodge No 1, publicity department.

"To All chartered lodges, Chicago Yardmen's Association.

"Subject: Reports received from out-of-town committees.

"1. Report received from San Francisco: (a) The merchants and manufacturers are clamoring for a favorable settlement. Until this trouble arose everyone was of the opinion that at the average railroad workers received from \$8 to \$10 a day. But since we have acquainted them with the facts, and they now know that we receive a smaller wage than an old man or young boy, who sweeps the factory floors. They are virtually demanding that we be paid more, as they realize that the service we render is indispensable, and is of such a nature that only men of years of experience and training may be relied upon to efficiently perform the service. The majority of the people are therefore favorable to us. While, of course, many of them are hard hit by the unfortunate affairs, they should realize that we have no desires to cripple the industries of the country, yet we are forced to stand firm in our demands, because of our honest convictions that we are entitled to more money."

The fact of the circulation was positively established in the statement and admission to that effect made by J. M. Ducey, publicity man of the Chicago Yardmen's Association, to said R. C. Shanahan, special agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.

In further violation said defendant, John Grunau, caused to be sent to the various railroad companies whose employees were on

"The Chicago Yardmen's Association submits to you the following working conditions and rate of pay to govern the Chicago switching district:

"Foremen of all yard and transfer engines, \$1 per hour; yard helpers, 95 cents per hour; switch tenders, \$5 per day for attending not more than three switches; where they are required to attend more than three switches helpers' rate of pay to apply at 95 cents per hour.

"Time and one-half for overtime; Sundays and all legal holidays and where they are required to work more than eight hours on Sundays or legal holidays double time for all time exceeding eight hours.

"A basic eight-hour day for all."

Original wage demands are now in the hands of Assistant Attorney General Henry F. Mitchell.

In furtherance of said conspiracy, said defendants circulated bulletins to the various lodges of the Chicago Yardmen's Association, by J. M. Ducey, publicity manager of the Chicago Yardmen's Association, reading as follows:

"All the men are still out solid and are showing the right spirit. They have refused to listen to any reports or pleas of the general managers. Detroit chambers of commerce have sent a representative to Washington to bring pressure to bear upon the Railway Wage Board in their behalf. The manufacturers were surprised to learn that switchmen were only receiving \$5 per day. The majority of them are all with us here, and we are looking forward to a speedy termination of the present controversy.

"Reports from Cleveland, Ohio, received by mail April 29, 1920: 'All men are still standing solid for their original demands; no sign of any weakness among the men, although we have reason to think that the general managers will soon be trying to make overtures to us, but it will to be the big \$ mark for one hour's work or no conference. The \$ mark is the only language we are talking or thinking of now.'

"Report received by mail from Pittsburgh, Pa., April 29, 1920: 'Men are still out and intend to stay out until our demands are met. Industries are shutting down every day. Representative from Manufacturers' Association has gone to Washington to help and put the situation up to the manufacturers

before the Railway Wage Board. They are all with us now, and we intend to stay out.'

"Report received from Arkon, Ohio, via mail April 29, 1920: 'We are still standing pat and intend to stay so until we have effected a satisfactory settlement of our original demands. United States Rubber Co. have been forced to close down several of their plants. Several offers have been made, but could not see any of them. Expect to terminate our vacation within the next few days.'

"Report from St. Louis, Mo., April 29, 1920: 'Still standing pat and still solid; all out for a shutdown.'"

In furtherance of said conspiracy the Chicago Yardmen's Association headquarters issued the following bulletin to all the local brotherhoods of the Chicago Yardmen's Association, copies of which were procured by Special Agent E. C. Shanahan, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. The Chicago Yardmen's Association changed its headquarters, from which strike activities had been directed, from 209 Masonic Temple to 2757 West Madison Street. The meeting place of Lodge No. 1, Chicago Yardmen's Association, had been changed from Conway Hall to 3800 West Madison Street, at which place both Lodge No. 1 and No. 7 of the Chicago Yardmen's Association will hold their regular meetings in the future:

[Daily Bulletin.]

GRAND LODGE PUBLICITY DEPARTMENT,
Chicago, Ill., May 3, 1920.

1. As time rolls on and we are approaching the apex of our realization, which will bring to us the sweets of victory and compensate us for the sacrifices that we have all undergone in establishing and maintaining our just principles as American citizens in our struggle for the right of self-determination, it would be well for us all to remember a few facts that may have become lost during the enthusiasm of each in this present controversy.

You men when you quit your jobs, to seek more remunerative positions, did you not realize at the time, just how or in what way you were going to better yourselves, all that you did know, is that the men whom you have been paying for the past years to look after your interest, did not fulfill their duties to your own satisfaction, it was then that you took it upon your own individual shoulders to seek a means of betterment, in some other line of endeavor. For months you had been confronted with the problem of trying to make both ends meet, and as days went by and you could see no encouraging signs of aid in sight you awoke to the realization that if you were to expect help, you would have to show some initiative yourself, with the result that you quit your chosen vocation, and when you did your fellow workers all over the country, who had been confronted with the same problems as you quickly did likewise. Every switchman and yardman who has resigned from his former position has his own individual reason for so resigning, which simmered down means: That he felt that he could no longer discharge his duties as an American citizen at his present rate of compensation.

2. But what was it that caused you to forsake your old and established organization? It was not the fact you thought they were powerless to act in your behalf, but it was the knowledge that you knew they had refused to act for you, and if the truth is to be told, they did not have to act for you, as they were enthroned so strongly and fortified with the autocratic laws of their organization that the right of speech was considered as action for expelling, especially if it was to the detriment of those officers and executives, who you were supporting.

But why did you join the Chicago Yardmen's Association? Was it because the Chicago Yardmen's Association held out any alluring promises to you, or showed you the means of bettering your condition? No! For the officers of the Chicago Yardmen's Association have only made one promise, which is of itself more of a pledge, to wit, that all members of the organization of the Chicago Yardmen's Association shall have a voice in settling any and all discussions, grievances, or controversies that may arise, and concerning the organization. This organization is founded upon each one of you individually, and its future success depends upon each one individual. It is practically the Magna Charta of American labor freedom, for its constitution gives to all members a voice for their own legislating. It has been the one and only means of bringing together and felicitating the hitherto petty animosity that has in the past always been existent in the past among the various members of the B. of R. T. and the

S. U. of N. A. And it has only been through the propaganda work conducted by the officers of these two organizations, working in harmony with one another toward this end. That has done more to keep the conditions of switchman and yardmen where they are to-day. But, thank God, each individual grasped the opportunity when it was presented to him, and joined in an organization that will overcome all these past obstacles and will achieve for yardmen the desires that have laid dormant so long under the autocratic rule and power of G. Lee and S. Heberling.

The Chicago Yardmen's Association has achieved more in the last 30 days than the combined efforts of the B. of R. T. and S. U. of N. A. for the past nine months. And judging from the "shadows before" that are being cast it only looks like a few more days before we will have achieved our first and main object, a satisfactory settlement and recognition of the Chicago Yardmen's Association.

MESSAGES RECEIVED FROM POINTS OUTSIDE CHICAGO.

Niagara Falls, April 28, 1920: Engineers and firemen voted to go out Monday in support of yard and road men. Organized solid and determined to secure justice for everyone in railroad service.—GEORGE EUBANKS.

Barstow, Calif., April 29, 1920: Still standing pat. Looks good this way. The embargo on tighter than ever.—D. C. GIBBS.

Salt Lake City, Utah, April 29, 1920: No change whatever. Still standing pat.—UNITED RAILWAY EMPLOYEE.

Bakersfield, Calif., April 28, 1920: All standing firm. Situation unchanged. Prospects very bright for early settlement. Oilmen demanding settlement.—F. RYAN.

San Jose, Calif., April 28, 1920: Holding fast here. No breaks.—W. GRAY.

Los Angeles, Calif., April 26, 1920: Day spent in organizing Los Angeles Yardmen's Association. Two hundred enrolled this p. m. All prospects are good. Will keep you fully advised. Everything still tight here. Men are more determined than ever.—J. B. WOOD.

Portland, Oreg., April 25, 1920: Everything is pat here. No signs of weakness among the brothers. All are determined to see it through.—C. S. AGNEW.

Kansas City, Mo., April 27, 1920: Organization growing daily. All men firm and confident. Stand pat. The battle is won. Just wait.—J. E. ADAMS.

Bakersfield, Calif., April 29, 1920: All sitting tight here, although nine of us including Crosbie and myself were arrested for violation of the Lever Act. All out on bail and continuing to do business at the old stand. W. F. RYAN.

Canton, Ohio, April 28, 1920: Greetings from Canton, Ohio. Are holding our line 100 per cent and sticking tight. Alliance, Ohio, all out again. Got Akron, Friday at 9.31 a. m. about 300. Altoon, Pa., 4,700 strong left their jobs to-day and more coming out to-night. Says boys we have got them licked to a finish. Write and let me know how everything is sticking in the West and Middle West. Expect early reply.—C. W. MCCARTHY.

Boys here are all solid. Roadmen who have taken our places are beginning to quit, after leaving the railroad in a more congested condition than when we quit our jobs. The Erie roadmen joined us yesterday, virtually tying up the valley. The congressional Representative from the district met the different committees, and clipping from local paper is inclosed to show you what he promised to do. Herewith the clipping:

"Congressman John G. Cooper, it is stated, will leave for Washington this evening to appeal to the Wage Board for an early adjustment of the railroad men's wages. Cooper will not represent the railroad men, but will place before the board a report of conditions as they actually exist here. The strikers—locally, at least—are determined to stay out until wages are adjusted for the better."

Cleveland, Ohio, April 30, 1920: Men are still sticking it out with a full determination to win. We have been promised and threatened, but to no avail. We have got a good, whole card, and are awaiting for the call. Industrial conditions here are very serious, and the chamber of commerce has sent their representative to Washington to bring pressure to bear upon the Wage Board to recognize our demands. Meanwhile we are going to sit tight.—H. DUNLAP.

Detroit, Mich., April 30, 1920: We are still enjoying our vacation, but fear that we have only a few days left to enjoy our leisure, and then back to the grind again; but this time we can go with the knowledge that we can devote our minds to the business and will not be disturbed with conflicting thoughts

of how we are going to keep even with the H. C. of L., for we will have this matter settled before we go back to work to our entire satisfaction. So it is just a question of sticking to the ship for a few days longer, and then the storm will be over with and we can enjoy the sunshiny thoughts that for once at least we have had the courage to act like American citizens in standing for what we know to be our just principles.

Buffalo, N. Y., April 30, 1920: About 450 of the men who originally went out and quit their jobs, and who later were induced to go back to work, have again resigned their positions. They were promised concessions that the general managers could not fulfill, and we again have them with us. They are more determined than ever to stick and see the present issues through. Looks pretty good when a second walkout ensues. We are all feeling very confident about the outcome. Railroads here are in an awful state of turmoil.—H. GREY.

Cincinnati, Ohio, April 29, 1920: We old guard are still holding firm and true. A lot of the boys have got other jobs, and seem to be satisfied for the time being. The press still prints that business is normal in one column and in the next prints of embargoes and nondelivery of goods, which sounds pretty good to us. All crafts here on the railroad are holding special meetings every night, and we manage to put a speaker before them. They are all worked up, and it looks like there is going to be a great upheaval around this place.—P. A. LA CROSSE.

EXTRACTS FROM NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES.

[The Literary Digest for May 1, 1920, p. 28.]

The unauthorized railroad strike is a necessary result of conditions created by Congress, the Department of Justice, and railroad managers, who have refused to adjust wage scales. For more than a year railroad employees have been seeking redress. Instead of granting relief, Congress passed the Each-Cummins bill, guaranteeing protection to private corporate interests, and which, inferentially, at least, prohibits strikes until prolonged arbitration makes an award. Attorney General Palmer's use of the Lever Act to secure injunctions to prevent strikes and failure of the Government to prosecute profiteers have brought discontent and discouragement to all classes of labor. The result has been to disintegrate orderly processes and destroy confidence in the Government and to stimulate restless forces all over the country, who feel that the present Government is exclusively an agent of the railroads and the banking interests of the country, and is willing to lend its aid to shackling organized labor and thus destroy its power of collective action. Added to this, the railway owners, upon taking over the roads, began to harass labor, to lay plans to destroy organized labor, and in a thousand ways take from labor the industrial freedom it had gained during the war. The managers bluntly broke off the bipartisan board that was called by President Wilson to adjust wage schedules pending since August, 1919.

In the six weeks since the railroads were returned to private ownership a spirit of distrust, dissatisfaction, and resistance has taken the place of orderly cooperation which prevailed during Federal control. Had Congress passed the measure urged by organized labor and the farmers to retain Government control for two years the present trouble would not have been participated.

[From the New Majority, Chicago.]

The switchmen want a maximum of \$1 per hour. They are wrong in asking this. They should have asked not less than a minimum of \$1 per hour. At present they are getting \$5 per day for an eight-hour day. That is to say, they are getting 62½ cents per hour. There is the most hazardous occupation in the entire railroad industry. It is far more hazardous than the building trades, and the workers in the building trades will get \$1.25 per hour, beginning May 1.

The switchmen have a right of \$1 an hour. They want it now. They have a right to it now. They should have had it long ago. Their living cost has gone up more than 100 per cent, along with the living cost of everyone else. That is to say, their dollar has shrunk to less than 50 cents measured by pre-war standards. That means that they are now getting the equivalent of 31½ cents before the war.

[From the Topeka Capital.]

Is there any justice or common sense in asking labor to wait patiently until profiteers get tired of raising their own profits? The "vicious circle" will probably not be broken by labor alone. The demand that labor alone break it by abstaining from getting all it can extort implies that labor alone in industry is moved by unselfish and patriotic motives, while other forces in industry are confessedly selfish. But those who make this demand have no illusory idea.

MESSAGES RECEIVED MAY 3, 1920.

Flint, Mich., May 2, 1920: We have lost all interest in railroad work unless the remuneration is made sufficient to revive our interest. We refuse longer to do skilled labor for less than common labor's pay.

Parkersburg, W. Va., May 2, 1920: Representative from Parkersburg, W. Va., says that men had been out there a few days and had been induced to go back to work on the promise that a settlement would be made not later than the 15th instant. If there isn't, something will be doing down West Virginia way.

That's all for to-day, boys.

Your for cooperation,

PUBLICITY COMMITTEE.

[Bulletin No. 3.]

CHICAGO YARDMEN'S ASSOCIATION, GRAND LODGE, No. 1,
PUBLICITY DEPARTMENT.

May 1, 1920.

Information received from local lodges throughout Chicago show that all men are still standing pat and feeling very optimistic in regard to the present situation. There have been quite a number of the members who have sought other positions and are now engaged in more profitable lines of employment. The Illinois manufacturers sought and were given an audience with our president, Mr. Gruneau, and the board of trustees in relation to taking steps to bring an adjustment of the present controversy. They are trying everything within their power to bring pressure to bear upon the Railway Wage Board, at Washington, to have them recognize the Chicago Yardmen's Association and to bring about a satisfactory settlement of our demands. We expect to hear a very favorable reply from Washington by Saturday, May 1. We are encouraged to think by the action that the Illinois Manufacturers' Association has taken in our behalf that it will only be a matter of a few more days before we can all return to work with honor and our demands fully satisfied.

REPORTS FROM WESTERN DISTRICT.

Fresno, Calif., April 28, 1920: Men are out here and holding firm.—PRESTON.

Barstow, Calif., April 27, 1920: All pat here, awaiting raise. We have a good "hole" card.—HENRY.

COPIES OF MESSAGES SENT BY DISTRICT ATTORNEY BRADY.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF., April 28, 1920.

R. M. BARTON,

Chairman Railroad Labor Board,

Washington, D. C.

Business interests of San Francisco suffering greatly because of railroad situation. Most strongly urge and request your kindly offices in behalf of expediting hearing claims of men affected.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF., April 23, 1920.

HON. JOHN L. NOLAN,

Member of Congress, Washington, D. C.

Would appreciate your influence with R. R. Marten, chairman of Railway Wage Board toward securing early hearing of claims of insurgent railway men. Business interests here suffering greatly because of railway situation.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF., April 23, 11920.

Hon. JULIUS KAHN,

Member of Congress, Washington, D. C.

Would appreciate your influence with R. M. Barton, chairman of Railway Wage Board, toward securing early hearing of claims of insurgent railway men. Business interests here suffering greatly because of railway situation.

NIAGARA FALLS, April 24.

R. C. SCOTT,

1026 Market Street.

Engineers and firemen voted to go out Monday in support of yard and road men. Organized solid and determined to secure justice for everyone in railroad service. Wire actual conditions there at my expense.

GEORGE W. EUBANKS.

A significant view lies in the action of the general managers making a trip to Washington, inasmuch as we know that they are not out to make a trip at this time unless some great pressure is brought to bear upon them. We may reasonably expect a satisfactory and early settlement. Another significant fact—the district attorney, proving his democratic spirit, has taken it upon himself to wire the wage board at Washington and to some of the Congressmen, asking that a settlement be made.

When we consider the source of the various telegrams and letters, we know that there is only one possible result—ultimate victory. Ah, sweet victory.

PUBLICITY COMMITTEE.

UNITED STATES v. H. E. READING ET AL.—VIOLATION LEVER ACT—RAILROAD SWITCHMEN'S AND YARDMEN'S STRIKE.

As per instruction from Division Superintendent Brennan, agent prepared the following statement of facts tending to show that one H. E. Reading, of 961 North Leamington Avenue, Chicago, Ill., et al., by means of strike cessation from labor amongst the yardmen employed in the movement of freight in the railroad yards of the city of Chicago and elsewhere, entered into a conspiracy with others in violation of the act of Congress of August 10, 1917, as amended by the act of Congress of October 22, 1919, commonly known as the Lever Act.

Said defendants attempted by means of subterfuge to conceal the true purposes and intent of their conspiracy, using methods which were designed to give color of lawful conduct to their unlawful acts.

In furtherance of their conspiracy the defendants, under the name of the Chicago Yardmen's Association and the United Enginemen's Association, induced others to leave their employment with said railroads and induced those who had already left their employment with said railroads to remain away until such a time as the defendants decided that the strike should come to an end.

To give lawful appearances to their acts said conspirators substituted the following words and phrases for the word "strike," to wit:

Vacation, resignation, quit, just left, leave of absence, I am not on strike but I quit my job, I can not tell you to go back to work but I will not go back until, etc. Nobody asked you to go on a strike, you just quit; remember you are not on strike, you just quit. If anyone should ask you, do not use the word "strike," but state that you quit your job, or words to that effect.

Said defendant, H. E. Reading, et al., in anticipation of said conspiracy, on or about March 26, 1920, called on the firm of Mayer & Miller, printers, located at 583 South Dearborn Street, and caused said firm to print 5,000 handbills or circulars entitled "Mr. Engineman," and paid \$18 therefor, said handbill reading as follows:

"Mr. Engineman: Are you satisfied to stay in a rut, to pay assessments for promises which never mature to incompetent officials who refuse you the representation you pay for and force infamous working conditions, like the Chicago joint agreement, on you against the wishes of the men themselves?

"If you are not, come and see us, and let us show you the remedy which is within your grasp.

"Join an organization that is run by the men and not by a czar.

"Now is the time. Get the money now and not after you are dead. Join a labor union and get somewhere.

"Compare your rates of pay with any worker who in former years looked up to you as the aristocracy of labor.

"Ask your brotherhood officials why we are working for straight time on Sundays and holidays while the former unorganized railroad labor in less than two years of organization are receiving time and one-half and double time in some instances on Sunday and have better working conditions than you.

"Are you going to allow this to continue? If not, try and attend our grand open mass meeting to be held at Henry Clay Hall, Spaulding and North Avenues, Sunday, April 4, 1920, commencing at 10 a. m. and continuing until 11 p. m."

Further, on March 31, 1920, said defendant, H. E. Reading, caused said Mayer to print 5,000 copies of a booklet entitled "Constitution and By-laws United Enginemen's Association (Inc.)," for which he paid \$97.50 in cash. The preamble of said booklet reads as follows:

" PREAMBLE.

"Believing that the political and economic conditions of our country are undemocratic and unfair to the working class in general and to the railway enginemen particularly, and that the fruitless struggles of ourselves and our fellow craftsmen for the past 10 years to obtain a wage commensurate with the complexities and exigencies peculiar to our calling have been mainly due to the pernicious influences of machine politics and the successful efforts of our employers to misrepresent, to their profit, before the public, the reasonableness and justice of our demands. Our efforts to correct these evils by legislative reforms have been frustrated by political control of the railway trade-union conventions by the ruling powers, who have been antagonistic to any movement that would tend to democratize the railway brotherhoods.

"Notwithstanding our intense patriotism during the late World War and our unwillingness to press our demands during the Nation's struggle with the enemies of civilization, our demands have been rejected. National legislation has been passed preventing us from exercising our constitutional rights, and the trend of the present political and economic events is to further repress our efforts toward industrial improvements and to place us more securely than ever within the power and grasp of monopoly.

Therefore, we, the railroad enginemen of America, in order to gain adequate compensation for our services, to elevate our present standard of living, to shorten our hours of labor so that we may have more time to devote to our families and to our general physical and mental development, and to bring our general working conditions up to a stage of human tolerance, do hereby pledge and covenant ourselves to abide by and encourage at all times, both by word and deed, the following enunciated principles by which this organized body of enginemen shall forever be governed: It is hereby

"Resolved, That all general and local laws governing this organization and contained in this instrument shall be formed and molded upon the principles of class conscious representation, initiative, and referendum, and the qualified recall of officers and representatives, and that it shall be the ceaseless duty of its membership to discountenance and prevent any abridgement, amendment, modification, or deviation from the foregoing principles. Be it further

"Resolved, That this preamble shall form an integral and component part of the constitution of the United Enginemen of America."

Further, on April 8, 1920, said defendant, H. E. Reading, caused said Mayer to print 5,000 booklets, entitled "Enginemen, beware!" for which said Reading paid to Mayer \$65 in cash. On the first page of said booklet appears the following:

"If you are satisfied with being a football and meal ticket for a bunch of autocratic, so-called labor leaders, you are not the man we want."

And concluded on the last page with the following paragraph:

"If you have democratic principles and are tired of being exploited by the old organization and wish to join a good progressive organization that will get results, come."

Said defendant, H. E. Reading, in furtherance of said conspiracy, caused to be circulated and did circulate said circular first above referred to, and the booklets "Constitution and by-laws, United Enginemen's Association," and "Enginemen, beware," amongst the railroad employees employed in the movement of freight in the railroad yards in the city of Chicago and elsewhere, to wit:

"Yardmen, switchmen, foremen, yard engineers, etc. For the express purpose and with the intent to induce and incite said railway employees by

means of strikes to leave their employment with said railroads contrary to law and actually did induce a large number of them to do so."

E. C. Shanahan, special agent, bureau of investigation, Department of Justice, on April 8, 1920, at Henry Clay Hall, Chicago, Ill., received a circular entitled "Mr. Engineman," and between the dates of April 8 and April 12, 1920, received at the same hall a booklet entitled "Constitution and by-laws, United Enginemen's Association," and one entitled "Enginemen, Beware," at which hall in the presence of said Shanahan, a large quantity of said booklets were distributed, and one Ben Dolan, one H. A. Daley, one R. V. Miller, and one Buckley, organizers in the employ of the United Enginemen's Association, then and there procured large quantities of said booklets for the purpose of distribution among the strikers as aforesaid.

In furtherance of said conspiracy at a meeting of the United Enginemen's Association at Henry Clay Hall, Spaulding and North Avenues, in the city of Chicago, said defendant, H. E. Reading, stated:

"That he personally would not go back to run an engine for the money they had been getting when they were locked out, but that he would not prevent anyone from doing so if they saw fit, as all he would do was advise them to stick until they won the condition which they wanted, namely, the I. & R. & R. among the union and an increase in salary"—

which statement was made in the presence of E. C. Shanahan, special agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.

Further, on April 12, 1920, at Henry Clay Hall, first above named said defendant, H. E. Reading, stated:

"That he had requests for organizers from various towns outside Chicago, and that they were sending men down there to organize the men in those cities"—

which statement was also made in the presence of E. C. Shanahan, special agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, and said Reading then and there furnished a list of names to Shanahan, which list contained the names of men connected officially with the United Enginemen's Association, specifying what office they held in said association.

In further anticipation of this conspiracy between the dates of March 12, 1920, and March 25, 1920, one J. F. Kinley and M. C. Ellgass—the latter being treasurer of the United Enginemen's Association and a codefendant of said H. E. Reading—the former being a member of the board of directors as well as chairman—were distributing and posting handbills entitled "Enginemen attention," and calling for a meeting on April 4, 1920, at Henry Clay hall. Said handbills were also posted on the bulletin board at Bensenville, Ill., and were further distributed in the roundhouse office at Bensenville—all of which took place in the presence of Joseph Arthur Jelley, assistant foreman of the Bensenville, Ill., roundhouse, who resides at 4923 Henderson Street, Chicago.

UNITED STATES v. FRED C. LOCKWOOD ET AL.—VIOLATION LEVER ACT—RAILROAD SWITCHMEN'S AND YARDMEN'S STRIKE.

Reference is hereby made to a statement of facts set forth in the matter of one John Grunau, which is made part of this report, and which should be consulted in connection with this statement. Said Fred C. Lockwood, residing at 7559 Calumet Avenue, Chicago, Ill., as vice president of the Chicago Yardmen's Association officially participated in this conspiracy as an active member thereof as well as concurring in all matters and things of which said John Grunau was charged in his official connection with the Chicago Yardmen's Association.

In anticipation of said conspiracy, said Lockwood, on or about March 28, 1920, at Williams Hall, while a regular meeting of lodge No. 1 of said organization was taking place, for the purpose of creating sentiment against the older organizations of the railroad brotherhoods and creating a sentiment for the railroad strike, made a talk criticizing the older organizations as political machines as well as called the attention of the members present to the high salaries received by the brotherhood officials.

Lockwood, in furtherance of said conspiracy, was appointed by the so-called Chicago Yardmen's Association as the chairman of the speakers' committee, and accepted said office, which made it his duty to direct the speakers and organizers in their work as well as supplying material for their speeches.

In the capacity of chairman of the speakers' committee on or about April 11, 1920, at Conway Hall, located at Lake Street and Western Avenue,

Chicago, said Lockwood urgently appealed to a large number of railroad strikers to hold out and support their president, John Grunau.

In furtherance of said conspiracy, said Lockwood, at a meeting held by the Chicago Yardmen's Association on April 11, 1920, at which said Lockwood and John Grunau were the principal speakers, they made the statement "that they would starve Chicago before going back to work," which information was supplied by one A. F. Whitney, vice president of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen.

UNITED STATES v. WILLIAM L. BOND ET AL.—VIOLATION LEVER ACT—RAILROAD SWITCHMEN'S AND YARDMEN'S STRIKE.

This statement of facts should be consulted in connection with that submitted in the matter of John Grunau, who is a codefendant in this conspiracy, and should be made a part of this statement.

Said, William L. Bond, residing at 150 North Long Avenue, Chicago, Ill., was an active officer of the Chicago Yardmen's Association, having held the position of treasurer therein, and in his position became responsible for the acts of the Chicago yardmen's strike in unlawfully managing the strike carried on by the railroad workers in the transportation of freight in Chicago switching district and vicinity.

In anticipation of said conspiracy said Bond, on March 14, 1920, at a meeting of the Chicago Yardmen's Association, at which President Grunau, a codefendant, presided, stated:

"That they had enrolled 27 new members at the morning meeting, 19 of whom were from the Chicago & North Western and 8 were from the Belt Railway."

UNITED STATES v. HUGH W. RADKE ET AL.—VIOLATION LEVER ACT—RAILROAD SWITCHMEN'S AND YARDMEN'S STRIKE.

The statement of facts in the case of John Grunau should be consulted in connection with the statement prepared in this case. Hugh W. Radke, in furtherance of the conspiracy, acted as chairman of all meetings conducted at 3800 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill., by striking switchmen, joining said organization on April 7, 1920, and holding office of president of Lodge No. 7 of the Chicago Yardmen's Association.

Radke at practically all meetings he presided opened his meeting with the following words: "Brothers I quit my job because they did not pay me enough. No one told me to quit." Which was done for the purpose of suggesting to the other strikers what to say in case the Government should start criminal proceedings against the strike leaders. These remarks were made in the presence of Roy E. Chatfield and E. J. Joyce, special agents of the Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.

In furtherance of this conspiracy said Hugh W. Radke, while presiding at a meeting at 3800 West Madison Street, between the hours of 2.30 p. m. and 5 p. m., in the presence of E. C. Shanahan, special agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, cautioned the strikers not to use the word "strike," calling their attention to the fact that they were not on strike, but that they had quit their jobs as individuals.

And further on April 17, 1920, at Warner's Hall, 3800 West Madison Street, between the hours of 2 p. m. and 4 p. m., in the presence of R. J. King Kelly, special agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, speaking in regard to the men returning to work stated:

"Sult yourselves but I will go to Leavenworth or to hell before I will go back for \$5 per day. I think we will beat them. I say 'we' because I am not the only one. I did not order you to quit and I can not order you to go back. I have not the power."

UNITED STATES v. JOSEPH SCOTT ET AL.—VIOLATION LEVER ACT—RAILROAD SWITCHMEN'S AND YARDMEN'S STRIKE.

The statement of facts in the case of John Grunau should be consulted in connection with this statement. Said defendant, Joseph Scott, is an active member of the Chicago Yardmen's Association, being a trustee in Lodge No. 1.

In furtherance of said conspiracy said Joseph Scott proceeded in the company with one, William H. Ready, to Fort Wayne, Ind., to organize a lodge of the

Yardmen's Association, which admission was made to James O. Peyronnin, special employee of the Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, and Julius Rosin, special agent of the same bureau.

In view of the fact that said defendant, Joseph Scott, was a trustee of the Chicago Yardmen's Association, having been appointed to that position by said John Grunau, a codefendant, said Scott became responsible for all acts done and approved by the officers of the Chicago Yardmen's Association in furtherance of this conspiracy, to wit, strike among the railroad workers.

UNITED STATES v. SHANNON JONES ET AL.—VIOLATION LEVER ACT—RAILROAD SWITCHMEN'S AND YARDMEN'S STRIKE.

The statement of facts in the case of John Grunau should be consulted in connection, said John Grunau being a codefendant with said Shannon Jones.

Shannon Jones, in furtherance of this conspiracy, became a member of the Chicago Yardmen's Association on or about April 6, 1920, and was appointed by said John Grunau as a member of the organization committee as well as the speakers' committee. Said Grunau, in making his appointments, was assisted by Fred C. Lockwood, also a codefendant, which admission was made by said Shannon Jones to Special Agents F. M. Sturges and Royal N. Allen of this bureau.

Said Shannon Jones, in furtherance of this conspiracy, addressed a large number of meetings, held at Lake Street and Western Avenue, known as Conway Hall, also at Carpenter's Hall, located at No. 6416 South Halsted Street; and at Henry Clay Hall, Chicago, Ill. While at Henry Clay Hall, on April 11, 1920, said defendant, Shannon Jones, in speaking of the greatness of the Chicago Yardmen's Association, said: "That he would not go back to work until they had won."

He advised other members to hold out for the demands for which they were out were granted. These remarks were made in the presence of B. C. Shanahan, special agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.

UNITED STATES v. ELMER RIDWELL ET AL.—VIOLATION LEVER ACT—RAILROAD SWITCHMEN'S AND YARDMEN'S STRIKE.

The statement of facts in the case of John Grunau, a codefendant, should be consulted in connection with this statement. In furtherance of said conspiracy on April 11, 1920, at Warner's Hall, No. 3800 West Madison Street, said defendant, Elmer Bidwell, requested the men to stay out and not to mention the word "strike" at any time. Further saying: "You are not on a "strike"—as nobody told you to quit—but you quit on your own accord, because you were not making enough money."

These remarks were made in the presence of E. C. Shanahan, special agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.

UNITED STATES v. JAMES DODGION ET AL.—VIOLATION LEVER ACT—RAILROAD SWITCHMEN'S AND YARDMEN'S STRIKE.

In connection with this statement, the statement of facts made in the case of one John Grunau, a codefendant in this conspiracy should be consulted.

In furtherance of this conspiracy said defendant, James Dodgion, presided over a meeting of the Chicago Yardmen's Association at Carpenter's Hall, located at 6416 South Halsted Street, on April 20, 1920, and made the statement: "That he hoped every man's hands would be tied behind his back if it was put to a vote to return to work before their demands of \$1.95 were granted."

In view of the fact that the voting is done in the Chicago Yardmen's Association by the raising of the right hand it was the suggestion for the strikers not to vote on any other proposition.

In furtherance of this conspiracy on April 29, 1920, at Carpenter's Hall, the above named, informed the strikers:

"That he, Dodgion, had just returned from a meeting held down town and that Mr. Glen, the president of the Chicago Businessmen's Association, had told Grunau, a codefendant, that the wage board in Washington would treat this case as an emergency and recognize the Chicago Yardmen's Association if they would return at once to work.

"Further that Grunau had requested Mr. Glen to take up the matter of seniority rights with the general managers on the same day—and if the latter

would guarantee in writing that the seniority rights of the men would not be affected by this trouble—and a meeting would be called at once at Carmen's Hall for the men to take a vote as to returning to work."

Both the above statements were made in the presence of R. E. Chatfield, special agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.

UNITED STATES v. MARTIN J. KENNEY ET AL.—VIOLATION LEVER ACT—RAILROAD SWITCHMEN'S AND YARDMEN'S STRIKE.

In connection with the statement of Martin J. Kenney, the statement of facts in the John Grunau matter is to be consulted.

In furtherance of said conspiracy said M. J. Kenney, as vice president of the Englewood Lodge, No. 2, of the Chicago Yardmen's Association, attended and spoke at a large number of meetings at which the striking railroad men congregated.

Special Agent R. E. Chatfield, of the Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, has knowledge that Kenney spoke at those meetings.

UNITED STATES v. JAMES JOSEPH CUNNINGHAM ET AL.—VIOLATION OF LEVER ACT—RAILROAD SWITCHMEN'S AND YARDMEN'S STRIKE.

This statement of facts in the case of H. E. Reading, who is a codefendant, should be consulted in connection with this statement.

In furtherance of said conspiracy said Cunningham became a trustee of the United Enginemen's Association and assisted in organizing said association, asking others to join, which activities he carried on up to the time he was arrested on April 15, 1920.

E. C. Shanahan, special agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, at a meeting of the United Enginemen's Association on April 19, 1920, at Emmett Memorial Hall, Ogden Avenue and Taylor Street, heard said Cunningham in addressing the strikers, among other things state:

"That only 8 out of 368 had gone back to work."

Further saying:

"That our cause is just. We are not Bolsheviks or I. W. W.'s, but belong to an order which should have been in existence long, long ago. We have to stick together—and inside of 48 hours we will be back working on the job with God's will and the Chicago Yardmen's Association."

In furtherance of said conspiracy said Cunningham at a meeting held at Henry Clay Hall, Spaulding and North Avenues, of the United Enginemen's Association, on April 5, 1920, during the evening in addressing a meeting of railroad workers stated:

"That the railroad men were the worst paid of any class of workers, and that this condition was the fault of the officers of their organization—and that they were all sick and tired of this watchful waiting policy—that now was the time to bring the autocratic railroads to time."

He urged the men to join the United Enginemen's Association, which information was supplied by one A. F. Whitney, vice president of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen.

UNITED STATES v. H. W. DALBY ET AL.—VIOLATION LEVER ACT—RAILROAD SWITCHMEN'S AND YARDMEN'S STRIKE.

This statement should be consulted in connection with the statement of facts in the matter of H. E. Reading, a codefendant. In furtherance of said conspiracy H. W. Dalby was appointed a member of a committee to negotiate with the Chicago Yardmen's Association for the affiliation of both organizations in regard to wage contracts, said Dalby also being secretary of the United Enginemen's Association. The appointment to the above-named committee took place on or about April 12, 1920, in the presence of E. C. Shanahan, special agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.

UNITED STATES v. MIKE C. ELLGASS ET AL.—VIOLATION LEVER ACT—RAILROAD SWITCHMEN'S AND YARDMEN'S STRIKE.

The statement of facts in the case of H. E. Reading should be consulted in connection with the statement of Mike C. Ellgass.

In furtherance of said conspiracy Mike C. Ellgass, between the dates of March 12 and 25, 1920, distributed handbills entitled "Enginemen, attention,"

which called for a meeting on April 4, 1920, at Henry Clay Hall. Said bulletins were also posted on the bulletin board at Bensenville, Ill., and were distributed by said Ellgass and one J. F. Kinley in the roundhouse at Bensenville, Ill., in the presence of Joseph A. Jelley, assistant foreman of the Bensenville, Ill. roundhouse, of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad.

Further, that said Ellgass requested George Hall, of 4059 West Grand Avenue, Chicago, Ill., to join the United Enginemen's Association in February, 1920.

And further, said Ellgass was active in the conspiracy, participating therein as the treasurer of the United Enginemen's Association.

UNITED STATES V. R. V. MILLER ET AL.—VIOLATION LEVER ACT—RAILROAD SWITCHMEN'S AND YARDMEN'S STRIKE.

In connection with this statement the statement of facts in the case of H. E. Reading should be consulted. Said defendant, R. V. Miller, in furtherance of this conspiracy, on or about April 4, 1920, while speaking at a meeting held in Henry Clay Hall, Spaulding and North Avenues, Chicago, Ill., stated:

"We are building up this association along the same lines as the wobblies—where injury to one is an injury to all."

He denounced the railroads as exploiters of labor who were making slaves out of the working class. Further saying:

"Now is your opportunity to organize into one union, where every man can have a voice and won't be dictated by one man—where every man has the right to express his opinions—every man has the right to quit his job when he feels like it, but we are not advocating a strike and we will not encourage any man to strike.

"By sticking to this rule, we will keep within the law and can not be prosecuted under that late act of Congress which prohibits strikes."

This information was supplied by A. F. Whitney, vice president of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen.

Further, on April 5, 1920, at the same hall, in addressing the United Enginemen's Association, Miller stated that Reading, Dolan, and himself had fought for democracy. It was the nighttime when they returned home. During his address he used the terms "fellow workers," "wage slaves," and "brothers."

Further, said defendant, R. V. Miller, attending a meeting with Ben Dolar, H. E. Creighton, and others, who were organizers of the United Enginemen's Association, which meeting was held at Forty-seventh and Halsted Streets. Everyone had to show credentials to attend said meeting. They were instructed not to mention "strike" or "overthrow of the Government" in their speeches. Agents Chutfield and Joyce, of the bureau office, have personal knowledge of this fact.

In furtherance of said conspiracy said defendant, R. V. Miller, at a meeting held at Henry Clay Hall on April 9, 1920, under the auspices of the United Enginemen's Association, H. E. Reading, the codefendant, presiding, Miller, in addressing the strikers, made the following remarks:

"More and more men are quitting and taking vacations, and that organizers were wanted to get these men into the United Enginemen's Association, and that he, Miller, would not go back to work on the railroads for the pay that he had been getting, and that while he was not able to tell others what to do, he did not think that they would work for that wage either, and that by sticking together they would be bound to win."

This statement was made in the presence of E. C. Shanahan, special agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.

UNITED STATES V. R. S. MURPHY ET AL.—VIOLATION LEVER ACT—RAILROAD SWITCHMEN'S AND YARDMEN'S STRIKE.

In connection with this statement, the statement of facts in the matter of John Grunau and Fred A. Filter, codefendants, should be consulted.

In furtherance of said conspiracy said defendant, R. S. Murphy, on or about April 6, 1920, joined the Chicago Yardmen's Association, and according to the admission made by said Murphy to Special Agent Julius Rosin in the presence of James C. Peyronnin, special employee of the Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, that he had made speeches at about 51 meetings of the Chicago Yardmen's Association.

Further, on April 17, 1920, said R. S. Murphy told E. C. Shanahan, special agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, to tell Assistant Attorney General Henry F. Mitchell:

"That he, Murphy, was obeying orders as regards speaking at the meeting, but that they were directing things—meaning the officers of the organization were directing association matters."

Saying that he understood that was what the Government wanted, which was the only way in which the men could be held in check, as without heads they would be liable to break away.

In furtherance of said conspiracy said Murphy was appointed by John Grunau as publicity manager for the Chicago Yardmen's Association. His duties being to give publicity regarding the progress of the railroad strike.

UNITED STATES v. A. W. CASSEDAY ET AL.—VIOLATION LEVER ACT—RAILROAD SWITCHMEN'S AND YARDMEN'S STRIKE.

In connection with the statement of A. W. Casseday, the statement of facts in the matter of John Grunau, a codefendant, should be consulted.

In furtherance of said conspiracy said defendant, A. W. Casseday, as secretary of the Chicago Yardmen's Association, grand lodge office, affixed his signature to a document containing the wage demands of the strikers, with address, "To whom it may concern":

[John Grunau, president, 1145 North Mansfield Avenue; telephone, Austin 2519. W. L. Bond, secretary and treasurer, 150 North Long Avenue; telephone, Columbus 886.]

CHICAGO YARDMEN'S ASSOCIATION,
GRAND LODGE OFFICE,
Chicago, April 3, 1920.

To whom it may concern:

GENTLEMEN: The Chicago Yardmen's Association submits to you the following working conditions and rate of pay to govern the Chicago switching district: Foremen of all yard and transfer engines, \$1 per hour; yard helpers, 95 cents per hour; switchtenders, \$5 per day for attending not more than three switches; where they are required to attend more than three switches, helpers' rate of pay to apply at 95 cents per hour.

Time and one-half for overtime, Sundays, and all legal holidays, and where they are required to work more than eight hours on Sundays or legal holidays, double time for all time exceeding eight hours.

A basic eight-hour day for all.

A. W. CASSEDAY, *Secretary*.

UNITED STATES v. FRED A. FILTER ET AL.—VIOLATION LEVER ACT—RAILROAD SWITCHMEN'S AND YARDMEN'S STRIKE.

In connection with this statement, the statement of facts in the case of John Grunau, a codefendant, should be consulted.

In furtherance of said conspiracy on April 17, 1920, said defendant, Fred A. Filter, as a member of the official family of the Chicago Yardmen's Association, consented to have the original wage demands presented to the General Managers' Association to stand. This was admitted to E. S. Shanahan, special agent of the Bureau of Investigation, by R. S. Murphy, publicity manager for the Chicago Yardmen's Association, which information was as follows:

"I, R. S. Murphy, publicity manager of the Chicago Yardmen's Association, give the following statement signed by John Grunau, president of the Chicago Yardmen's Association:

"At a meeting of the grand lodge officers, board of directors, and board of trustees, held at Conway Hall, at 10 a. m., April 17, 1920, it was unanimously decided that the original demands of the Chicago Yardmen's Association, which have been presented to the General Managers' Association stand.

"Also that, as far as the switchmen and switchtenders are concerned, they must be recognized as a governing body; that there shall be no discrimination made against anyone who had withdrawn as an individual from the services of the various railways, and they must be reinstated to their former seniority rights."

UNITED STATES v. J. C. LOGAN ET AL.—VIOLATION LEVER ACT—RAILROAD SWITCHMEN'S AND YARDMEN'S STRIKE.

In connection with this statement, the statement made in the matter of John Grunau, a codefendant, should be consulted. In furtherance of said conspiracy J. C. Logan participated in the activities of the Chicago Yardmen's Association in his capacity as director of said association.

He further, as chairman of a committee, served an ultimatum on General Manager Gillick, of the C. & M. & St. P. R. R., comprising the demands of the Chicago Yardmen's Association, which were as follows:

(1) That all men now out of service will be returned to their former positions without prejudice and be given their seniority.

(2) That the following wage scale be put into effect: Yard conductors, \$1 per hour; yard helpers, 95 cents per hour.

(3) Crews started to work before 6.39 a. m. and after 11 a. m. be paid 5 cents per hour differential, extra men to receive the same compensation as regular men.

(4) Switch tenders with more than three switches to receive 95 cents per hour. All other switch tenders to receive \$5 per day.

(5) Time and one-half to be paid for all overtime, Sundays and holidays. Double time to be paid for all overtime in excess of eight hours on Sundays and holidays. Eight hours to constitute a day's work.

UNITED STATES v. H. E. CREIGHTON ET AL.—VIOLATION LEVER ACT—RAILROAD SWITCHMEN'S AND YARDMEN'S STRIKE.

The statement in the case of H. E. Reading, a codefendant, should be consulted in connection with this. In furtherance of this conspiracy said defendant, H. E. Creighton, was an official organizer of the United Enginemen's Association, and his duties were to organize locals of the United Enginemen's Association for the purpose of this conspiracy.

Special Agents E. J. Joyce and R. E. Chatfield, of the Chicago office, have personal knowledge of this matter.

UNITED STATES v. WILLIAM LARABELL ET AL.—VIOLATION LEVER ACT—RAILROAD SWITCHMEN'S AND YARDMEN'S ASSOCIATION.

Reference is made to the statement in the matter of John Grunau, a codefendant, which statement should be consulted in connection with this matter of William Larabell.

In furtherance of said conspiracy said Larabell, as trustee of the Chicago Yardmen's Association, consented and became active in the councils of the association for the purpose of attaining the wage demands made by the Chicago Yardmen's Association of the General Managers' Association of the railroads.

Defendant William Larabell further induced switchmen and switch tenders to join the organization, which admission was made to Special Agent Julius Rosie, in the presence of James O. Peyronnin, special employee of the Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.

UNITED STATES v. MICHAEL PLATKE ET AL.—VIOLATION LEVER ACT—RAILROAD SWITCHMEN'S AND YARDMEN'S STRIKE.

In connection with this statement, the statement of facts in the matter of John Grunau, a codefendant, should be consulted.

In furtherance of this conspiracy said defendant Michael Platke accepted the office of director in the Chicago Yardmen's Association, and in his official capacity consented and directed the activities of the Chicago Yardmen's Association in the railway strike.

UNITED STATES v. F. L. SCHULTZ ET AL.—VIOLATION OF LEVER ACT—RAILROAD SWITCHMEN'S AND YARDMEN'S STRIKE.

In connection with this statement, the statement of facts in the matter of H. E. Reading, a codefendant, should be consulted.

In furtherance of this conspiracy on or about April 8, 1920, at Henry Clay Hall, Chicago, Ill., said defendant F. L. Schultz acted as chairman and stated: "That the enginemen had a right to organize and break away from the brotherhoods." He introduced one Sharkey as speaker and permitted said Sharkey to make the following statement to the strikers, to wit:

"That the crafts were to meet this evening and note on how they stood in regard to the strike proposition, and that in his opinion they would probably take a vacation, like the firemen and engineers; that they had waited not only 90 days but 220 days for the President to do something to reduce the H. C. of L. and that it would be probably another year before they heard of even

a committee being formed to do anything about it; that now was the time to force their demands."

He further stated:

"That there would be no violence tolerated and that they would not stand for being called Bolsheviks just because they wanted a living wage."

Further, at the same hall, on April 11, 1920, said F. L. Schultz presided, and again stated:

"That the enginemen had a right to break away from the brotherhoods; that they were at first locked out but now they intended to take a vacation until they won what they were out for."

UNITED STATES V. WILLIAM J. DEVOY ET AL.—VIOLATION LEVER ACT—RAILROAD SWITCHMEN'S AND YARDMEN'S STRIKE.

The statement in the matter of H. E. Reading, a codefendant, should be consulted in connection with this report.

In furtherance of this conspiracy said defendant, William J. Devoy, was appointed and accepted the position of publicity manager of the United Enginemen's Association, and while making a short speech stated "that he would not go back to work until they had won, and that the men (strikers) ought to do the same thing."

William J. Devoy is also a director of the United Enginemen's Association, and as such participates in the management of the affairs of the United Enginemen's Association in conducting the present strike.

UNITED STATES V. JAMES SHANNON ET AL.—VIOLATION LEVER ACT—RAILROAD SWITCHMEN'S AND YARDMEN'S STRIKE.

The statement of John Grunau, a codefendant, should be consulted in connection with this statement.

No evidence outside of said defendant, James Shannon, being a member of the Chicago Yardmen's Association is available.

UNITED STATES V. H. A. DAILEY ET AL.—VIOLATION LEVER ACT—RAILROAD SWITCHMEN'S AND YARDMEN'S STRIKE.

The report of H. E. Reading, a codefendant, should be consulted in connection with this report. Said defendant, H. A. Dailey, as secretary of the United Enginemen's Association, participated in the management of the strike in furtherance of this conspiracy.

In furtherance of this conspiracy, at a meeting held on April 5, 1920, at Henry Clay Hall, of the United Enginemen's Association, when one Schumaker made a short speech nominating one Dolan, Miller, Reading, and said Dailey, all codefendants in this matter, to attend a meeting to be held at Thirty-eighth Street and Ashland Avenue, of the railroad workers of the Chicago & Alton Railroad, said meeting a closed meeting, the mission of said defendants being to induce the workers of the Chicago & Alton to join the United Enginemen's Association and participating in the strike, which information was given by one A. F. Whitney, vice president of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen.

Further, said defendant, H. A. Dailey, participated in a meeting held on April 10, 1920, at Henry Clay Hall, presided over by H. E. Reading, a codefendant, at which meeting wage demands were agreed upon, to wit: Engineers, \$1.25 per hour; firemen, \$1 per hour; switchmen, \$1 per hour; helpers, 95 cents per hour. All work over eight hours to be overtime, at time and one-half rate. All legal holidays to be considered overtime, and time and one-half paid for eight hours and double time for all work over eight hours.

Said Dailey, as organizer of the United Enginemen's Association, stated: "That out of 5,000 firemen and engineers in Chicago, 4,500 were not working and that over 4,000 belonged to the new union," which was done in the presence of E. C. Shanahan, of the Bureau of Investigation.

Said H. A. Dailey, on April 11, 1920, at Henry Clay Hall, at a meeting of the United Enginemen's Association, told E. C. Shanahan, special agent of the Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, "That they had been locked out at the start, but that now since they had been invited to go back to work they had decided better to take a vacation."

Further on, or about April 13, 1920, at Henry Clay Hall, said H. A. Dailey reported on the reception he had received by the railroad workmen at Toledo,

Ohio, stating: "That he had addressed 3,000 men in Labor Hall at Toledo, Ohio. At that meeting one D. J. McDonald, of 44 East Avenue, Toledo, Ohio, was appointed organizer for Toledo to cooperate with said defendant, Dailey, and one Dolan for the purpose of organizing all the railroad men there."

UNITED STATES V. EARLE KERR ET AL.—VIOLATION LEVER ACT—RAILROAD SWITCHMEN'S AND ENGINEERS' STRIKE.

In connection with this statement, the statement of facts in the case of John Grunau should be consulted.

The evidence available in the case of defendant, Earle Kerr, is as follows: While addressing a meeting of the Chicago Yardmen's Association, at Warner's Hall, 3800 West Madison Street, on April 17, 1920, in the presence of one R. J. K. Kelly, special agent of the Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, he stated: "To me next to the Book of God is the book of the history of the United States," and after lauding Thomas Jefferson, he said: "To-day we have a Thomas Jefferson, and that man is John Grunau."

He then read a newspaper clipping wherein some I. W. W. secretary denounced E. C. Esty, saying that he, Esty, was not a member of their organization, and that their organization, the I. W. W., did not advocate violence. Kerr then stated: "That the I. W. W. was not as bad as it is supposed to be," and he said: "Lower down than the I. W. W. is the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen and the Switchmen's Union of North America. Esty must have been used by them."

UNITED STATES V. SAM CARTWRIGHT ET AL.—VIOLATION LEVER ACT—RAILROAD SWITCHMEN'S AND YARDMEN'S STRIKE.

In connection with this statement, the statement of facts in the matter of John Grunau, a codefendant, should be consulted.

In furtherance of said conspiracy said Sam Cartwright, as a member of the committee on organization of the Chicago yardmen's organization, addressed a meeting at Moose Hall, Hammond, Ind., and among other things he stated:

"That the switchmen need have no fear regarding their insurance, but that they can get all they want for less money, and that they did not have to be a corpse to get it."

Further saying:

"That we do not care how many yellow taxis they get—they can fill the jails full if they want to—we do not give a damn for the Lever Act. I have tried to read the Esch-Cummings bill and, if I could understand it, I wouldn't be here talking to you tonight. Anyway, I can not find anything in it about us getting any more money, so I stuck it under the mattress, so I am sleeping on the ——— thing. I was talking to members of the Trades' Council at Gary, Ind., and was told that any of the boys that wanted jobs should go down and they certainly would be taken care of. It is all bunk they are telling you about things being almost normal. You can hear a pin drop in any of the yards, and it does not have to be a coupling pin either. Don't take my word for it—go and look over the situation. We can not send any mail with Chicago Yardmen's Association on the outside, as everything is opened and invariably is never delivered. Our telegrams are held back as much as 24 hours and our telephone wires are all tapped."

The speaker further stated:

"That he would not tell them to go back and he would not tell them not to go back, but if they went back and any of them should see him sweeping the streets down on Michigan Ave., he would say, 'Do not talk to me, I do not want to know you,' which speech was made in the presence of A. G. Jamie and R. J. K. Kelly, special agents of the Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.

UNITED STATES V. I. C. CALLAHAN ET AL.—VIOLATION LEVER ACT—RAILROAD SWITCHMEN'S AND YARDMEN'S STRIKE.

In this connection, the statement of facts in the matter of John Grunau, a codefendant, should be consulted.

The only evidence in possession of the Chicago office against this defendant, I. C. Callahan, is a speech made at Warner's Hall, located at 3800 West Madison

son Street, Chicago, on April 17, 1920, in the presence of R. J. K. Kelly, special agent, of the Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, which was in substance as follows:

"That the demands made by the railroad workers were reasonable and that the United States did not want to arrest the leaders, but were forced into doing it by the Brotherhood officials. That there was no reason for them to be discouraged, that they had the contract (meaning the railroad officials), but the Chicago Yardmen's Association has the men."

UNITED STATES *v.* JOSEPH BUCKLEY ET AL.—VIOLATION LEVER ACT—RAILROAD SWITCHMEN'S AND YARDMEN'S STRIKE.

In connection with this statement of facts, the statement, in the matter of H. E. Reading, a codefendant, should be consulted.

Joseph Buckley, in connection with this conspiracy, was appointed an organizer for the United Enginemen's Association, and accepted said office, and organized railroad workers in furtherance of the strike movement.

UNITED STATES *v.* THOMAS M'DERMOTT ET AL.—VIOLATION LEVER ACT—RAILROAD SWITCHMEN'S AND YARDMEN'S STRIKE.

In connection with this statement, the statement of facts in the matter of John Grunau, a codefendant, should be consulted. One J. B. Mulvaney informed Special Agent D. W. Maher and Special Employee James O. Peyronnin, of the Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, that L. T. McDermott, the defendant, induced the workers of the Chicago Junction to strike, which information was given on April 15, 1920.

In furtherance of said conspiracy on April 18, 1920, at Emmett Memorial Hall, located at Ogden Avenue and Taylor Street, Chicago, in the presence of special agents E. J. Joyce and P. J. Fergus, of the Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, said defendant, Thomas McDermott, stated:

"That the meeting was composed entirely of Burlington Railroad switchmen and all members of the Chicago Yardmen's Association."

Further stated: "The Chicago Yardmen's Association was not on a strike but they were merely on an extended leave of absence and that they intend to extend this leave of absence until such time as they can secure from the railroads a living wage—\$1 for foremen and enginemen and 95 cents to helpers."

Further stated: "That the Chicago Yardmen's Association was not fighting the United States Government—neither are they fighting the railroads, but the parties they are fighting are Whitney and Lee, officials of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen."

He further stated: "That you are thinking of going back tomorrow—I say wait until you read the Tuesday afternoon papers that are out right after we eat our breakfast. I am expecting something to happen Monday."

He attempted to point out during the entire speech "that they would take a foolish step in returning to work."

He told the rank and file to go out and make arrangements for bonds for their officials. He further stated:

"That they had fired through one barrel—I do not think they have a double-barreled shotgun—if they have—I know they haven't an automatic."

He further advised the officers to be at the meeting in the morning to show they were not afraid. He also asked the rank and file to be present to show the officers they were not quitting. He further stated:

"The railroad crafts were taking a strike ballot to go on strike Monday, April 19, 1920, at 8 o'clock a. m.—which information he had received from a confidential source, but having given his word he would not tell where it came from or what craft was involved."

He further stated: "That his informer had told him that the ballot would be in at 6 o'clock p. m. Sunday, April 18, 1920, and he was almost sure that they would be 100 per cent for a strike—and that if this craft does strike it will tie up all railroads between Chicago and hell. This craft is going into this strike to find the constitutionality of the Esch-Cummings bill."

McDermott further told the members present: "That as soon as the Federal officers arrest the chairman or any one of the Chicago Yardmen's Association officers—some other members should step up and take his place so the Government would have the whole Federal Building full of prisoners."

In furtherance of said conspiracy said Thomas McDermott at Warner's Hall, 3800 West Madison Street, Chicago, on May 3, 1920, while addressing a

number of strikers in the presence of E. C. Shanahan, special agent Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, stated:

"That in his opinion Mr. Palmer, the United States Attorney General, was the greatest red in the United States, and that he—McDermott—was of the further opinion that all the red talk that was in the papers about May 1 demonstration was put there by Mr. Palmer for the sole purpose of having an excuse to see the Federal authorities and the Department of Justice to break the ranks of the present membership of the Chicago Yardmen's Association."

He pleaded with the men to stand pat, since in a few days they would win.

UNITED STATES *v.* HJALMA J. CARLSON ET AL.—VIOLATION LEVER ACT—RAILROAD SWITCHMEN'S AND YARDMEN'S STRIKE.

The statement of facts in the matter of John Grunau should be consulted in connection with this statement. Said Hjalma J. Carlson, between the dates of April 10 and 14, 1920, at Clinton, Iowa, attempted to influence yardmen at that point to join the Chicago Yardmen's Association and leave their employment in furtherance of said strike.

One E. F. Munson, of Clinton, Iowa, employed by the Chicago & North Western as a conductor, is able to testify to this fact.

Further, on or about April 1, 1920, said Hjalma J. Carlson, in company with one J. A. Woods, at about 12.50 p. m., signaled the men in the Mannheim yard of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul railroad by standing on a box car, having their arms stretched out and their thumbs pointing upward, to quit work, which can be verified by Patrick Hayes, yardmaster for the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad at Mannheim, Ill.

UNITED STATES *v.* W. H. READY ET AL.—VIOLATION LEVER ACT—RAILROAD SWITCHMEN'S AND YARDMEN'S STRIKE.

The statement of facts made in the case of John Grunau, a codefendant, should be consulted. Said defendant, W. H. Ready, was appointed by said John Grunau as a member of the board of trustees in the Chicago Yardmen's Association, and accepted said office, and in his official capacity consented and directed the activities of said association among railroad strikers.

Further, between the dates of April 1 and 15, 1920, said Ready proceeded to Fort Wayne, Ind., for the purpose of addressing a number of railroad workers of Fort Wayne for the purpose of organizing them into the yardmen's association.

In furtherance of said strike said Ready issued charters to the railroad workers at Fort Wayne, Ind., of the Chicago Yardmen's Association, as per statement made of one Joseph Scott to Julius Rosin, special agent, and James O. Peyronnin, special employee, of the Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.

UNITED STATES *v.* GEORGE E. GOODRIDGE, HARRY VAN WEET, THOMAS J. O'KEEFE, CHARLES W. CROTTY, WILLIAM WHITMORE, ISAAC ORRIS ET AL.—VIOLATION OF LEVER ACT—RAILROAD SWITCHMEN'S AND YARDMEN'S STRIKE.

In connection with this statement of facts the statement in the matter of John Grunau, a codefendant, should be consulted.

Said Goodridge, Crotty, Whitmore, Orris, Van Wert, and O'Keefe actively participated in this conspiracy as directors and trustees of the Chicago Yardmen's Association. In their official capacity they conducted the activities of the Chicago Yardmen's Association and were responsible for unanimously reaching the decision that the original demands of the Chicago Yardmen's Association, which had been presented to the General Managers' Association, shall stand; and, further, that as far as the switchmen and switch tenders are concerned they must be recognized as a governing body, and that there shall be no discrimination made against anyone who had withdrawn from the service of the various railroads, and that all men be reinstated to their former seniority rights, which statement was signed by John Grunau.

And the unanimous decision of issuing and circulating said statement was reached at 10 a. m. on April 17, 1920, and was so given out by R. S. Murphy, publicity manager of the Chicago Yardmen's Association, E. C. Shanahan, special agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, receiving a copy of the same direct from said R. S. Murphy, a codefendant.

UNITED STATES v. MIKE CAHILL ET AL.—VIOLATION LEVER ACT—RAILROAD SWITCHMEN'S AND YARDMEN'S STRIKE.

Statement of facts in the matter of John Grunau, a codefendant, should be consulted in connection with this report.

In furtherance of this conspiracy said defendant, Mike Cahill, on April 21, 1920, at Carmen's Hall, Chicago, while the meeting was in progress, jumped up and yelled:

"We want Grunau; we don't want B. S. We won't go back to work until we get what we want."

R. S. Murphy, a codefendant, at this point jumped up to stop said Mike Cahill. Due to Mike Cahill's conduct and violent language, the meeting broke up, which had become riotous in its nature.

EXHIBIT No. 30.

MAY DAY, 1920.

[The Awakener, issued unperiodically by the anarchist groups of Canada. Distributed free. May, 1920.]

A CALL TO ACTION.

It is to you who toil in the factories, stores, mines, and farms of the country that we address these words.

The owner of the factory who makes millions out of your labor, the owner of the store who never stops raising the prices, and the Government that serves all these interests, protecting them, even at the point of killing any of you who dare to rebel against all these intolerable conditions, all these interests needn't bother reading this call to action, for it isn't for them that it is being written or distributed.

It is to you, the worker, who is forced to toil every day in the year; you who never rest as a human being ought to; you who never enjoy life as life should be enjoyed; you who forego some of the most essential things needful in order to live; you who submit to starve of undernourishment, and on top of all have submitted to be exploited, while your employers hoarded millions; you who allow the rent profiteer to rob you, the food gouger to skin you, the preacher and newspaper writer to fool and mislead you; to all of you we speak and ask you to listen.

It is also to you men who were fortunate enough not to lose your lives overseas, while being asked to bring "democracy" the world over, and now have returned to find yourselves in many instances armless, footless, gassed, wounded, and facing the alternative of either going to work for a wage on which it is impossible to exist or starving to death.

Do you know who these "gentlemen" are who offer you such low wages? They are the same creatures who shrieked from the housetops that they were the holiest of all the holy patriots, who denounced everyone who happened to have been a foreigner, who promised to pay you half the wages you earned before entering military service, but forgot the promise very quick, who appealed to others to go fight in the war, but themselves always managed by political pulls to remain at home, who made millions of profits from the war, while you were being crippled and killed. It is they who are now offering you starvation wages. You have suffered, thinking and believing that it was for the good of the world, but now being able clearly to see and realize that it was only for the good and profit of these "gentlemen" that you have vainly sacrificed.

While the cost of living is rising way above the wages paid, and while you workers are beginning to protest and question as to why you have to suffer in want while a few others have plenty, they, the exploiters and rulers of the country, are not sitting idly by.

First, they have tried to mislead you, as they always do, by pointing on the foreigner as your real enemy. This was bound to fail, for the foreigner was not the self-advertised patriot, the rich exploiter and profiteer that employs and cheats you, but it was the 100 per cent Canadians who did and are still doing it.

It is for these reasons that the workers out West, beginning in Winnipeg, started to revolt. They asked for more wages, in order to meet the high cost of living. The Winnipeg Chamber of Commerce said no; the workers must live on what they are kind enough to give them. Then, the workers answered by declaring a general strike. The general strike could and would have been a success, not only in gaining higher wages, but also in destroying the entire present system of exploitation.

But the general strike was not a success; this was chiefly due to the treacherous stand taken by nearly every official of the Canadian labor movement. Men who called themselves Socialists, carried out the wishes of America's oldest labor traitor—Samuel Gompers, in knifing to death the general strike. And to the shame (if they have any) of these traitors of the workers they succeeded.

Every chamber of commerce in Canada was trembling in fear, helpless—even with the usual entire backing of the Government (for the soldiers were on the side of the workers, as they always should be) couldn't defeat the general strike that spread from city to city.

But, what all these forces of capitalism couldn't accomplish, these indirect helpers did. The American Federation of Labor, through its officers in Canada, came to the rescue of the Canadian exploiters and did all they could to defeat the general strike.

When this was an accomplished fact, then, capitalism through its Government started to come out from their hiding places, and began punishing those honest men, who refused to be traitors to the labor movement, daring to express the real desires and hopes of the workers.

The Government began the invading of homes, searching and arresting workers, just as the Russian Czar used to do.

They were even ready to deport British subjects, without trial by jury. Their first victim was R. B. Russell, who has been sentenced to two years jail, and recently five more have been sentenced to one year, all of them punished for not having betrayed the workers in their general strike.

The essential question that remains now to be answered by you, the workers of the country, is: What are you going to do? Are you going to look on how the Government carries out capitalism's orders, throwing into imprisonment one after another, those who didn't betray you? We have no intention whatsoever of appealing to you, to hold protest meetings or pass paper resolutions. Babbling words or paper protests will never release our comrades from capitalism's claws.

Neither will they be released by begging appeals to the privy council, which is only the highest servant institution of capitalism.

Nor will they be released by allowing yourselves to be mislead and fooled into supporting the traitors of the general strike, who are preparing to run as candidates of the labor party.

If you will waste your time, energy, and money in trying to elect these treacherous labor politicians, you will be betrayed by them just as they have done in the general strike.

The way to free them, is by the same means and methods as the workers of England employed to free Tom Mann and Jim Larkin in the dockers' strike of 1912, when after having been "legally" sentenced to two years jail, the workers forced their immediate release by threatening and preparing to go out on a general strike—throughout the entire country. This is also what we must do, if we really want to free our imprisoned comrades.

The 1st of May is coming. That day is the day of awakening, the day of the workers. On that day the workers gather together in all their strength—attempting with all their energy, to wrest from their exploiters whatever they were robbed of.

This 1st of May is of much significance to the workers of Canada. We have many reasons why to prepare in making this day a day of real awakening, a day of real uprising, a day of real rebellion.

On this day we can and should prepare to start the great general strike throughout every corner of the country until we not only force the release of every worker imprisoned, for trying to better our conditions, but we should also continue the general strike, until we succeed in abolishing the exploiter who gets rich from our labor, the profiteer, and rent gouger who robs us of whatever we earn, the religious and press liars who tell us to be thankful and content, and the Government that protects all these human sharks upon our backs.

Instead of such a society as exists at present, based upon exploitation, robbery, hypocrisy, force and murder rule, let us establish the anarchist commune society, based upon the principle, from each according to his ability and to each according to his needs. A society where each will do their best, to help develop science and machinery on the industrial field and art, sculpture, music, and literature on the intellectual field, all voluntarily cooperating to make life a real joy—that is worth living.

To bring about an anarchist society thus described, you must start at once to organize, wherever you happen to be, anarchist groups. Call meetings, agitate and prepare for the great uprising, the great revolution, that are to begin on the day of awakening, the 1st of May, or soon as possible hereafter!

There remains for you workers—two choices: One is, to do nothing, not listen to what we say, submit to be exploited, fooled, robbed, beaten, and jailed. The other choice is, to listen to us, start organizing anarchist groups in every industry that you work, and then begin the real justified war, for the liberation of every one who does any useful work. We must not be satisfied with anything else but the destruction of every institution that upholds the present system of economic slavery.

If we wish it, we can get busy at once and begin on this 1st of May. With our own might we can break open every jail door, take possession of every factory, farm, mine, warehouse, and store in the country, for they and all the riches they contain belong to us workers who have produced them.

On the 1st of May nature awakens, and everything in that sphere blossoms forth in full bloom. Why, then, should we human beings—the toilers—be worse than the dumb trees and plants that start giving out their beautiful smells and fruits, or the birds who begin to sing their enchanting melodies?

Can not we be at least as wise as the animals and trees and once in our history also begin to awaken and blossom forth by revolting against the entire present society until we replace it by the Anarchist Commune Society?

The 1st of May can and should be the signal to start the social revolution in Canada.

But whether we start it on the 1st of May or soon as possible hereafter, let us remember what we strive for.

The land, factories, and produced commodities of the country must be taken over by us workers who have produced them.

The present society of slavery, based on the institutions of capitalism that exploits us, profiteering that robs us, church and press liars that mislead and fool us, and the government that upholds our enslavement by force and murder, all these institutions must be destroyed branch and root.

GREETINGS.

To every one who toils we send greetings of cheer. We come to tell you the truth, not a part of it, but the whole unvarnished truth.

Capitalism and business stand for the workers' exploitation. Governments, church, and press help to uphold and continue its existence.

We are out to destroy them all.

Before we can build a new society based on real freedom the present one must be destroyed.

This is our mission. To prove by facts how you are exploited and fooled. To call upon you at every opportunity to revolt and at the same time give you enlightening thoughts as to what kind of a society we strive for instead of the present one.

We have come to awaken to rebellion every one who is enslaved.

The destructive spirit is the creative spirit.

From each according to his ability; and to each according to his needs.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE 1ST OF MAY.

The 1st of May is being "celebrated" to-day by nearly every thinking worker throughout the world. We have said "celebrated"—because it was never intended to serve the purpose of a celebration, but, unfortunately, it has become such to-day.

How and why?

The real origin of the 1st of May dates back to the year of 1886, when the anarchist movement, through the then powerful militant organization, the Knights of Labor, not only helped to bring into the foreground the issue of the

1st of May, when the workers should revolt by general strikes to gain the eight-hour day, but began to spread the idea that the 1st of May should rather be the day on which the workers are to use the general strike as a means of starting the revolution for the overthrow of the entire capitalist system.

American capitalism was in an agony of dreadful fear. First it was scared by the eight-hour day, which would cut down its robbing profits, and, secondly, feared at most the great agitation of their entire abolition that was carried on by the anarchist movement.

So, they decided to kill the entire movement by carrying out the greatest judicial murder in America's history by strangling to death the leading spirits of the then anarchist movement—Parsons, Spies, Fisher, Engels, and murdering Louis Ling in the jail.

This is the price that the anarchist movement was forced to pay by capitalism through its Government for the great agitation and activity that it carried on. But their blood, the blood of the martyrs, was not in vain.

Ever since that historical year the 1st of May began to spread through the entire labor movement of the world.

The then International Workingmen's Association took up the idea of the 1st of May as it was really intended to be.

The 1st of May began to be a day of awakening, a day of real rebellion. It was not a day of "celebration," but a day when the workers gathered together and tried by all the weapons of reason and force to destroy as much as they could the system of economical and political exploitation.

This is why the 1st of May became the day of fear to capitalism and all its supporters, it became capitalism's death signaler. The more capitalism was scared and tried to drown in blood every 1st of May manifestation, the more they thus helped to spread the idea of the day of rebellion—the 1st of May.

Would that great rebellious international have continued to exist, then we really could be celebrating the 1st of May—not in the present system of exploitation—but in the anarchist communes of the world.

Unfortunately, the international was split into two internationals, due mainly to the socialist faction, which forced out of the first international the anarchistically inclined faction.

The socialist faction began to spread the ideas of the easier road, the road of least resistance, arguing, that the peaceful road of constitutional method (as much as capitalism deems it safe to grant) is preferable to the road of revolution which they argued may cost the workers some blood. Most of the workers chose to listen to the new cry—of constitutional methods. The result of this new "salvation" idea finally killed both internationals.

Later the followers of socialism started the international that is known to this day as the Socialist International.

It is this Socialist International that has been dominating nearly the whole labor movement of the world, and to live up to its ideas and methods—it had to turn the rebellious 1st of May manifestations into peaceful "celebrations" (much better they should be termed funeral celebrations of the revolutionary movement that was once in existence).

It is true that the socialists succeeded in killing the revolutionary spirit of the 1st of May, but they never succeeded in killing the anarchist ideas in the minds and hearts of thousands of anarchists who have never stopped in calling upon you the workers to choose the only road that will really free you, the road of revolution.

If up to the year of 1914, our calls were not listened to attentively by you the workers, to-day they will be.

Then up to 1914, the workers laid their hopes of salvation in the political action of socialism. The German Social Democratic Party was the shining light of international socialism.

And to-day? To-day we anarchists can point out not only how the "glory" party betrayed the workers by its support of the recent war, but also to the present socialist government of Germany that is drowning in blood thousands of workers who really strive for freedom.

We have also lived to see how the English labor party by its leading socialists—such as Hyndman and Henderson—are doing all they can to delay and prevent a revolution by the workers of England.

We have also lived to see a revolution in Russia, wherein socialists such as Kerensky and Tchernoff worked hand in hand with capitalism, and where a bolshevik-socialist government couldn't get into power otherwise than by the

slogan "all power to the worker's soviets," and now when in power, is doing many a thing of which the worker's soviets not only do not approve, but even do not know (this was clearly proven by the soviets congress which condemned the bolshevik government's killing of anarchists in Moscow), and the bolshevik government would long ago have been overthrown by the workers, if it wouldn't have been for the cry of "fighting the invading enemy."

We brought these facts to show first that the workers of the world by choosing the easier road, the constitutional methods and ideas of socialism, have paid a price in millions of lives killed in the recent war, thousands of lives killed in strikes and by the continuation of the capitalist system; and secondly, we can show that at the same time, within the last two years, the Socialists themselves as the Bolsheviks in Russia and Spartacans in Germany have adopted the revolutionary methods always preached by the Anarchists.

We ask you, who can reason and think, would the workers of the world have had to pay such a terrible price in blood, if they would have followed the road of revolutionary action?

The social world revolution could have been made, and it would never have cost us so many human lives.

To-day, upon the 1st of May, we ask you workers to listen to us. "Celebrating" the 1st of May by hearing Socialist and labor politicians will not free you from the present slavery.

The power to free yourselves lays in your own hands!

Begin by refusing to listen or obey your officials or leaders' orders! Start again the old spirit of the 1st of May, as it used to be. A day of fear to our rulers and exploiters, and a day of hope and revolution to us workers!

Instead of participating in elections, start general strikes, uprisings, and revolutions!

Begin to make the 1st of May not a day of "celebrating" your enslavement under capitalism's yoke, but a day of revolting again and again until we succeed in destroying capitalism with all its supporting institutions!

The way to freedom from economical and political slavery is not by submission to capitalism's granted constitutional methods (which only go so far as not to endanger its rule) but by revolution!

The 1st of May was intended to be the signalling day of the social revolution. It has been turned into "celebration" mass meetings of "lawful" protests—by the political misleaders—the Socialists. It is to become again what it was and it should be the day of the workers' awakening—the day of revolt!

THE DAY OF REBELLION.

In the night of oppression and anguish
When the hosts of tyrants rule wide,
And the people but shudder and languish,
As they crouch from the furies of pride,
Comes a word of revolt whispered grimly,
Through the chaos of discord and fear,
Till the slaves and despots feel dimly,
That the day of rebellion is near.

They know not the day nor the year,
Yet soon shall its standards appear.
With defiance to rules and to rulers,
That the day of rebellion is near.

It will come as the lightning from heaven;
As the wrath of the skies it will fall.
It will shatter like bolt of the levin,
Harsh monopoly's fortified wall;
It will dash down to dust and perdition,
With a crash that shall echo through time,
The twin monsters of rule and submission,
That have fastened the world in their slime.

The day of rebellion is near,
With omens for tyrants to fear,
And defiance to rules and to rulers,
Wherever its standards appear.

OUR PURPOSE.

I come not with the blaring of trumpet,
To herald the birth of a king;
I come not with traditional story,
The life of a savior to sing.

I come not with jests for the silly,
I come not to worship the strong,
But to question the powers that govern,
To point out a world-old wrong.

To kiss from the starved lips of childhood
The lies that are sapping its breath,
And brighten the brief cheerless valley
That leads to the darkness of death.

With reason and sympathy blanded,
And a hope that all mankind shall see,
Untrammelled by creed, law, or custom—
The attainable goal of the free.

PASS IT ALONG.

We want this paper to reach as many as it is possible, therefore we ask you to pass it along to your fellow comrades, after having read it through.

WORKERS! BEGIN TO THINK AND ACT!!

Those who live by doing nothing else but exploiting you men, women, and children, robbing you legally and illegally of all the wealth that you produce, are having their day of revenge and joy just now. For not only do they see us submitting with shameless gratification but even allowing them, through their Government thugs (known as officials), to brutally attack our most courageous brothers, throw them into the jails that you have built, and in there continue to torture them.

Workers who show the least resistance or dissatisfaction with their present economic slavery are inhumanly attacked, their houses ransacked, their meeting places not only raided but every useful thing found there intentionally destroyed and smashed up.

Whoever stands in the way of the present slavery, capitalism, our exploiters order their Government thugs to indict, beat up, raid, sentence, and torture that individual or group of individuals, and the Government thugs immediately obey their masters. In New York City, for instance, the leading prosecutor of workers is a representative of the Union League; that is the league of America's leading thieves, Government thugs, religious misleaders, and press liars.

In the Capital City of this capitalist country, Washington, the leading prosecutors are also of the same class as all the others are in every part of the country, working hand in hand with the American Defense Society of capitalist-robbing exploiters.

They and their papers are gloating over, jeering, and laughing at those workers whose skulls were so wantonly smashed, at those whose bodies were crippled, at those who were and are being tortured in the jails, at those who are lured into hearings separated even from their imprisoned comrades by deceptions and lies, and at those who are prosecuted for being here and yet are not allowed to leave this great country of freedom (yes; full freedom, for the exploiters)! They are hailing with glee and jubilating over the attacks first started against us, the anarchists, then the attacks on the Communist Parties, and on the Industrial Workers of the World.

Our enemies, the exploiters, are mad with joy over the fact that the representatives of the American Federation of Labor are condemning the railroad workers for going out on strike. The Government and its upholders call it "Violence breaks out." They are preparing laws to make it unlawful for a worker to strike at all; they are deporting all natives who also happen to become "foreignized," that is discontented with the present exploiting system.

This we hope will finally open the eyes of all of you native-born American workers and make you realize that capitalism is only trying to create race hatred and animosity between you; the native-born workers, and the foreign-born, for just watch your exploiters making absolutely no distinction whatsoever when it comes to the pay envelope. There you are all equally exploited. "native-born" men, women, and children being just as ruthlessly exploited and robbed as those who are foreign born?

Secret spy organizations and open ones, such as the American Legion, made up of our leading exploiting murderers, thieves, and mislead workers, are openly allowed to arm themselves and to drill in order to be more efficient and have more skill to shoot the workers down whenever they go out on strike to better their conditions. But when we anarchists come out and call upon you workers to arm yourselves against your enemies—the capitalists and exploiters—then they, these same capitalists, their Government thugs and press liars, are shrieking with fear.

Why has capitalism the "established right" to carry on its reign of terror against us workers while we have no right to defend ourselves. Where is the difference? The only difference is that capitalism, through its established Government thugs, has succeeded in carrying on this murderous war against the workers with the help of their hypocritical preachers of church and synagogue, and poisonous sold liars of the press. It is they, who gloat over, justify, rejoice over, and glorify such action. This is called by them "lawful," for it is sanctifying and dignifying the holy civilized institution; it is all for the great cause, to uphold themselves on the throne of stolen riches, while we workers suffer in poverty!

The moment we workers begin to defend ourselves by the same weapons that we are attacked with, that moment this whole machinery of capitalism's hypocrisy begins to scream in one big chorus: "They are urging assassination!" "Willful murder!" "Criminal anarchy?" etc. But they have played this game upon us workers long enough! It is time we realized it and refused to be trapped, fooled, or frightened by them any longer!

They have for generations worked and succeeded in establishing a thing which they call government, but which is nothing else but a murderous thug institution! They have legalized every murder and act of violence committed against us. They have legalized their robbing and exploitation upon us and are jailing us whenever we dare rise against it. It is up to us workers to awake to true conditions, arise, throw off our shackles of slavery, unite in groups, secret and conspirative, then start to fight them with the same weapons with which they attack us. Remember! They are few and we, the workers united, are many!

Once the start is made, and fighting them back is begun, then it would not be long before capitalism with all its barbaric institutions of violence and murder would be destroyed for good! Yes. We call upon you, all the workers of America, to arm yourselves!

The official thugs of capitalism have for generations murdered and maimed us workers right and left. They have shot us down when we asked for more bread! They have killed us when we demanded a little joy for ourselves! They have maimed us, while they were piling up millions stolen from us! They have imprisoned and tortured us whenever we raised our voices in protest! We—we submitted in silence! But now, when they are surpassing by their white terror, even the Russian Czaristic régime, then we cry out aloud to all workers who can reason, to think and begin to act!

Capitalism has carried on its bloody white terror against the workers long enough. We have paid the price in streams of blood for generations. Now, it is time to put a stop to it, and this we can do only by arming ourselves, learning how to shoot, organizing secretly, educating ourselves, forming reading groups, etc., and then we can answer and attack the white terror until we are either victors or the vanquished.

Liberty of speech and press is as dead now as it was under the Russian Czar! In order to shoot, club, or jail us, capitalism appeals and calls upon our own brothers, sons, and fathers, who make up the police and soldiers, to do this dirty work for them. Therefore, shun, ostracise, despise, and have nothing to do with any one who, as a policeman or soldier obeys the orders of ours, the workers' exploiters!

Those who want to be with us should either give up their positions and refuse to obey orders to shoot those who order them to attack us. Capitalism has declared its reign of white terror not only against the anarchists or I.

W. W., but even against those who demand a better living wage, and now before it is too late, you, the exploited and persecuted workers, foreign or native born, must arise in a mighty revolution, with the aim of destroying this entire white terror of capitalism, made up of exploiters, Government thugs, religious hypocrites, and press cowards, and in its place establish freedom and equality, not on paper only, but in reality.

Shall we workers remain submissive in the face of all these persecutions carried on against us, and let ourselves be jeered and laughed at by capitalism and its upholders? Or shall we prove to them that, although they have laughed long, yet they always laugh best who laugh last?

To prove to them this we can do it only in one way, by going out on a general strike—which should at once be turned into a social revolution—by taking possession of food stores and factories, which you alone have created! Then begin the building of the new society based on the principle that those who produce the necessities of life should be the ones to have the sole right to enjoy them, this is the anarchist society.

Our slogan from now on must be:

The white terror of capitalism's exploitation system can only be destroyed by destroying capitalism, its Government, church, and press! In its place we shall have the anarchist commune society, based on freedom, equality, and happiness! In armed resistance to armed oppression lays our hope of freeing ourselves from the present slavery!

Workers! Begin to think and act!

AMERICAN ANARCHIST FEDERATED COMMUNE SOVIETS.

[The Anarchist Soviet Bulletin. Distributed free. April, 1920.]

WHO ARE THE REAL MURDERERS?—PROVED BY FIGURES.

Words can lie in quite a beautiful manner. They can be so well arranged as to very easily fool the reader. Figures, however, are different. Figures can always be traced so as to ascertain whether they tell the truth or not.

For instance—we workers are unfortunate enough to have a Government on our backs. One of the numerous departments in this Government is "supposed" to render "justice," and prosecute all those who conspire to rob the people. The head of this department, at the present time is a creature by the name of A. Mitchell Palmer. On the eve of the New Year, 1920, when the prices of food and clothes had risen and surpassed all records of the past, this Palmer issued a statement.

This statement was not, as you may be apt to expect, concerned with the problem of the highway robbery of the high cost of living. Oh! No; the statement concerned itself with the announcement to the world that every anarchist and bolshevik is a "murderer, thief, and robber" and therefore, must be treated as such, that is, killed, deported, or jailed.

This is merely one chapter showing what the Department of "Justice" has done in order to reduce the high cost of living. But here comes the most interesting chapter which concerns the workers especially. The chapter which deals with what the Department of "Justice" did not do.

The Government demands and collects a certain tax on all the profits made by different corporations which run all the industries for their own benefit. The report for the amount of taxes paid in during the year 1917 was at first suppressed by the Department of "Justice" but later given out as report No. 259, but only two copies were sent to each Senator. In this report were published the names of about 30,000 small corporations with the tax returns on profits, while the names and tax returns on profits of some of the largest corporations were entirely suppressed.

We quote here some of the profits by percentage, according to the amount of taxes paid:

Coal operators made 7.856 per cent profits on investments; meat packers, 4.244; woolen mills, 1.770; fruit and vegetable dealers, 2.932; clothing and dry goods stores, 9.826; one steel mill, 290.999; that is, it had a capital stock of \$5,000 in 1917 and reported to the Government a net income of \$14,549,952!

These figures show the most sensational robbery that has ever been committed against us workers! And, mind you, these are all official figures for one year, besides those which Mr. Basil Manly charges had fixed their books in order to avoid paying millions of extra taxes on their profits.

The United States Steel Corporation reported an income of \$155,854,365 to the Government, but in its published report claims an income of \$478,204,342. This means that they concealed from paying taxes on \$323,000,000. Is this robbery or not?

Surely, then this is a clear case for prosecution on charges of profiteering. Did or does the Department of "Justice" prosecute them? Not only does it not prosecute them but Palmer had even the shameful, brazen nerve to assert that "it is so difficult to prosecute and gather evidence on profiteering"; this shameful, hideous lie he states in the face of the fact that his own department did all it could to suppress from the people the report, No. 259, which shows in actual figures how the workers have been robbed!

When the miners went on strike this same Palmer did all he could to break the strike. And what did the miners demand but a raise in wages in order to meet the high cost of living?

And this same Palmer, with his bunch of robber protectors, has done nothing, absolutely nothing, to put a stop in any way whatsoever, in any way interfere with or to punish those who had robbed the people even to the extent of making profits as high as 290.999 per cent on an investment.

These figures prove to us workers that the Government and its Department of "Justice" is nothing but a sham, nothing but a club to keep us in submission, nothing but a protective institution for those only who cheat and rob us of everything we produce! The Government is nothing but an institution devised in order to better uphold our slavery. Its Department of Justice is in reality a department of injustice! Therefore, when a dirty scoundrel and protector of thieves, such as Palmer is, comes out, not to prosecute those who keep us enslaved and rob us, but tries instead to evade the issue by stating that the country is endangered by the anarchists, who are murderers and thieves—then we say to him and all others like him:

No longer can they lie to us workers. They will not fool us any longer in this manner. The real murderers and thieves of whom the country is in danger to-day, more than ever before, is every profiteer, and especially every upholder of "law, order, and justice," who protects these legalized thieves!

If murderers deserve to be killed, if robbers deserve to be jailed, if enemies of the people deserve to be deported, then it is not the anarchists who expose and are for the annihilation of all profiteering robbers and their upholders, the Government, who should be killed, jailed, or deported, but every profiteer robber and every shameless hypocrite official such as Palmer and others like him.

The figures prove who the real dangerous thieves and murderers are who endanger the worker's safety. They are the profiteering robbers and officials of the law such as Palmer, and are only the disease of the present rotten structure of society which exists and is based upon legalized profiteering, upon robbery protected by the law, and upon officials obedient to the orders of their robbing masters. To abolish them all, we workers must arise in a great rebellion, seize every factory and food store in the country. Replace the greedy profiteer by a cooperative mutual union on the principle that all those who produce shall be the sole ones entitled to the produced commodities.

Demolish all filthy, crowded, badly ventilated buildings and replace them by building beautiful, commodious houses. Turn all governmental offices into classrooms so as to spread real education. Burn and tear down all the jails, so that we may forget, as soon as possible, the dark days of inequality, robbery, injustice, property, disease, and all the other degradations and horrors of the present society.

To bring about such a society whose gentle guides shall be friendship, love, reason, and truth the Anarchist Commune Society, to accomplish it, we workers, everywhere, must organize into commune soviets, arise, and do all we can to overthrow and destroy this present system of our enslavement.

SPARKS OF TRUTH.

The American Legion.—The American Legion. (How noble a name!) One hearing it pronounced for the first time, is apt to indulge in the happy thought that at last has the American manhood and fighting blood awakened, and united into a consolidated body, a protective legion that would stop this senseless barbarity existing under the present laws of society; that would fight with all the power invested them, to put a stop to the silencing of free speech,

jailing of innocent men, for the ideals they expressed or for daring to strike for a living wage, and clubbing of men demanding better conditions.

Alas, how erroneous the belief. How unfortunate that so corrupt a body of men should parade under so fair a name. The American Legion composed of misguided men, tools of the capitalists, was formed to protect the interests of these bosses, and aid and abet those fat hogs, exploiting and preying upon labor. Breaking up meetings, gatherings, parades, demonstrations, of men and women toilers fathered to discuss economic conditions and demand their rights. Some other functions of this "law-abiding" organization are to suppress every publication that advocates justice, to deport all those of foreign birth who protest against being exploited and to jail all American born who dare to demand the full value of what they produce.

When the befuddled and befogged minds of the legionaires clear, and they discover to what base use their services are put, how ignoble their actions are in the eyes of their fellow men whom they may some day be commanded by their lord bosses, the shameless exploiting rulers of America, to assassinate, they will rise vengeful against their despots.

And there is but one way to teach these legionaires; with deeds and not with words. There is but one way to meet them. As they train openly with arms to shoot you, if you should protest, for want of more bread, and go on strike, so must you also prepare and learn to shoot.

But as you do not serve these masters of greed, and captains of assassination, you must train in secret.

When the official thugs and American Legion disperse your gatherings with clubs and guns, you must return measure for measure.

Let the exploitation aims of the profiteers, using the legion as their cat's-paw, be answered with sabotage; that is, yield less products and demand more pay and shorter hours, and also by the forming of a strong and firm legion of workers' soviets.

To quote the great renowned Shakespeare, "Diseases, desperate grown, by desperate appliance are relieved."

Whom do Governments protect?—In Leslie's Weekly for November 22, 1919, Senator Miles Poindexter says:

"It was for the protection of personal and property rights of the individual that this Government was founded. Its Bill of Rights and its wise and tested principles were devised to accomplish this end."

Now, you proud American worker, will you be so good as to figure out what amount of property you possess that needs a government to protect it? Is it the "job" that you might lose when there is no work? Is it the week's wages that are barely sufficient to keep yourself and family decently fed and clothed? Or perhaps it is when you dare go out on strike in order to get more wages that you need the Government thugs to beat you up, issue injunctions against your picketing, forbidding you to strike, and if all this is not enough, jailing you for "contempt of court"?

Those who really need and "devised" this "wise" Government are not you, the exploited, cheated, robbed, defrauded, down-trodden, and jailed worker, but the manufacturer who robs of the products you produced, the middleman who cheats when buying your produced commodities, the Government thugs who beat and jail you, the lying newspaper owner, and religious hypocrites who chant in praise of such a "beautiful state of society"; it is they who need the Government to protect all the property owners who have stolen and robbed all that they possess of you.

That is why we anarchists constantly urge the abolition of government, capitalism, kept press, and religious humbuggers.

"Urge assassination."—Whenever we urge the workers of America to rise in rebellion against the present system of society, which is upheld by the Government thugs' constant murdering, beating, and jailing of workers almost every day in the year; whenever we say that the only way to stop these assassinations upon the workers, is by overthrowing the system with the same weapons with which we are daily attacked, the lying newspapers at once print distorting lies (suppressing the most essential statements) that we urge assassination.

It is their system, the capitalists' system, that practices and preaches it more and more openly.

Here are a few samples as to who preaches assassination unmolested. Gen. Pershing told 2,000 legionaries at Chicago September 19, 1919:

"It is up to you to oppose the radical doctrine, not passively but actively, not to hesitate to employ physical force."

You must remember this commander murderer Pershing was not indicted yet for urging assassination.

Here is another instance showing how assassination against workers is openly preached. It is taken from the New Haven Union, December 12, 1919: "These people must be exterminated, root and branch. Good stout manila rope and cold steel, if used by citizens who mean business, will soon dampen the ardor of these radicals."

Another sample of one of our prominent public characters, one who aspires to become the head of this Nation, Gen. L. Wood, has stated in the newspapers of December 20 that the only thing to do with radicals is S. O. S., which means, according to him, "Ship or shoot." Enlarging upon this brilliant idea, he said: "A ship of stone with sails of lead should be built, and all the radicals in the land herded in, and the first stopping place should be hell." This from one who would become the highest "servant" in the land, the "executor" of the people's desires!

It is against these open urgings and practices of assassination upon workers by capitalists and their tools that we urge the use of any weapon in order to establish peace and real liberty.

What fools they are.—They, the Government, believe that by deportations, by jailings and brutal assaults, they will put a stop to our propagating the anarchist idea!

It is possible that they may succeed in an occasional "capture" of one of our comrades here and there, but our entire organization, which is spread out through every corner of the country, will never be broken down by them, despite their ugly methods.

At each appearance of anything issued by our American anarchist federated commune soviets most of the kept press, which prints any distorting news about it (for none of them have as yet dared to publish any complete article from our monthly bulletin), always wail and bemoan the "terrible" fact, which seems to hurt them so much, namely, that they are ignorant as to the whereabouts of our printing places and the persons who write or distribute it. It leads one to think that we would be conferring a great favor upon them by informing them of these mere "little" details.

But they will have to wait quite a while, and may even live to see our taking possession of the daily kept press and publishing therein the truth. Let them suppress, distort, and lie all they can to-day, but let them not forget that there is always a to-morrow.

Our day, the workers' day, is also coming, even in these United States of American capitalism!

Capitalism is based on exploitation, violence, and murder.

Anarchism is based on freedom, equality, and happiness.

TWO LETTERS FROM EXILED COMRADES.

ELLIS ISLAND, N. Y., December 19, 1919.

DEAR COMRADE: It is almost over a month since we have been separated—separated not only from our useful work for our cause, but from the friendship which we shared on our dangerous road.

Yes, my friend, our enemy succeeded to separate us as individuals, but they will never separate us from the cause to which we are bound.

Dear Comrade! Being a member of the first dangerous "group of deportees to the Bolshevik land" I feel sorry for the American working class.

But the days of salvation will come. I do firmly believe that the American toilers will realize the slavish position in which they are placed by the petty bourgeoisie, and they will throw down the yoke of economic and political slavery.

Dear comrade! Let us hope that I will return in a very short time to America and will find that our anarchist ideals are carried out completely—that the American soil bears the name of the American Anarchist Federated Commune Soviets!

Friendly, your

ARTHUR KATZES.

My best wishes to all our comrades.

DETENTION IN HELL, *December 17, 1919.*

DEAR COMRADES: It seems we are going to be sent away soon, without letting us know when, so as to avoid having friends and comrades see us depart. I am not very sorry to leave all the "freedom" and "democracy" here, but certainly I do not want to go, because I do not want to leave you, my comrades and some friends so dear to me.

The first time when I was arrested it did not have any great effect on me, but it is different this time. That Friday I shall not forget very soon. Years of study would not teach me as much. Now more than ever before I am convinced how corrupt governments are—what "law" and "order" mean on which governments keep themselves. What a mockery. How these brutes act in the name of "justice." What conception they have of "justice"! If only the workers would see who they (the governments) are, they would never have faith in them.

It was wholesale clubbing. The name "red" was in place, for blood was everywhere—blood of our comrades. Such a scene I have never witnessed before. But, comrades, how brave are those who suffer for their ideals. All were so brave they would face death itself with a smile.

I was thinking every dog has his day, and so, comrades, after all these hardships in which this Government meant to punish us, after all this I stand more firm, more convinced, stronger than ever before, ready to give my life away for my ideals. So, evidently, they can not succeed. They can destroy the body, us, but the ideal—never. * * *

Yours, for a world of freedom and love,

ETHEL BERNSTEIN.

FAREWELL, EXILED COMRADES!

Our comrades, dreamers of beauty, of gentle peace,
 Lover and seekers of truth eternal,
 Idealists, noblest and bravest of souls!
 What know the brutes and money changers
 Of a future based on fraternity?
 What know the ignorant fools and hirelings
 Of the strength of mind and courage of soul
 Of those who strive for an ideal?
 Fear, cowardly fear and hate,
 Rule their hearts and minds.
 Therefore have they banished you,
 Sent you forth in the silence and darkness of the night,
 With the sharp, biting winds lashing your bodies,
 Tore you from your beloved and dear ones,
 Sent you forth from the harbor where Liberty,
 (Liberty! What a farce, what a mockery!)
 Stands dark and stern and grim in the gloom of the night.
 On to the ocean, wild and tumultuous in the winter weather,
 Cold waves lashing the sides of the vessel,
 Sent you—but let them, the greedy ignoramuses,
 Let them do their very worst.
 Oh! Noble comrades, you are but leaving dark America,
 The land where brutality and force,
 Endeavor, in vain, to crush spirits as brave and noble as yours.
 You're sent over tempest seas, and where—
 Where? Ah! We dare not say.
 To friends, kind friends, we hope and trust.
 All dear comrades, true noble ones,
 Brave hearts, staunch beloved friends,
 To all, we sadly bid farewell.
 Perhaps, in future days to come,
 Once more we all might meet again.
 When tyrants, depots, rulers, lords,
 Exits no more. When hate, and Greed, and lust have gone,
 When, rid of all the present pests,
 This land, resplendent glows with the leaping flames.
 Of freedom bright, burning truth and ideal love,
 Then—or sooner? Who can tell?
 But now, dear comrades, fare ye well.

STRIKE NO. 2 CALLED FOR MAY 1.

To protest against the murder of our fellow workers in Butte, Mont. Stay off the job; our own demands are included in the demands.
Stay off the job; we will win our demands.

COMMITTEE.

The freedom of all political and industrial prisoners. Six hours from collar to collar. Seven dollars a minimum wage per day. A place for men to change their digging clothes, with plenty of hot water and shower baths. Two men on all machines. Water through all drills. Two men in all working places. No tools to be carried on cage where men are being carried.

Abolition of contract bonus and so-called efficiency system.

M. M. W. I. U. No. 800.

[The Anarchist Soviet Bulletin, May 1. Issued by the American Anarchist Federated Commune Soviets.]

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE 1ST OF MAY.

The 1st of May is being "celebrated" to-day by nearly every thinking worker throughout the world. We have said "celebrated"—because it was never intended to serve the purpose of a celebration, but unfortunately it has become such to-day.

How and why?

The real origin of the 1st of May dates back to the year of 1886, when the anarchist movement through the then powerful militant organization—the Knights of Labor—not only helped to bring in the foreground the issue of the 1st of May, when the workers should revolt by general strikes to gain the eight-hour day but began to spread the idea, that the 1st of May should rather be the day on which the workers are to use the general strike as a means of starting the revolution for the overthrow of the entire capitalist system.

American capitalism was in an agony of dreadful fear, first it was scared by the eight-hour day, which would cut down its robbing profits, and secondly feared at most, the great agitation of their entire abolition that was carried on by the anarchist movement.

So, they decided to kill the entire movement, by carrying out the greatest judicial murder in America's history, by strangling to death the leading spirits of the then anarchist movement, Parson, Spies, Fischer, Engels, and murdering Louis Ling in the jail.

This is the price that the anarchist movement was forced to pay by capitalism through its Government for the great agitation and activity that it carried on.

But their blood, the blood of the martyrs, was not in vain.

Ever since that historical year, the 1st of May began to spread through the entire labor movement of the world.

The then International Workmen's Association took up the idea of the 1st of May as it was really intended to be.

The 1st of May began to be a day of awakening, a day of real rebellion. It was not a day of "celebration," but a day when the workers gathered together and tried by all the weapons of reason and force—to destroy as much as they could, the system of economical and political exploitation.

This is why the 1st of May became the day of fear to capitalism and all its supporters, it became capitalism's death signaller. The more capitalism was scared and tried to drown in blood every 1st of May manifestation, the more they thus helped to spread the idea of the day of rebellion—the 1st of May.

Would that great rebellious international have continued to exist, then we really could be celebrating the 1st of May—not in the present system of exploitation—but in the anarchist commune of the world.

Unfortunately, the international was split into two internationals, due mainly to the socialist faction, which forced out of the first international the anarchistically inclined faction.

The socialist faction began to spread the ideas of the easier road, the road of least resistance, arguing, that the peaceful road of constitutional methods (as much as capitalism deems it safe to grant) is preferable to the road of revolution which they argued may cost the workers some blood. Most of the workers

chose to listen to the new cry—of constitutional methods. The result of this new "salvation" idea finally killed both internationals.

Later the followers of socialism started the international that is known this day as the socialist international.

It is this socialist international that has been dominating nearly the whole labor movement of the world, and to live up to its ideas and methods—it has to turn the rebellious 1st of May manifestations into peaceful "celebrations" (much better they should be termed funeral celebrations of the revolutionary movement that was once in existence).

It is true that the socialists succeeded in killing the revolutionary spirit of the 1st of May, but they never succeeded in killing the anarchist ideas in the minds and hearts of thousands of anarchists, who have never stopped in calling upon you, the workers, to choose the only road that will really free you, the road of revolution.

If up to the year of 1914 our calls were not listened to attentively by you, the workers, to-day they will be.

Then up to 1914 the workers laid their hopes of salvation in the political action of socialism. The German Social Democratic Party was the shining light of international socialism.

And to-day? To-day we anarchists can point out, not only how the "glory" party betrayed the workers by its support of the recent war but also to the present socialist Government of Germany that is drowning in blood thousands of workers who really strive for freedom.

We have also lived to see how the English Labor Party, by its leading socialists—such as Hyndman and Henderson—are doing all they can to delay and prevent a revolution by the workers of England.

We have also lived to see a revolution in Russia, wherein socialists such as Kerensky and Tchernoff worked hand in hand with capitalism, and where a bolshevik-socialist government couldn't get into power otherwise than by the slogan "all power to the worker's soviets," and now when in power is doing many a thing of which the worker's soviets not only do not approve but even do not know (this was clearly proven by the soviets congress, which condemned the bolshevik government killing of anarchists in Moscow), and the bolshevik government would long ago have been overthrown by the workers if it wouldn't have been for the cry of "fighting the invading enemy."

We brought these facts to show first that the workers of the world, by choosing the easier road, the constitutional methods and ideas of socialism, have paid a price in millions of lives killed in the recent war, thousands of lives killed in strikes and by the constitution of the capitalist system; and secondly, we can show that at the same time within the last two years the socialists themselves, as the bolsheviks in Russia and spartacans in Germany, have adopted the revolutionary methods always preached by the anarchists.

We ask you, who can reason and think: Would the workers of the world have had to pay such a terrible price in blood if they would have followed the road of revolutionary action?

The social world revolution could have been made and it would never have cost us so many human lives.

To-day upon the 1st of May, we ask you workers to listen to us. "Celebrating" the 1st of May by hearing socialist and labor politicians will not free you from the present slavery.

The power to free yourselves lays in your own hands!

Begin by refusing to listen or obey your officials' or leaders' orders! Start again the old spirit of the 1st of May, as it used to be. A day of fear to our rulers and exploiters, and a day of hope and revolution to us workers!

Instead of participating in elections, start general strikes, uprisings and revolutions!

Begin to make the 1st of May not a day of "celebrating" your enslavement under capitalism's yoke, but a day of revolution again and again until we succeed in destroying capitalism with all its supporting institutions!

The way to freedom from economical and political slavery is not by submission to capitalism's granted constitutional methods (which only go so far as not to endanger its rule) but by revolution!

The 1st of May was intended to be the signalling day of the social revolution. It has been turned into "celebration" mass meetings of "lawful" protests by the political misleaders, the socialists. It is to become again what it was and it should be, the day of the workers' awakening—the day of revolt!

THE DAY OF REBELLION.

In the night of oppression and anguish
 When the hosts of tyrants rule wide,
 And the people but shudder and languish
 As they crouch from the furies of pride,
 Comes a word of revolt whispered grimly,
 Through the chaos of discord and fear,
 Till the slaves and despots feel dimly,
 That the day of rebellion is near.

They know not the day nor the year,
 Yet soon shall its standards appear.
 With defiance to rules and to rulers,
 The day of rebellion is near.

It will come as the lightning from heaven,
 As the wrath of the skies it will fall,
 It will shatter like bolt of the levin,
 Harsh monopoly's fortified wall;
 It will dash down to dust and perdition,
 With a crash that shall echo through time.
 The twin monsters of rule and submission,
 That have fastened the world in their slime.

The day of rebellion is near,
 With omens for tyrants to fear.
 And defiance to rules and to rulers,
 Wherever its standards appear.

[Issued by the American Anarchist Federated Commune Soviets.]

TO-DAY IS THE DAY.

We have on many occasions issued to you calls for action.

We have told you that protest meetings will not help to free the thousands of social war prisoners, but only by real action, through the starting of the general strike throughout the entire country will they be freed.

You did not listen to us who urged action. You chose the easier road. You listened, instead, to politicians who asked you to beg of the exploiters of America to be so kind as to release those whom they imprisoned.

What did you accomplish after all this begging and petitioning?

Nothing.

Absolutely nothing, unless it shall be accounted to your shame that many of our imprisoned comrades were enforced by your inaction and the intolerable conditions they had to put up with to commit suicide and to become human wrecks.

Capitalism and its Government saw that all you workers do is to talk, talk, talk, and that you did not dare to prepare and to get ready to go out on a general strike, as the workers of England did in 1912, thus forcing the English Government to release Tom Mann and Jim Larkin within three months' time, after they had been "legally" sentenced to two years' imprisonment.

Capitalism and its Government saw how criminally passive you remain, looking on while one man was beaten to death, three sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment, and one girl to 15 years for daring to protest against the Government's war upon the workers of Russia, while, at the very same time, again the workers of England forced their Government, by threatening and preparing for a general strike, to stop its war and blockade against the workers of Russia.

When capitalism and its Government saw all this inaction of yours, what else could they do but sit firmer in their ruling saddle and offend further against rebelling workers?

Can you blame the Government for continuing the imprisonment of our comrade workers and for arresting and jailing hundreds more?

We do not in the least blame the Government for its ruthless policy of suppression that it has carried on during the last year. We do not blame them for deporting 249 people because they were anarchists or active workers in

the steel or miners' strike. We do not blame the Government for its beating up, killing, crippling, and jailing thousands of workers for being anarchists or communists. We do not blame them in the least, for they are serving honestly and truly, the interests of their class, their masters, capitalism.

Those whom we really blame and hold responsible for all this are all the labor and social politicians, who have, from their platforms or press, shouted to you to be within the law; to beg instead of demanding; to starve instead of taking; to submit instead of resisting, to act "constitutionally." Yet, while these traitors of the labor movement are mainly to blame, we can not forget that you, the workers, are also a good deal to blame for listening to them instead of listening to us, who told you, time after time, that your fate lies in your own hands; that, if you are ever to free yourselves, you must do it yourselves. For no leader will ever do anything for you but finally fool and betray you!

We remind you of the mistakes that you have made and how you have been fooled and betrayed.

Now, upon facing another 1st of May, we ask you once again will, will you listen at last to what we have to say? Will you follow the cures of action that we propose? Or will you, again, submit to be fooled and enslaved? No matter which road you will choose, we shall continue to issue our calls until you, the workers, will begin to listen to us and to act accordingly.

That the war has been nothing else but a means of the exploiters to get richer, you must, by now, know. You know, also, that those who dared expose these hypocrites, who shouted with their mouths "democracy" and "liberty," are still in jail. You know that the cost of living is rising so intolerably that it is hardly possible to get along, and that your exploiters are getting richer and richer upon your slavery. You know that the institution of Government protects this system of exploitation by jailing, beating, deporting, and killing those who dare revolt against such a society. You know that the preachers and newspapers who preach and write that you should be thankful and contented with what you don't get, are serving faithfully, not you, but your exploiters' interests. All these things you must surely be able to realize and know by now.

Knowing all these facts, we ask you, What are you going to do? Are you going to make this 1st of May the day of real awakening? Or will you satisfy yourselves by listening to a speaker or reading an article on the 1st of May?

The National Security League of capitalism has arranged counter May day demonstrations, under cover of which patriotism, every robbing exploiter and ruler hopes to continue the slavery of us workers.

All those workers who will be fooled into that patriotic demonstration will be traitors to our class.

But how are you, those workers who know who and what the National Security League represents, going to answer their demonstration, and how are you going to stop all the evils that we have so far enumerated?

We will tell you in what manner you can best abolish all these evils.

When we march or hold our meetings we must never forget to be armed to repel those misguided soldiers or policemen who will dare to attack us, as they have done until now.

Wherever you work, organize anarchistic groups. Then begin real action by the starting of the general strike, which will be turned into a social revolution, until we succeed in destroying every jail house, every tenement house, every sweat shop, every exploiter and their upholders, replacing them by a free, voluntary, industrial society, the Anarchist Commune Society, based on the principle that those, only, who produce the commodities of life shall enjoy them, a society in which each will do his or her utmost to help develop a science and machinery on the industrial field, an art, music, and literature on the intellectual field, all voluntarily cooperating to make life worth living.

The 1st of May is the day of awakening.

On the 1st of May nature awakens and everything that is fair blossoms forth into full bloom.

Why, then, should we human beings, the workers, be worse off than the dumb trees, and plants that give out their beautiful fruits, the flowers, and the birds that begin to sing their enchanting melodies? Can not we be at least as wise as the animals and trees, and for once in our history, also begin to awaken and blossom forth, by revolting against the entire present system of society, until we succeed in replacing it by the Anarchist Commune Society?

The 1st of May should be the signal for the start of the social revolution in this country.

When we, the workers, begin to be as true to our class as every exploiter, every writer, preacher, and Government official is to his, then the day of our awakening will have begun.

Let us make to-day, the 1st of May, the starting of our awakening, the beginning of the social revolution, to free ourselves from the prison of economic slavery.

Let us begin to-day the revolution, by starting and continuing the general strike, until the revolution will be an accomplished fact.

[Issued by the American Anarchist Federated Commune Soviets.]

WORKERS, THIS IS THE WAY.

At least you, the railroad workers, have started to rebel.

More than six months ago we called on you not to listen to the treacherous "charlatan" of capitalism, Woodrow Wilson, who called on you to continue slaving, let yourselves be exploited, robbed, and promised you that within three months' time the cost of living will surely go down.

He knew that he was lying. We also knew and told it to you. Your officials who, if they are not in direct pay of your bosses, they ought to be, for they more than anyone else are responsible for your consent to be lead astray by Government tools of capitalism, assented to this betrayal. We called on you not to listen to your leaders, but to take matters into your own hands.

The Government tricklessly waited and delayed until they returned the railroads to the "legalized" theft owners of it, thinking that you will continue to submit.

While the cost of living continued to rise, your treacherous leaders did absolutely nothing to convey out your will to force concession to your "demands."

Instead of doing anything for you, they united with capitalism's favorite labor traitors, the officialdom of the American Federation of Labor, thus preparing to break your spirit of revolt against themselves and your exploiters.

At last you, workers, have realized that what we told you again and again is true, for at last you have arisen and rebelled.

You started to go on strike in defiance of your misleading officials, and the strike is gloriously spreading throughout every part of the country.

Your officials who carry the "union" rubber stamps in their pockets are now showing their real treacherous black body and sold-sold characters by trying to call upon your fellow workers to scab on you, who had courage enough to rebel.

In other words, your union has become a scab union; to break strikes a direct agency of your bosses.

The leading "union" official traitor of the country, Samuel Gompers, has at last discovered that you have a "grievance," but at the same time announced that he and his whole outfit of the country's labor traitors stand ready to do all they can in helping to defeat your strike.

Capitalism's tool, the Government, calls you "outlaws," and are ready to break your strike by saying that if you do not return to work the public will suffer and are preparing troops to shoot you down.

Do not be discouraged or scared by your now open faced treacherous enemies. You have started on the right roads by organizing new revolutionary workers' organizations.

Down with the present unions that serve only the bosses' interests!

Be prepared, workers; your downtrodden leaders will yet help the Government to jail, kill, and cripple some of the most active ones in your ranks; let such action by them not scare you!

The police and sailors, who come from the workers, will surely be men enough not to carry out the orders of capitalism's and union officials.

Let this not be a "peaceful picketing strike," but a real start of our liberation.

Use every weapon or reason and force that is needed to win.

In order that your strike against such a combination of crooked enemies should be crowned with success.

We call upon all the passenger railroad workers to cease working at once.

We call upon the workers of all industries to go out on a sympathetic general strike.

Workers, wherever you are, organize worker's committees to take over all warehouses and food stores—so that no worker will need to starve. Then start taking over every industry in the country and reorganize into "anarchist communes," based on the principle from each according to his ability and to each according to his needs.

Be not scared by being called "red" or "anarchist" for it is much more to be proud of being a revolting anarchist against this present system of society than to be a submissive slave to it.

Capitalism exists to exploit you, the rent sharks to rob you, the business men to build capital. The church and press to mislead you by lies. The Government to force you under the name of "law and order" to submit to your enslaving and the worst enemy of all, your leaders who betray and sell your interests right and left, in order to continue their well-paid jobs.

Those are the enemies that we workers must face in the struggle for freedom! Whether we are railroad man, miners, longshoreman, or coatmakers, no matter what industry we work in and if we do not wish to be exploited any more—we must rise against them all!

That is why we anarchist workers have always appealed to you to have no faith whatsoever in any leaders of unions or parties.

We must once for all have faith in our own will and power.

Let us, then, all workers of the entire country join hands with our comrades, the fighting railroad workers, and go out in sympathetic general strike.

Let us turn the general strike into a real social revolution.

Let us not stop our war of liberation until all the institutions that enslave us will be destroyed.

The land, factories, warehouses, food stores, and whatever riches they contain belong to us workers who have produced them!

Let us then begin to take hold of what belongs to us.

The rebelling railroad workers have started the war of liberation. Will we the workers of the country not join them and thus liberate ourselves from the present economic and political slavery

Now is our great chance.

Let us not pass it by.

Let us start the social revolution by going out on a general strike.

Let us all join hands and begin to act, begin to fight until the dawn of a new day—the dawn of real freedom from all that oppresses and exploits us—is an accomplished fact.

[May day proclamation by the central executive committee of the Communist Party of America.]

HAIL TO THE SOVIETS.

Workers of America:

Eighteen months have passed since the imperialist nations of the world signed the armistice agreement, which was to bring to an end the slaughter of slaughter of millions of workmen upon the battle fields of Europe.

You were told that this war was a war of democracy against autocracy. You were told that out of the bloody struggle would come a better world for you. You were urged to give your labor without stint and to sacrifice your lives without question, so that the cause of "right" and "justice" might triumph.

For a year and a half the representatives of allied imperialism have been in control of the affairs of the world, wielding power such as few men have possessed in the history of mankind, Wilson, Lloyd of the world. Wielding power such as few men have reshaped the world in harmony with their ideas of "democracy" and "justice."

What has been the result of their labor, workers of America? What have the imperialist masters of the world achieved for you and for the workers of the world?

Have the glowing promises through which they tricked you into supporting their imperialist war been kept? Have they rebuilt the world upon the new foundation through which they told you the useless slaughter of the youth of the nations would be ended? Have they changed the conditions under which you gain your livelihood, broken the strangling grip of the exploiters upon your throat, and made your lot more bearable?

May day, labor's international holiday, is approaching. On May day the revolutionary workers of the world will count their gains and losses; they will renew their courage and determination by recounting their victories and pay tribute to those that have fallen as martyrs to their cause.

Dare you, workers of America, face the facts of the promises and performances of your masters, the exploiters, to whom you have in the past given your support?

Eighteen months have gone since your masters won their victory for "democracy" and "justice." Look abroad in the world and witness their achievement.

The war is at an end but war still goes on. On two continents, on many battle fields, men are fighting. The threat of war and yet more wars hangs over the people of almost every country of Europe and America. Imperialistic ambition and greed—the desire to secure new economic resources for exploitation, which is the characteristic of every capitalist nation—are creating new jealousies and conflicts and continually threaten to again precipitate the people of these countries into the abyss of universal slaughter.

The economic system of Europe is in a stage of collapse. The strivings of the "statesmen" at Paris have failed to put this machinery in order. The efforts of the "statesmen" have proven fruitless in the face of the contradictions of capitalist production which are destroying the system. All over Europe the workers are starving because the machinery of capitalist production can not be set in motion again.

Financially the entire structure of the capitalist system faces collapse. Money is becoming valueless in many countries of Europe because of the inflation during the war and in the United States prices mount ever higher. The Government has issued paper money and other forms of obligation and destroyed the wealth these represent and consequently the value of money has depreciated. The financiers of the world see their danger, but yet they can find no remedy. Capitalism destroys itself.

Workers of America, you have not thus far felt hunger, misery, and suffering to the extent of your brothers in Europe. But already masters are warning you. The black clouds are on the horizon and the men who know the financial and industrial conditions are forecasting that by fall the United States will be in the grip of a panic which will bring industrial depression, unemployment for millions, with the consequent suffering and misery.

This is the reality of the "better world" with which the capitalists and their tools deluded you into fighting their battles. In place of a "better world" economic breakdown and widespread misery and suffering. In place of "democracy" and "justice" the brutal oppression of the workers as in the steel strike and the miners' strike.

There is only one way in which the workers can save themselves from the consequences of the breakdown of the present economic system. Capitalism has played its part in the history of mankind. It is no longer workable. It must be uprooted and destroyed and a new system of industry built in its place. This is the historic task of the working class.

The work of destroying international capitalism has already begun through the splendid achievements of the workers of Russia. Consider Russia and the communists who control the soviet government and contrast it to the capitalist nations and their statemen!

The soviet government was established in Russia after the old régime had brought about the complete collapse of the economic system in that country. In Russia the chaos existed toward which the capitalist system is tending everywhere. While in the capitalist nations things are going from bad to worse, the communists of Russia are reconstructing the social and industrial system of that country. Attacked by the capitalist imperialists of the world, they organized the red army, which has been victorious on every front. While fighting the battle against counter revolution and hemmed in on all sides by the blockade of the Allies, they have still been able to achieve wonders in the work of rebuilding and reconstructing the economic life of the nation so as to end exploitation and secure the necessities of life, education, and recreation to those who work.

The means through which the workers have ousted their exploiters and carried on the work of reconstruction is the soviet government, through which is expressed the dictatorship of the proletariat. The workers found that they could not exercise their power through the governmental machinery of their exploiters. They found that the state machinery of their exploiters, whether it appeared in the shape of the autocracy of the czar or in the shape of a so-called democratic

parliamentary government such as we have in the United States, was an instrument for their oppression which they must replace by their own institution of government before they could use their power and destroy capitalism.

The soviets—workers' councils—are the natural expression of the power of the workers. When the workers of Hungary wrested power from their exploiters they did so through the soviets. When the workers of Bavaria achieved their victory it was through the soviets. In Germany the workers have found that moderate socialism of the Ebert-Scheidemann type and the militarist autocrats are equally their enemy and are fighting against both for the establishment of a soviet government.

Workers of America, you must join in the revolutionary struggle of the workers of the world if you would emancipate yourselves from capitalism. The parties of your enemies the capitalists—the Republican and Democratic parties—have proven to you that they stand for your oppression and exploitation. Labor parties, moderate socialism such as that of the Socialist Party, and the reactionary trade-unions are merely the new tools through which the capitalists maintain their power when they can no longer dupe you by the old methods. You must break the power of the capitalists. You can not compromise with them as do the labor parties, the moderate socialists, and the reactionary trade-unionists.

You must develop your power through engaging in the present struggles against the capitalists. The general political strike is the means of expressing your power and the beginning of the revolutionary struggle which will finally establish the soviet government and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

While in this country we are not ready for the final struggle, the Communist Party of America calls upon you to show your power on May day.

There are in the prisons of the United States hundreds of political and industrial prisoners whose offense is that they fought the battles of the workers. Shall they rot behind steel bars forever? Other thousands are to be imprisoned and deported as the result of the effort of the capitalist government to destroy the revolutionary movement in this country. Are these workers to be removed from the class struggle while you remain silent?

Strike for the release of all political and industrial prisoners on May day. Close the shops and factories. Demonstrate your power.

Demand the freedom of those who are imprisoned for fighting the battles of the working class.

Make the slogan of the day all power to the workers.

Hail to freedom for all political and industrial prisoners.

Hail to the political strike.

Hail to the soviets and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

APRIL 20, 1920.

DEAR COMRADE: Just as we were in the midst of arrangements for the celebration of international labor day by the party members and those in sympathy with this workers' holiday, a manifesto from the subbureau of the Third International, situated at Amsterdam, Holland, reached us.

Inclosed you will find the salient points which this manifesto contains.

We join the Third International in its call for tools down on May 1, 1920, and ask every comrade to give this international labor day to tasks which will strengthen the workers in their struggle against the masters.

There is nothing more needed at this moment than propaganda and organization for action, workers' action toward control. Such propaganda and organization necessitates expenditure of money. Money, therefore, is at present the prime need—money for literature, pamphlets, books, leaflets. Money for organizers, too. Money must be had at once.

You are called upon to give May 1 to the sale of the inclosed international labor-day stamps. Buy a whole book of them yourself. Induce others to buy a book. Get other comrades to help you sell these stamps. Sell them to all the workers you can reach. You can not celebrate May 1 more fittingly than by giving the entire day to the sale of international labor-day stamps. If you run out of stamps, secure contributions from the workers you can reach.

Make remittance to your district secretary if you have his address. If you have not his address, then make remittance to Jefferson Club, Progress Hall, 1551 Second Avenue, New York City.

Make all remittances by bank draft. Do not send same in registered letter. It is not necessary to sign your name; just fill blank below and we will know

who sends it. Now, then, sell international labor-day stamps. Join the workers around the world in celebrating May 1, 1920.

A. WAGENKNECHT,

Secretary the Communist Labor Party.

[Inclosed find \$ — as a result of May 1 sales to the workers in this vicinity. City, —, State —.]

STRIKE FOR PEACE WITH RUSSIA MAY 1.

Peace with Russia? Is there such a thing as peace between a soviet republic and world capital?

No—a real peace is impossible under capitalism. For a real peace for Russia means the victory of the world revolution and nothing less.

Therefore, a revolutionary action of the workers to force peace has to be a struggle to develop power to such a degree that world capital is prevented from making war upon Russia in any form.

First. Stop open warfare by refusing not only to fight, but also to make or transport arms, ammunition, equipment, etc., for those who might use them to fight soviet Russia.

Second. Prevent and counteract all machinations, plotting, and underground action against our proletarian friends by exposing those responsible for it, by preventing money being spent in this respect and by not believing any of the lies in the capitalist press. This latter is very important. If we pledge ourselves not to believe any statement of the capitalist press with regard to soviet Russia, any report about alleged barbarities, or any so-called facts about internal troubles and chaos or external policy of conquests, etc., we are not likely to be fooled as most of us were in 1914.

Third. Strive in other countries toward soviet republics as organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This inspiring aim we must always have in mind in all our deeds, all our actions. We must fill our heads with revolutionary thoughts; we must dare to hope in the midst of our misery; we must understand more and more that the breakdown of capitalism is in full process; we must be willing to destroy the weapons of our enemies; we must have confidence in our constructive power. All this we can only achieve in a constant fight with our exploiters by giving this fight a general revolutionary character. It means a complete break with bourgeois civilization, bourgeois morals, bourgeois supremacy; it means labor as the basic principle of social and moral life. * * *

The Amsterdam bureau of the Communist International consider it its main task to further international unity, not only of thought but of action as well. It, therefore, submits for consideration to all communist groups, revolutionary organizations, workers' committees, etc., the possibility of a demonstrative strike in favor of peace with soviet Russia, a demonstrative strike upon an international scale.

Prompted by these considerations we lay before all labor unions, all extra union mass organs, all groups and parties, this suggestion of a general strike May 1, 1920, in favor of soviet Russia, and we beg them to inform us if it will have their support.

H. ROLAND HOLST,

Secretary, Amsterdam Bureau of the Communist International.

[Communist Labor, official organ of the Communist Labor Party of America, May 1, 1920.]

DOWN TOOLS MAY 1, 1920.

The sun of communism is rising in the East. From Russia its invigorating rays are awakening the proletariat of the world. The workers everywhere, inspired by the success of their first workers' government will celebrate May 1, their International Labor Day, with a determination only satisfied with a complete victory.

Never in the history of May 1, never since the International Congress of Paris in 1889 were the prospects for a final victory of the working class brighter, never the spirit of the workers less breakable than to-day, on the eve of May 1, 1920. Although the capitalist governments of all countries are preparing the hangman's noose for all those that dare to think in terms inimical

to the interests and principles of man-devouring imperialistic capitalism, the working class sees in these persecutions only the last efforts of the dying beast to escape its destiny.

May 1 is the workers' day.

The revolutionary advance guard of the proletariat calls upon the workers everywhere to break the bondage of economic and political slavery and demonstrate on that day for the cause of real freedom.

May 1 is not a labor day decreed to you by the powers that be to dope the workers into the belief that the Government stands above the classes. No! May 1 is the workers' own day, on which, by their own determination they down tools and test their strength.

The power that decrees a holiday to you to-day tells you to-morrow: Thou shalt not strike!

But your power can take a holiday to-day, can strike to-morrow, in spite of everything.

May 1, as International Labor Day, is the day on which the workers by their own action demonstrate that they must fight for what they want, and for what they are entitled to, and that they have the power to win.

May 1 gives the answer of the revolutionary proletariat of all countries to the manifestations of solidarity of international capitalism.

And that answer is: Solidarity of the international proletariat.

Workers of America: You have fought for higher wages for years. By hard struggle you succeeded here and there. And yet, you find yourself to-day as much the slave of profit-making capital as ever.

You have fought for shorter hours. You have succeeded. And yet, to-day you must work more of your own life into the product of your toil on one day than when you worked 12 hours.

In years past we demonstrated for the 8-hour day on May 1.

To-day we demonstrate for: All power to the workers!

Capitalist society is built upon our sweat and blood, our misery and want. All our "victories" on the economic field are turned against us and our economic slavery is reinforced by an absolute political dictatorship of capitalism. Thus our economic struggle must of necessity become a political one; the proletarian struggle ceases to be a struggle for higher wages and shorter hours and becomes a struggle for the supremacy of the working class.

This struggle can only be fought to victory by the masses of the workers. On May 1 the workers exercise this mass action, demonstrating no more for the eight-hour day but for the dictatorship of the proletariat. On that day we down tools to show our determination to fight and our power to win.

Comrades and fellow workers: In demonstrating our determination to fight and win we must join hands with the workers of the world. We must unite in our struggle with the revolutionary proletariat in Russia and elsewhere. They have fought our battles, which they knew were theirs. We must fight their battles, which we know to be ours.

Finding the capitalist governments in a conspiracy to crush the workers' republic of Russia, it becomes our task and duty to direct our demonstration on May 1 against this murderous conspiracy.

In their actions against Russia the capitalist governments of all countries belle their phrases of "freedom" and "democracy" and demonstrate that their highest science of statesmanship is the piratical principle: Sacrifice everything (in the name of the people, if you find fools enough to believe you), sacrifice even the people themselves, for the right and the chance to make profit. Carrying out this principle with merciless rigidity they murder freedom in the name of their capitalist freedom, they suppress the people in the name of the people, their victims.

Enslaving the people economically under the disguise of a nominal political democracy, the capitalists hypocritically shed tears because the workers of Russia free the people of that country economically with the power of a dictatorship. And the answer of the capitalist dictators to the Russian people are murderous expeditions against the Soviet Republic.

Workers, to get free you must answer the war cry of united capitalism against the workers of Russia as well as the workers in other countries with the war cry of united labor against capitalism. The answer to the capitalists of the world in their war against the social revolution in Russia and elsewhere must be the social revolution against capitalism everywhere.

But, workers, to be free you must dare to be free. The chain holding us down in wage slavery is our submissiveness, our lack of revolutionary spirit. The

determination of the workers to exert their power in united mass action aiming at the complete destruction of the capitalist dictatorship is the long-range gun that will shatter the power of our exploiters.

Let the 1st of May, 1920, kindle that spirit.

Comrades and fellow workers, let us be free.

Let us down tools in answer to the capitalists' war on the revolutionary proletariat everywhere.

Let us down tools on that day in honor of the victims, the countless soldiers of the revolution that were murdered by international capitalism in its effort to save the right to make profit.

Let us down tools that day so that we may have a test of strength of the revolutionary army of the proletariat in united action the world over.

Let us down tools on that day so that the workers may be inspired with confidence in their own power, so that May 1, 1920, may awaken the spirit of revolutionary class solidarity. This spirit will unite the proletariat the world over in its fight for real—

May 1, labor's international holiday, celebrate. (Communist Labor Party.)

Workers all together, join hands around the world on May 1, international labor day. (Communist Labor Party.)

May 1 your day; stop work; international labor day, 1920. (C. L. P.)

May day is supreme in Soviet Russia; follow suit. (C. L. P.)

Down tools one day, May 1, 1920, international labor day. (C. L. P.)

Dare to be free one day, international labor day, May 1, 1920. (C. L. P.)

Loaf May 1, 1920, international labor day. (C. L. P.)

[Translation from the Russian.]

FIRST OF MAY.

This year the Russians have to meet a very hard time on May 1. Their organization has lost quite a lot of strength. They lost the best of their organizers, who are now behind the bars or under prosecution, and thousands of the organizers are going to be deported and hundreds of them are trying to escape before being prosecuted.

There is a very strong power to stop all the organizations. Russian workers should not get the same idea in their heads to go against the Government as they did in Russia where the Czar ruled, because the Czar could not break the revolutionists' feelings. The revolutionists pulled with all their strength and still kept the red flag in their hand.

From year to year on the 1st of May, which is a labor holiday, they continue to do their own work and figure out their losses and see how much power they have left. While out in the fields they took an oath one to another that they should stick together until they died.

Russian workers in this country, do not forget the comparison of the International Communists against the capitalist. Do not let the capitalists scare you with their income. Stick together and hold your red flag strong, Communist Internationals.

Join your organization against the capitalists in the country where you live. You should remember that the only revolution front in every country among the workers will be the winners against the capitalists.

Hurrah for the workers' May 1 holiday!

Hurrah, Communist Internationals!

Hurrah, working socialist revolutionist!

CENTRAL COMMITTEE FEDERATION OF RUSSIAN LOCAL,
COMMUNIST WORKING PARTY OF AMERICA.

[From the Voice of Labor, Apr. 20, 1920.]

STRIKE FOR PEACE WITH RUSSIA MAY 1.

What does it mean: Peace with Russia?

Is there such a thing as peace between a soviet republic and world capital?

No; a real peace is impossible under capitalism.

A real peace for Russia means the victory of the world revolution and nothing less.

Therefore, a revolutionary action of the workers to force peace has to be a struggle to develop power to such a degree that world capital is prevented from making war upon Russia in some form or another.

First, to stop open warfare by refusing not only to fight, but also to make or transport arms, ammunition, equipment, etc., for those who might use them to fight soviet Russia.

Second, to prevent and counteract all machination, plotting, and underground action against our proletarian friends by exposing those responsible for it, by preventing money being spent in this respect, and by not believing any of the lies in the capitalist press. This latter is very important. If we pledge ourselves not to believe any statement of the capitalist press with regard to soviet Russia, any report about alleged barbarities, any so-called facts about internal troubles and chaos or external policy of conquest, etc., we are not likely to be fooled the same as most of us were in 1914.

Third, to strive in other countries toward soviet republics as the organs of dictatorship of the proletariat. This inspiring aim we must always have in mind in all our deeds, all our actions. We must fill our heads with revolutionary thoughts; we must dare to hope in the midst of our misery; we must understand more and more that the breakdown of capitalism is in full process; we must be willing to destroy the weapons of our enemies; we must have confidence in our constructive power. All this we can only achieve in a constant fight with our exploiters by giving this fight a general revolutionary character. It means a complete break with bourgeois civilization, bourgeois morals, bourgeois supremacy; it means labor as the basic principle of social and moral life.

What about the peace proposals of the enemies of labor?

They are new methods to destroy soviet Russia from within, and may be supplemented at any time by methods from without, if the workers should weaken for one moment. Russia is willing to accept such a peace, knowing full well what it is meant for. But they need railway material and machines badly, and are willing to take a chance upon intrigue, corruption, counter-revolutionary plots, and murder, confident that the workers in western Europe will draw forces from a closer contact with the Russian revolution, confident that capitalism will break down before it can strengthen itself by the treasures of the Russian soil.

Russia might feed Europe, might supply it with the most valuable raw materials and it will no doubt give some immediate relief to the exhausted nations of Central Europe. Even from this narrow point of view peace with Russia is in the direct interests of the workers. But if a peace of capitalism with soviet Russia really meant the recuperation both of soviet Russia and the world revolution. We are confident that the relief will be of such a character that it will not give capitalism a new chance for temporary recovery and preparations for a new world war, that it will come too late anyhow. It is our duty and our only salvation to back up Russia by our action to such an extent, that it can secure a peace that will strengthen the first proletarian state more than it will her enemies.

If a new attack is forthcoming we have to fight this new crime; if peace is on the way we have to fight even harder, for the result will depend upon the kind of peace and the willingness of the workers to use this temporary peace for their own revolutionary purposes. And remember well: What is true for Russia to-day, may come true for soviet Russia or any other soviet republic to-morrow.

Therefore, under all circumstances, the action to support soviet Russia must be uppermost in our minds, must form part of all our important proletarian action. And to make it clear to the world, that this is a paramount international issue, the idea of an international demonstrative strike must be propagated and prepared in all countries.

The Amsterdam Bureau of the Communist International considers it its main task to further international unity not only of thought but of action as well. It therefore submits for consideration to all Communist groups and revolutionary organizations, workers' committees, etc., the possibility of a demonstrative strike in favor of peace with soviet Russia on an international scale.

The 1st of May was always intended to be a day of general strike the world over, but till now it never succeeded in realizing the general revolutionary

character that its promoters wanted it to bear. On the contrary, in the last decade before the war, the 1st of May more and more lost all revolutionary significance. Capital did not feel any threat to its existence in the parades and demonstrations held on that day by millions and millions of people, and the bourgeois incorporated these demonstrations in its normal life, like it did trade-unions, the social-democratic parties, etc.

The Third International has to perform the historical task which the Second International only planned, must realize the vision which its predecessor only talked about. It is bound to realize the international internal and external unity of the world-proletariat, its unity of doctrine, of organization and of tactics. It must teach the workers to form a world front against the world front that imperialism is already developing, despite its internal deviations and dissensions.

In suggesting that in 1920 the 1st of May be used for an international strike demonstration in favor of soviet Russia—not matter whether at that time the imperialists talk peace and plan war—we want to avail ourselves of the tradition of working-class solidarity and action in favor of peace already attached to May day and to use those traditions as a means of bringing on a new vigorous effort in the direction of international unity of action. We think the times are ripe for an effort of this kind.

To a superficial observer the revolutionary struggle in Central—and western Europe may seem to be developing with the utmost slowness or even standing still, but if we look more accurately and below the surface we can not but wonder at the tremendous changes going on in the minds and souls of millions and millions of men and women all over the earth—changes developing with the utmost rapidity. The belief in the fatal, immutable, everlasting domination of capital is being shattered day by day. The idea of new forms of human life, of general comradeship and culture for all, and the common ownership of the means of production presents itself as an approaching reality for the first time since society was divided into a dominating and a dominated class, for the first time it takes hold of the masses. The outward façade of the bourgeois state and society still exists, but it may fall to pieces at any moment, although a long and severe struggle will doubtless still be necessary as much to finally crush the bourgeoisie as to effectuate in the mass of the people the moral and intellectual transformation that will make them able to institute the communist commonwealth and render them fit to live in it.

All the same, we must always keep before our minds the fact of the enormous changes going on below the surface of things. We may be convinced that any little thing, any indifferent circumstance, may now at any moment, by causing the countless elements of the new revolutionary consciousness floating all over the world to unite into a new body and manifest themselves with unexpected force, be the instigator of renewed strife and blessed upheaval. In the present days there no longer exist unfavorable situations for action in the old sense of the word; the times for the passing away of capitalism are ripe and any dead calm may be the foreboder of new social storms, unexpectedly rising.

Prompted by these considerations, we lay before all labor unions, all extra union mass organs, all groups and parties, this suggestion of a general strike on May 1, 1920, in favor of soviet Russia, and we beg them to inform us if it will have their support. (For the Amsterdam Bureau of the Communist International, H. Roland, Holst.)

All readers of the above call will please mark it and take it personally to the labor papers in their city and insist upon its publication. All members of labor unions are called upon to advance a resolution for a one-day strike, May 1, in their unions. Labor papers receiving the Voice of Labor as an exchange will please reprint this call of the Third International.

LARKIN GOES IT ALONE.

Jim Larkin of the working class is on trial in New York City for being partly responsible for the left-wing program, which has to do with the new class principles enunciated by the Third International. Jim Larkin is Irish, and has an "A No. 1" labor record in Ireland. But that is not what we are going to talk about.

Jim Larkin is on trial in New York City and he is going it alone. He decided he could make a better class fight than any lawyer could make for him—and he is right. He is holding down the stage in Judge Week's court in such com-

mendable style that we wish the whole world of workers could sit in and listen and see.

First let's say that if you'd ask the average native what employment people follow in New York City he'd tell you that there are ever so many machinists, carpenters, needle workers, railroad men, ordinary working folk. How comes it, then, that the jury panel in the courts show none of these workers in it? You'll only need one guess to guess why.

Here are the kind of folk that are being called to try Larkin: General insurance agent, carpenter superintendent, underwriter of surety, stock trader, chief cashier, cotton goods broker, treasurer for importers, etc. And now get this—one prospective juror confessed that he managed a cooperative store and one approved of the 1776 Revolution, and out both of them went by preemption by the prosecution.

The first thing Larkin did in acting in his own defense was to challenge the judge, claiming that the judge was prejudiced and had proven it in commending the conviction of Gitlow and Winnitzky, two communists previously sentenced by this same judge. The court decided, as could have been expected, that it was fit to sit in the case. The court and Larkin, all through the selection of the jury, staged the class struggle in peppery language. The court, to facilitate presentation of the case, advised Larkin to take a lawyer. To this Larkin answered, "I don't see that the form of presenting the truth matters very much."

Larkin insisted that the jury panel was not of his class and asked its dismissal. The judge refused. When a prospective juror seemed rattled about constitutional methods which might be pursued to overthrow the Government and admitted that he was not familiar with the Constitution, Larkin said to him: "That is the reason why you have been specially selected." He asked this same juror that if a foreigner "like Christ came to this country, do you think he could become an American citizen." This horrified the court.

At a point when Judge Weeks and a prospective juror who thought that the reason the cost of living was high was because the workers did not work long enough hours, engaged in a conversation about economics, Larkin broke in by remarking: "Pardon me for saying so, but I think that both do not know what they are talking about."

"What class do you belong to," is Larkin's hot shot. Most of those asked don't belong to any class and say they do not believe in classes. So much like the religious fanatic who said he did not belong to any world nor believe in things wordly.

A new trick was played upon those who are attending the Larkin trial, and the court room is crowded. At a specially well-attended session the names and addresses of all who attended were taken. An attempt at intimidation, that's all.

We have had the "no defense" trial and the class trial with lawyers instructed to make a class fight. But the best of them all, after all, is the kind that Larkin is conducting, for he meets his class enemies face on and words are not softened by passage through a representative of the legal profession. There will be more of these trials from now on. Another is taking place at this moment in San Francisco, where James Dolsen, also accused of criminal anarchy, is facing the court and the jurors four square.

Uncompromising propaganda for the cause every place—that's the new tactic.

JUSTICE!

What is the Department of Justice doing? asks one of our contemporaries. It tries to answer the question by producing a letter written by the inimitable Mr. Palmer to the editor of some periodical asking him to support the Department of Justice by creating a state of mind with the people which will enable the department to go on with its inhuman and illegal treatment of the "reds."

For those not initiated into the secrets of the activities of the different departments of our Government it may seem idle to ask, What is the Department of Justice doing? Why, its very name implies what it is doing; anyhow, what it is supposed to do. But then we have to take into consideration that the object of government under capitalism is capitalism, and all the functions of government and its subdivisions are subject to the dictations of capitalism. Government is only a camouflaged business agency for capitalism, so we need not wonder at all if we find that the Department of Justice is doing things entirely foreign to justice. Of course, we are aware that some one will accuse us of being biased. But how would you explain the following:

The Department of Justice, through its division of women's activities, is sending out literature for the information of people that are employed for

propaganda purposes. The following is an excerpt from some of the recent literature of the department, which appears under the eloquent though slangy caption "Speech stuff":

"More pay—shorter hours. As this plea of workers in almost every industry continues and demands for increased wages and fewer working hours are granted by the manufacturers production declines, a shortage of goods results, and, like a skyrocket, up go prices to new high levels. We fiddle and fiddle while Rome burns. The world is hungry for the things we eat, wear, and use. Prices mount to staggering figures, and the cry of our workers is 'More pay—shorter hours,' and then up go the prices another notch. Must the vicious circle continue? Will we never see that it is more hours we need; that to reduce the cost of the things we use we must produce not less, but more?"

Here you have a Department of Justice making propaganda for longer hours and, by implication at least, for lower wages.

Mr. Palmer, who, anyway, has very queer conceptions of justice, may think this to be just. But the working class will recognize in these activities of the department not a Government of the people, for the people, and by the people, but a Government of the people, for capitalism, by Wall Street. They will further recognize the necessity of organizing the forces of labor to overthrow the government of Wall Street to set up a government of the workers.

PATRIOTISM AS A DIET FATTENS SOME AND THINS OTHERS. ITS EFFECT UPON YOU DEPENDS ENTIRELY WHETHER YOU ARE IN THE "SOME" OR THE "OTHERS" CLASS.

[Cleveland, Ohio.]

First of May, I. W. W., two big mass meetings, to celebrate the worker's day, the 1st of May, at Workers Hall, 119 South Throop Street, Phoenix Hall, 405 West Division Street, Saturday, May 1, 8 p. m. Prominent speakers will deliver stirring addresses to the American workers. Admission free. Refreshments served. Dancing will follow.

GENERAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE OF THE I. W. W.

Don't forget the defense picnics, at Riverview Park July 17 and Brands Park September 5.

TO THE TOILERS IN THE MINES!

Long live the 1st of May—the workers' holiday.

Long live the solidarity of the working class!

"An injury to one is an injury to all."

Fellow workers: Your turn has come. In your organized action lays the power that will crush the monster, capitalism, which feeds upon your live bodies and threatens to overpower the working class.

Thirty-four years have passed since the memorable day when five of our fellow workers—Parsons, Lingg, Fisher, Engel, and Spies—were brutally executed in the city of Chicago, victims of the animal instincts of the insatiable capitalists.

Their executions followed as the result of a strike provoked by the insults and greediness of the masters.

Who were the five "criminals"?

They were men of vision and character, such as we are, produced by the working-class movement and identify themselves with it.

Proudly they mounted the scaffold and sacrificed their lives for those whom they so greatly loved—for the slaves to whom, on the eve of their arrest, they appealed to rise and avenge the death of women and children murdered by the capitalist class.

But this was long ago, at the time when the workers of America had just begun to understand the necessity of organization and did not possess the clear understanding of the class struggle that they now do.

Fellow workers, you all feel the need of changing the present system, and you recognize the necessity of uniting the workers in a more successful struggle for the accomplishment of our relief. What prevents you, then, from joining in the struggle? Let us try to find the cause.

The execution of our five fellow workers worked the beginning of the reactionary influence of Gompers and his followers upon the workers' unions of America. Upon the corpses of our fellow workers he built his "machine" and still reigns supreme.

Your "leaders" tell you that it was the governmental injunction that drove you back to work when you struck. This is not true. The leaders have forced you back to work, shamefully breaking the strike through the lack of organization, consciousness, and solidarity within your ranks.

Mr. Gompers can not be our fellow worker. He is more akin to the high-salaried managers of the capitalist class, whose interests he has closer at heart than the interests of the workers.

The American Federation of Labor does not unite you; it separates you. It allows part of the workers belonging to the same industry to work, while the others strike, thus helping the masters to break the resistance of the workers.

Fellow workers, cast off your faith in "leaders." Take your destiny into your own hands. Five years ——— have passed. Golden mountains have been promised us, and nothing but promises have they remained.

We were told, "Defeat the Kaiser and the German militarism, and peace will rule the world." Believing this, we have produced the ore, which was transformed into shells and weapons to destroy our brothers in Europe in a war instigated by a flock of vultures—the European and American capitalists.

We have produced for them the means of conquest in Asia and Africa, for the subjection of Ireland, Egypt, and India.

Away with the blind faith and servile love for those who promised the people welfare and peace and instead fill the jails with those who dare to demand that the promises be fulfilled.

Away with the naive faith in the clergy, which consecrates cannon, fortresses, and jails.

Soldiers of America! You went to the world slaughter to crush autocracy and assure a just peace. Now, when you have returned with the blood of your fellow workers upon your hands, with all sacrifices you have made, what can you tell us of your conquests?

Is autocracy crushed? Is freedom and justice established? Are you satisfied with the results, and are you going to assist the masters to establish similar conditions at home?

Wake up! They are using you as an instrument of reaction and oppression against your fellow workers. Do not forget that you belong to the working class yourselves. Do not close your eyes upon the true conditions of life. It is your duty to join our ranks and to protest together with us against the crimes of capitalism. We must not tolerate the jailing of those who work for the emancipation of the working class.

Fellow workers—miners! Our "leaders" are indifferent to the fate of our brothers who waste their lives in capitalistic jails, yet we know that these class war prisoners are the true champions of the working class' interests.

It depends upon us to secure their freedom.

We again prepare to meet the holiday of the international proletariat—the 1st of May. Is it going to be a day of protest against reaction, or do we intend to submit weakly to oppression and to remain deaf to the sufferings of our fellow workers who are still kept behind the bars, clutched by the bloody hand of "democracy"?

No! No!

Fellow workers! For our masters, who like spiders suck out of us our strength and blood and finally life itself—for them every day of their life is a holiday.

Have we no right to set one day of the year as our holiday?

We appeal to you, fellow workers, to stop your work at this day and to march out with solid ranks under the emblem of the one international union of the I. W. W. Raise your protest against the small clique of parasites trampling upon your human rights! And let the 1st of May be a signal for the great class struggle and the final victory over capitalism.

Like maggots we crawl in the underground labyrinths, producing wealth we are not to enjoy, because the armed fist of "law" guards it for its master—the capitalist class.

We must assert our right to the possession of the full value of our toil! We must stop the industrial life of the country and show that we are the real power, the only basis of human society.

The mining industry has its foundations upon the bones of countless miners. Every prop in the underground passages, one may confidently say, marks a miner's grave, and every piece of coal is wet with our sweat and blood.

And yet our just demands for the betterment of our conditions received no recognition. We have demanded a 60 per cent increase in our wages. Where is it? Our "leaders" are bargaining with the bosses. They are trying to appease us by throwing out to us a bone—some small concession.

We know we are entitled to everything we produce.

It is therefore the duty of every miner to leave the sultry mine on the 1st of May and, joining his other fellow workers, demand better conditions for himself and for his children.

All that we produce must be ours.

Only in struggle will we win our rights.

Long live the 1st of May—the workers' holiday!

Long live the solidarity of the working class!

Down with capitalism!

COAL MINERS INDUSTRIAL UNION OF THE I. W. W.

DEPORT OR RELEASE.

"Deport or release!"

Thousands of Russians now jailed in the United States make this demand.

And millions of America's workers back it up.

Progressive Detroit joins the chorus. "Deport or release" is its cry.

"Deport or release" will be the shout of all when all the truth is known.

Newspapers which join job-holding and job-seeking politicians in making false issues to draw a red herring across the trail of Mr. American Workingman's thinking apparatus touch on every topic but that most vital—the actual condition of the workers of Detroit to-day. Economic masters of these papers and these politicians do not want the masses to know the truth; they want to fill their minds with smaller topics.

This is not your fault. All your life you've held certain noble and firm beliefs. From the cradle you've thought all were born with equal chances in this "land of the free and home of the brave."

With your natural-born love for liberty the very words "Czar" and "Siberia" make you think of iron bars and dungeons dark.

How you shudder at mention of bleak and frozen Siberia, where men and women were exiled for economic and political beliefs. You sympathize with them. You read with pleasure of their escape. You swelled with pride when reading how those exiles passed the "Goddess of Liberty" at the gateway to America.

But times changed. The world moved. A great war brought such noble phrases as "making the world safe for democracy."

The world moved—in some parts faster than in others. It had to move; it could not stand still. Nations whose people rested on their oars moved toward the rocks of autocracy, for the tide of reaction works always.

Reaction may come in other lands, you say, but never here.

Let's look at one of those great lands where reaction is busy.

Behold a beautiful city. Men's homes are entered in dead of night and these bread winners stolen away while little ones sleep in their beds. For a week or 10 days these men are held incommunicado. They can not see their wives and children; they can not communicate with them in any way.

They are in jail. In three days, they are told, they must be ready to leave for a far country. Some of them have homes which they have bought out of wages received for skilled work in large industrial plants. Others sell their little keepsakes. They buy clothing and other necessities to cross the stormy Atlantic in wintry weather. They sell their all. They are to leave in three days—on a Sunday morning.

They still remain.

For five months they are held under \$10,000 bond. Then they are let out on parole or \$1,000 bail. Worn and weary from close confinement they try to restore their little homes.

Confinement for these political prisoners is close; it does make them worn and weary.

For two months 56 of them are a part of a group of from 80 to 100 persons kept in one jail cell built to hold 24 persons only. For those two months conditions are harassing and food insufficient. But they are treated well in jail—the guards are humane and show acts of kindness.

Release comes—but not for all. Scores are still held. They are kept in a fort where conditions, to put it mildly, are terrible.

For some time uniformed men with guns in their hands and pistols in their pockets run this "stockade." A change comes. Uniforms vanish. So do most of the guards. Their successors might pass muster in the average detective agency.

These plain clothes guards are considered brutal—neither courtesy nor consideration do they show toward those at their mercy. The prisoners make one constant complaint about the food.

For some time these men were given certain freedom in their prison. Now they are separated in wards. They can't go out of their own ward. They have little to read and nothing to do.

They are guilty of one great crime their accusers say. That crime is a desire to "overthrow the Government."

Don't you favor intervention? Don't you want this Nation to intercede?

Where do such things exist?

They exist right here in Detroit.

Right here in your very midst exist the very things you protested against in Russia and other far-off lands.

These raids on workers' homes occurred in Detroit. This county jail is the Wayne County jail. This fort where these terrible conditions exist at this moment is Fort Wayne, within the boundaries of the city of Detroit.

The forces holding these prisoners are employed by the Government of the United States.

These victims, who lost their homes, in many cases, are among the most highly skilled mechanics in Detroit; they are men whose labor has helped enrich the wealthy of this great community.

These men are guilty of one great crime—in the eyes of those who do not toil. They have faith in the administration of their native land (Russia) by its producers, those who do useful physical or mental toil in behalf of society.

These men were arrested for deportation. They were told to get ready within three days. They did so. They want to go. They and their families long for deportation—to Russia where labor rules. But they protest against deportation to that part where hireling hosts are murdering those who would be free in return for the bloodstained gold of those who would exploit for private gain the untold natural resources of mighty Russia.

Why were these believers in democratic Russia arrested? Why are they held? Various reasons are advanced.

Those who hold fake bonds of the fallen autocracy of Czar Nicholas, those who want to continue unloading fake Russian stocks and Russian roubles on Wall Street, want every thinking Russian workman in the United States held in bondage. They don't want them in Russia, they don't want them in this country, they do want them kept in prison. They want the movement of Russian workers smashed.

They favored the arrest of these men. They considered them "leaders." But they were spokesmen only. They thought to kill a movement by jailing its "leaders." They made it grow. Persecution always makes growth. These enemies of democracy, these champions of autocracy, considered Russian workers dangerous men because they spoke a little English while "Americanization" committees advocated teaching to all the official language of this Nation.

But blundering officials did the thing they least desired to do. Their persecution brought many nationalities together. It made them and their English-speaking fellow workers work in common—for industrial democracy.

Attorney General Palmer; Garvin, his assistant, and Caminetti, the commissioner of immigration, hoped to crush this movement of Russian workers as well as other movements of the workers. But they failed. They failed completely.

These Russians were the pawns of Palmer. They are not so to-day. The public is learning the truth. Now it sees that Palmer's case was built on sand.

Palmer's piffle about "revolution" was so much cheap newspaper talk.

People now see that Palmer's case was built on sand. They see that Palmer attacked certain ideas which he could not meet through argument. They see that he attacked the ideas of the great Russian people.

Palmer's deck of cards has collapsed. The joker is out. The people see the game. They know who held the joker. They know also that those who held it cheated.

People of Detroit, it is up to you to demand the release of these victims. Why should innocent men and women be tortured to keep Russian roubles from tumbling still lower in Wall Street's gambling joint?

These Russians held here in Detroit under inhuman conditions want to be sent to soviet Russia. They want to take part in that great experiment in management of public affairs where only useful members of society play a part.

That such a plan may help the world is recognized by all but a few bureaucratic officials like Mitchell Palmer and Pennsylvania's trust-bossed henchmen.

You who live in America, you who love America, demand fair play for all who live in America!

Demand as you would for yourself unqualified release or deportation for these thousands of men now held in Fort Wayne, Ellis Island, and throughout the United States, so that they and their families may go back to that land where labor rules!

"Deport or release" is the battle cry of progressive Detroit.

"Deport to Russia—where labor rules—and not to that part of Russia or Poland where White Guards murder all who favor working-class control of what labor produces," is the slogan of progressive Detroit.

"Deport or release!"

You, you, must hear it.

You, who favor freedom, must make your protest heard in no uncertain manner. You must demand that these men now held in Detroit and Michigan and the United States shall be permitted to leave, with their loved ones, for the land from whence they came.

MAY THE FIRST, THE WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL HOLIDAY.

"The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people of all nations and tongues and kindred."—Abraham Lincoln.

Origin of May Day: In 1891 an International Socialist Convention was held in Paris, France. One of the results of the convention was the decision to work to make May 1 the workers' international holiday, which was to be symbolic of the establishment of a "universal eight-hour workday."

Until yesterday some people called the socialists dreamers and impossible, but the overthrow of the Czar of Russia, the Kaiser of Germany, and the Hapsburgs of Austria, the abolishment of monarchism in those countries, and the establishment of the Socialist Republic in Russia have proven the so-called dreams to be realities and the socialization of the means of production and distribution to be possible.

The war in Europe brought with it a great deal of confusion even among the organized workers and resulted in the complete breakdown of the Socialist International. But the dawn of a new day will be marked on May 1, 1920. A large part of Europe will find itself under the control of the Socialist movement, and the other part is just about ready to overthrow its autocratic rulers and establish a government on the principle of the Russian Proletariat Republic.

The workers of the world are inspired by the accomplishments of the workers of Russia, who are morally and materially triumphant over all the autocratic governments of the world.

Workers of America! Do you realize what is happening in this country today? The right of free speech, freedom of assemblage, and freedom of the press have been stolen from you by those in power. Your representatives, legally elected, have been thrown out of office—Victor L. Berger from Congress and the five Socialist assemblymen from the assembly in Albany. In Dark Russia, under the rule of Czarism, or in Germany, under the rule of Kaiserism, those in power did not dare to practice what has been accomplished in the United States under the dictation of the money bag.

Patriotic profiteers! In Europe, militarists and speculators are being called before the bar of justice; in the United States a farce is being staged called "Investigation Against Profiteers"—persons who patriotically suck the blood of the people.

The noblest Americans: Eugene V. Debs, Kate Richards O'Hare, Thomas J. Mooney, Warren K. Billings, and about 3,000 other noble champions of real freedom, justice, and humanity, are languishing in the penitentiaries of this great Republic, while all political and industrial prisoners in Europe have been given their liberty.

We, the Socialists of America, inspired by the great ideal of socialism and certain that our cause will triumph the world over, while fighting in the interest of suffering humanity and for its emancipation, from the depths of our hearts, are to-day sending our fraternal greetings to the Socialists of all countries.

To the capitalists of America, we say: "Your blind reaction makes us stronger. We do not fear your jails and your Prussian, inhuman, and uncivilized deeds. They will react against you, and you will pass into history as the worst tyrants of the twentieth century."

Workers and socialist sympathizers: We appeal to you to listen to us and decide to work and fight with us for the good of all. You must remember the enemies of human progress are united for the sole protection of capitalism, which is the cause of all evils. The ultimate aim of socialism is the abolishment of the capitalist society and the establishment of a social order where there will be no exploitation for profit.

Prove your solidarity to the working class of the world and take part in the May-day celebration arranged by the workers and not by the masters.

Long live the international workers' holiday. Long live socialism, the hope of the world.

May-day mass meeting Sunday afternoon, May 2, at 2.30 p. m. Speaker, Irwin St. John Tucker, of Chicago. At Chassin's Hall, 213 William Street (corner Walnut).

Robert Steiner, editor of The New Age, will be the speaker at a meeting to be held at the East Side Labor Lyceum, 1644 Genesee Street, Friday evening, May 7, 1920.

Printed and distributed by local Buffalo Socialist Party.

EXHIBIT No. 31.

SAMPLES OF NEGRO PROPAGANDA.

N. B.—Workmen have paid for this leaflet out of their earnings. When you have read it, pass it on.

JUSTICE FOR THE NEGRO—HOW HE CAN GET IT.

Two lynchings a week—one every three or four days—that is the rate at which the people in this "land of the free and home of the brave" have been killing colored men and women for the past 30 years—3,224 Negroes known to have been put to death by mobs in this country since 1889, and put to death with every kind of torture that human fiends could invent.

Even during the war, while colored soldiers were being obliged to "fight for democracy" abroad, 91 of their race were lynched at home.

The wrongs of the Negro in the United States are not confined to lynchings, however. When allowed to live and work for the community he is subjected to constant humiliation, injustice, and discrimination. In the cities he is forced to live in the meanest districts, where his rent is doubled and tripled, while conditions of health and safety are neglected in favor of the white sections.¹ In many States he is obliged to ride in special "Jim Crow" cars, hardly fit for cattle. Almost everywhere all semblance of political rights is denied him.

THE COLORED WORKER EVERYWHERE UNFAIRLY TREATED.

When the Negro goes to look for work he meets with the same systematic discrimination. Thousands of jobs are closed to him solely on account of his color. He is considered only fit for the most menial occupations. In many cases he has to accept a lower wage than is paid to white men for the same work.² Everywhere the odds were against him in the struggle for existence.

Throughout this land of liberty, so-called, the Negro worker is treated as an inferior; he is underpaid in his work and overcharged in his rent; he is kicked about, cursed, and spat upon; in short, he is treated, not as a human being,

¹ The normal average death rate of males in a city is about 147.10 per 1,000; for negroes, 287.10 per 1,000.—New York Times, Feb. 22, 1919.

² The wages of colored kitchen workers in New York City averages \$20 a month lower than white employees.

but as an animal, a beast of burden for the ruling class. When he tries to improve his condition he is shoved back into the mire of degradation and poverty and told to "keep his place."

How can the Negro combat this widespread injustice? How can he not only put a stop to lynchings but force the white race to grant him equal treatment? How can he get his rights as a human being?

Protests, petitions, and resolutions will never accomplish anything. It is useless to waste time and money on them. The Government is in the hands of the ruling class of white men and will do as they wish. No appeal to the political powers will ever secure justice for the Negro.

THE MASTER CLASS FEARS THE ORGANIZED WORKER.

He has, however, one weapon that the master class fears—the power to fold his arms and refuse to work for the community until he is guaranteed fair treatment. Remember how alarmed the South became over the emigration of colored workers two years ago, and what desperate means were used to try to keep them from leaving the mills and cotton fields? The only power of the Negro is his power as a worker; his one weapon is the strike. Only by organizing and refusing to work for those who abuse him can he put an end to the injustice and oppression he now endures.

The colored working men and women of the United States must organize in defense of their rights. They must join together in labor unions so as to be able to enforce their demand for an equal share of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." When they are in a position to say to any community, "If you do not stop discrimination against the colored race we will stop working for you," the hidden forces behind the Government will see to it that lynchings cease and discrimination comes to an end. Only by threatening to withdraw their labor power and thereby cripple industry and agriculture can the Negroes secure equal treatment with other workers.

THE WORKERS OF EVERY RACE MUST JOIN TOGETHER.

But the Negroes can not accomplish this alone; they must unite with the other workers in order to make their industrial power count to the utmost. If they form separate racial organizations they will only encourage race prejudice and help the master class in their effort to divide the workers along false lines of color and set one race against the other, in order to use both for their own selfish ends.

The workers of every race and nationality must join in one common group against their one common enemy—the employers—so as to be able to defend themselves and one another. Protection for the working class lies in complete solidarity of the workers, without regard to race, creed, sex, or color. "One enemy—one union!" must be their watchword.

TRADE-UNIONS DO NOT WANT THE NEGRO.

Most American labor organizations, however, shut their doors to the colored worker. The American Federation of Labor excludes him from many of its unions.¹ In those to which he is admitted, he is treated as an inferior. The Negro has no chance in the old-line trade-unions. They do not want him. They admit him only under compulsion and treat him with contempt. Their officials, who discourage strikes for higher wages or shorter hours, are always ready, as in the case of the Switchmen's Union, to permit a strike aimed to prevent the employment of colored men.

This narrow-minded policy of excluding the Negro from the trade-unions often forces him to become a strike breaker against his will by closing legitimate occupations to him. The consequence is racial conflicts such as the frightful tragedy in East St. Louis in 1917.

THE I. W. W. ADMITS NEGRO TO FULL MEMBERSHIP.

There is one international labor organization in this country that admits the colored worker on a footing of absolute equality with the white—The Industrial Workers of the World. The first section of its by-laws provides that "no

¹ The constitution of the International Association of Machinists, for example, requires each member to agree "to introduce no one into the union but a sober, industrious white man."

working man or woman shall be excluded from membership because of creed or color." This principle has been scrupulously lived up to since the organization was founded. In the I. W. W. the colored worker, man or woman, is on an equal footing with every other worker. He has the same voice in determining the policies of the organization, and his interests are protected as zealously as those of any other member.

Not only does the I. W. W. offer to the Negro worker union membership free from any taint or suggestion of racial inferiority, but in its form of organization it is far superior to the old-fashioned trade-unions.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM THE STRONGEST FORM OF ORGANIZATION.

The I. W. W. organizes the workers by industries, not trades. Instead of the American Federation of Labor plan of dividing the workers in any plant into 10 or 20 separate craft unions, with separate meetings and separate sets of officials, the I. W. W. unites all the workers in each industry, whatever their particular line of work may be, into one big industrial union. In this way, the industrial power of the workers is combined and, when any of them have a disagreement with their employer, they are backed by the united support of all the workers in that industry.

But the I. W. W. does not limit its aim, as do the trade unions, to "less work and more pay." Its greatest object is the complete emancipation of the working class. As long as the workers hold their jobs only by permission of some employer they are not free. As long as there is one class that lives in ease and idleness off their labor they are industrial slaves. Freedom for the workers will come only when everybody does his share of the work of the world and when the workers take control of the industries and operate them, not as at present, for the benefit of the leisure class, but for the welfare of society as a whole.

SERVANTS OF CAPITALISM LIE ABOUT THE I. W. W.

Do not believe the lies being told about the I. W. W. by the hired agents of the capitalists—the press, preachers, and politicians. They are paid to deceive the workers and lead them astray. They are hired to throw dust in their eyes because the master class does not dare to let them know the truth.

Investigate the I. W. W. for yourself and get the facts. We are confident that when you learn the truth about it you will realize that it is to your interest to join and help build up the organization.

Fellow workers of the colored race, do not expect justice or fair treatment as a gift from the ruling class. You will get from them nothing but what you are strong enough to take. "In union there is strength." The only power that the workers of any race or nationality have is their power to act together as workers. We, therefore, urge you to join with your fellow workers of every race in the one big union of the Industrial Workers of the World.

1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

Workers' halls, with reading rooms, at 119 South Throop Street and 951 West Madison Street.

NOTE.—The I. W. W. admits to membership every wageworker, man or woman, young or old, skilled or unskilled. Its plan of organization includes all workers. No matter what your occupation, if you work for wages, you can get a union card in the I. W. W.

BE YE ALSO READY, FOR WE KNOW NOT WHEN THEY WILL RETURN.

Lest we forget! Lest we forget the democracy for which our men fought and died; lest we forget to strike our enemies the death blow when the lives of our mothers, fathers, wives, sweethearts, sisters, and brothers are sought by the white intruder; lest we forget the vile, insidious propaganda directed against us in this the Nation's Capital by infamous pseudo-Americans and the press; lest we forget vows and oaths made and taken to right our wrongs without fear and without compromise after the war; we do solemnly declare to lash ourselves to our gallant tars and expire together in one common cause, fighting for a safe and decent place to live in.

Mothers and fathers, we are ready to protect you at any cost.

[The Messenger, May-June, 1919.]

A new crowd, a new Negro.

One hundred thousand subscribers in 1919 for the Messenger, the only magazine of scientific radicalism in the world published by Negroes.

It is written in fine style; its matter is logically presented; its interpretations are made calmly and dispassionately—without prejudice in favor of the Negro or against the white man.

Our aim is to appeal to reason, to lift our pens above the cringing demogogy of the times and above the cheap, peanut politics of the old, reactionary, Negro leaders.

Patriotism has no appeal to us; justice has. Party has no weight with us; principle has. Loyalty is meaningless; it depends on what one is loyal to. Prayer is not one of our remedies; it depends on what one is praying for. We consider prayer as nothing more than a fervent wish; consequently the merit and worth of a prayer depend upon what the fervent wish is. Still we know that all wishes, desires, hopes—must be realized through the adoption of sound methods. This requires scientific education—a knowledge of the means by which the end aimed at may be attained.

The means through which we are confident and sanguine of accomplishing this coveted work, are these:

First, to create and crystallize sentiment against the present unrighteous conditions, through an organized educational campaign.

Second, to compile and distribute literature and to conduct public lectures on the vital issues affecting the colored people's economic and political destiny.

Third, to appraise men and measures in public life.

Fourth, to examine, expose, and condemn cunning and malicious political marplots in the legislative, judicial, and executive departments of the city, State, and Nation.

Fifth, fearlessly to criticize and to denounce selfish and self-styled leaders.

Finally, to devote our influence uncompromisingly to the advocacy of all principles, to the indorsement of all men, and to the support of all movements working for justice and progress.

Test us on any question. Write us letters of comment. Suggest subjects you desire to have us discuss. The Messenger will take a courageous and sound position without regard to race, creed, color, sex, or political party.

Published monthly by the Messenger Publishing Co. (Inc.), 2305 Seventh Avenue, New York City. Editors: A. Philip Randolph, Chandler Owen. A. Philip Randolph, president; Chandler Owen, secretary-treasurer; Victor R. Daly, business manager; George Frazier Miller, contributing editor.

EDITORIALS.

The cooperative movement among negroes.—The cooperative movement is thriving in most of the European countries to-day. Banks, bakeries, manufacturing, retail and grocery stores are run upon the cooperative plan.

The cooperative method of conducting businesses is designed to cut out the middleman whose interest is to raise prices as high as possible in order to make large profits.

The object is to make the consumer the owner of the goods he consumes and to share among the consumers the profits which the middleman receives.

Is this possible and how can it be done? It is both possible and it has already been accomplished.

The process is a simple one.

To illustrate: Let us suppose that all of the persons living in a given square agree to buy their groceries weekly, together. The amount would be large enough to buy from the wholesale dealer at wholesale prices, thereby saving the money which the retail dealer would receive for handling the goods. The retail dealer must raise the cost of the goods high enough over and above the wholesale price which he pays for the goods as to enable him to: (1) pay rent of store; (2) to pay gas or electric bill for light; (3) to pay his help; (4) to pay for license to the city for the privilege of carrying on the business; (5) to pay the interest on the capital which he uses to conduct the business, and (6) to make sufficiently large profits as to make it more advantageous to carry on the business than to become an employee of some other business.

Thus the main desire of the retail merchant is to charge the consumer as high a price as he is able to pay for as small amount of goods as he is willing to

accept. He also desires to deceive the consumer into accepting low-grade goods for high-grade goods. Hence there is a tendency to adulterate goods and to do false advertising.

But if the consumers conducted the business there would neither be the desire to adulterate the goods nor to deceive themselves by false advertising; because they would occupy two positions, viz, owners and consumers. In other words a sane man is not going to adulterate the foods which he consumes himself; nor is it profitable to him to raise the price of goods he owns and consumes, to himself.

Now, in order to begin our cooperative store everybody who buys groceries in the said apartment house or square would simply agree to pay 25 or 50 cents a week for the rent of a room where the groceries would be received from the wholesale dealer or from the farmer, and from which the residents of the square or the tenants of the apartment house would get their daily or weekly share of the groceries. The consumers would also agree to employ a clerk to supervise the dispensing of the goods. The consumers would further agree to elect a board of supervisors (without pay) to insure the proper management of the enterprise. A price would be set for the goods which would be sufficiently above the wholesale price as to enable the cooperative store to defray expenses, and whenever there is a surplus, such would be divided upon a pro rata basis among the members of the store. Every consumer may become a member of the store.

This is one of the modern, sound, and effective methods of solving the high-cost-of-living problem.

Now, since the negro is affected by the high cost of living more than any other people on account of the low wages which he receives, it follows logically that he should be ready and willing to adopt this plan. The negro buys poor food at good-food prices. He pays higher rents than other people on account of the segregation principle limiting the supply of houses which he may use.

The Rochdale stores of England are operated upon the cooperative plan. It divided \$360,000,000 among its members in 1917. The movement is highly developed in the Scandinavian countries; also in Russia, France, Germany, and Belgium. The grape growers of California and the farmers of the West are promoting producers' cooperative societies for marketing their goods directly to the consumers thereby eliminating the commission jobbers, who rob both the producer and the consumer. Negro farmers and consumers can do the same thing.

The Negro in public utilities.—In every industry and field of human endeavor men of all races and classes are insisting that equality of opportunity shall be the measure and test of democracy, and especially is this true as respects economic relationships. And this same spirit—to demand equality of opportunity—has seized the Negro. He is becoming more intolerant of the barrier of race to his economic advancement, either with respect to organized capital or organized labor.

The specific question of the Negro in public utilities is now pertinent, in view of the fact that the Government is extending its control over these utilities, and the Government can not afford to be known as a condoner of race prejudice.

On the railroads, the subways, and the surface cars there are no Negro conductors, engineers, or motormen. Surely this is not due to the lack of ability on the part of Negroes, for all that is required to be a conductor on a railroad is the physical power to manipulate a ticket clipper and a good memory, which all Pullman porters have. On the subways muscle is all that is needed to operate the doors for the exit and entrance of passengers. On the surface cars the work is still less difficult. As for engineers, most Negro firemen are competent to handle and run efficiently an engine.

Thousands of Negroes make use of these utilities from day to day. As consumers they, like the white, pay excessive freight charges upon food and other products which they use in abundance and constantly. As a big, integral part of the politic, as constitutional if not as actual voters in some sections, they are entitled to reap the reward from the grant of franchises to private companies for the privilege to operate these public utilities.

But on these public utilities the Negroes do not hold any positions of responsibility, and in some sections they are actually denied the use of them. The highest positions in these public utilities which the Negro worker can get is the lowest position which is given to any other worker. In the New York subway stations and in the railroad terminals throughout the country Negro

women are employed as porters. Of course, they are underpaid and overworked, just as Negro men are. (By the way, the same white stockholders who own these public utilities and who are demoralizing Negro womanhood by holding it in industrial slavery are the same pious philanthropists who make charitable contributions to Tuskegee, Hampton Institute, and the National Urban League, etc.) "Beware of Greeks bearing gifts."

It is becoming ever more apparent, as an examination of the Negro problem is made, that the solution is economic justice and not economic charity. High wages and low prices for 12,000,000 Negroes will be of far more fundamental benefit to them than a paltry \$100,000 or so from Rockefeller to a Negro school, who raises his oil a half cent the next day or week and takes back out of the pockets of poor Negroes and poor whites \$100,000,000 in profits.

The editors of the *Messenger* understand that the son of Abraham Lincoln is a big stockholder of the Pullman Co. Now, if, as the Negro leader patriots maintain, there is such magic power in the name of Lincoln, why not attempt to prevail upon his son to utilize it in raising Negro porters to more responsible positions? Besides, Negro porters are compelled to rely upon a sympathetic public to dole out tips to them to help them secure a living wage. This destroys manhood. No one can bow and kotow and stand erect at the same time. This is one of the reasons for the servile and docile character of the Negro in general and in the South in particular. He has been obsequiously serving plutocratic, rich, white men too long. His whole life has been absorbed in trying to tickle the fancy of some guest, either on the train or in the hotels, from which he expects to receive a favor.

This is a new era now, and the Negro has done with tips and with charity. His new demand is justice.

Japan and the race issue.—Japan has recently made the peace conference very uncomfortable by constantly injecting the race issue. And by irony of fate President Wilson was chairmanship the convention at the time the question was raised. Pious platitudes and blatant professions of justice, democracy and fair play have been repeatedly made by Lloyd-George and President Wilson. Japan knew, of course, that all this pious pretence was for the consumption of the people of Europe. Japan knew that the Western States of the United States have discriminatory laws against Asiatics owning land and also against their immigration. She also knew that Japanese were prohibited from citizenship and entrance in Canada and Australia by vicious exclusion acts. So here came the time to expose this "perfidious Albion," this smug Anglo-Saxon race prejudice and this pious American hypocrisy. Japan made a demand that inasmuch as they were all talking of equality and democracy the peace conference should go on record against discrimination on account of race or color.

What a monkey wrench! The Tory Lloyd-George to take a stand against race prejudice! And Woodrow Wilson, whose party (the Democratic solid South) has had but one campaign issue in 50 years, namely: "Keep the Nigger Down!" How could Woodrow Wilson take a stand—the same Woodrow Wilson who has steadfastly refused to appear before any colored audience since he has been President, if not in his whole life?

We are glad, however, that Japan exposed this hypocrisy of America; this pretence of a desire "to make the world safe for democracy."

A word of warning, however, to the unsuspecting and to those not thoroughly versed in social science. The Japanese statesmen are not in the least concerned about race or color prejudice. The smug and cily Japanese diplomats are no different from Woodrow Wilson, Lloyd-George, or Orlando. They do not suffer from race prejudice. They teach in the Rockefeller Institute, wine and dine at the Waldorf-Astoria, Manhattan or Polignac, divide financial melons in Wall Street, ride on railways and cars free from discrimination. They care nothing for even the Japanese people, and at this very same moment are suppressing and oppressing mercilessly the people of Korea and forcing hard bargains upon unfortunate China. It is possible, however, by appealing to the race issue to divert the attention of the Japanese people from the abuses of the Japanese plutocracy. And that is the real intention of Japanese statesmen and peace delegates. Japan is dominated by a set of junkers as reactionary as our southern Bourbons in the United States. Out of a population of 55,000,000 only 1,000,000 are voters. And all the disfranchised are Japanese of the same race and color.

The real conflict is commercial and industrial. Japan has built up her merchant shipping during the war. She became highly industrialized. She has taken part of America's carrying trade and part of Great Britain's. Japan also

wants to exploit the coal mines and oil wells in China. She wants to close the much-talked-of "open door" in China, not because Great Britain and America are white, but because they are taking a part of her business. She would assume the same position toward any colored nation. In fact, she assumes the same position to China, at this moment, since she wants China for Japan's aggrandizement and not for the interests of China. It is an old case of commercial and economic rivalry. It is headed straight toward war. And in such a war the psychological appeal to race prejudice would have to be made in order to keep the people's minds off the profits which the Japanese munition makers and business men would be making.

Again we call attention to the fact that the race issue is psychological with the people only, but economic with the privileged few who coin money out of the people's ignorance of the real causes of their conflicts.

Break up the A. F. of L.—The dissolution of the American Federation of Labor would inure to the benefit of the labor movement in this country in particular, and to the international labor movement in general. Why?

In the first place, it is organized upon unsound principles. It holds that there can be a partnership between capital and labor. Think of it! A partnership between the exploiter and the exploited! Between the spider and the fly! Between the lion and the lamb! Between the cat and the mouse!

Second, it stands for pure and simple unionism as against industrial unionism. In a printing establishment if the pressmen strike, the union linotypers may continue their work with scab pressmen. How absurd!

Third, the present American Federation of Labor is the most wicked machine for the propagation of race prejudice in the country. Many of its big unions have clauses against men of color. For instance, the machinists' constitution contains a clause, "that each member agrees to introduce no one into the union but a sober, industrious white man."

The switchmen's union only recently went on a strike because of the employment of colored men. Samuel Gompers and his reactionary executive board are opposed to strikes to increase wages, to shorten hours, or to improve conditions of labor, but they are not opposed to strikes to protest against the use of colored workers!

Fourth, the American Federation of Labor is too reactionary to subserve the interests of white or colored labor. Its president belongs to the Washington (D. C.) Chamber of Commerce. Think of it! The president of the American organized labor movement belonging to the most reactionary group of exploiters and labor haters in the United States.

What do we suggest, you ask? Well, the power over a man's subsistence is the power over his will. The most effective way to control a thing is to control it economically. Large numbers of radical labor organizations are opposed to the Samuel Gompers American Federation of Labor. But so long as the A. F. of L. receives 25 per cent of their dues each month, it can carry on more organized, reactionary propaganda than you can by word of mouth. Cut off the funds! Pull out! Let such radical bodies as the International Ladies' Garment Workers, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers' Unions, the Western Federation of Miners, the Fur Workers of America and Canada, the members of the United Hebrew Trades, the International Federation of Workers in the Restaurant and Hotel Industry, the lumber workers of the West, the radical railroad brotherhoods, the Harbor and Boatmen's Unions, pull out and form one big union just as they are doing in Canada and Australia. In this way you can carry the money, power, and prestige along with you, break up the American Separation of Labor and make the labor movement of America a force to be feared and respected. Instead of what it now is, the hissing and byword, an object of ridicule of the workers of all the world.

Break up the A. F. of L. and let's get a real constructive labor movement! The whole machinery of the American Federation of Labor needs to be destroyed. It can not be reformed. Form a labor movement of workmen—not white men—but all men who work without regard to race, nationality, or color. Retire the American Separation of Labor to the tall timbers and to that oblivion and obscurity from which it ought never to emerge.

Radical renegades.—In all countries the radical renegades have been forced to take a position as the ever-growing persecution made itself felt. There are no doubt a few more left who will choose whom they will serve as organized reaction, drunk with power, adopts all kinds of harsh and inexcusable laws.

Radical renegades operate under the law of social oscillation. We all know that a pendulum swings from one extreme to the other. That is the way in which renegades operate. When they get out of the radical movement they become more intolerant, more vindictive and vicious than the rankest reactionaries. Look, if you please, for a moment at Walling, Stokes, Charles Edward Russell, and Spargo throwing mud at the socialist movement. The same is true of the foreman—he is, as a rule, a worse slave driver than the owner. The head waiter is worse than the hotel manager or proprietor. The Secretary of Labor, Wilson, once hounded and persecuted himself, is more intolerant with labor agitators than Rockefeller.

Whence this psychology? It is this. The man who rises from the ranks feels that he can afford to show no sympathy with those in the ranks lest some one should suspect that he was once in the ranks. Lack of sympathy implies lack of similar station in life. But the position being artificial necessarily becomes more exaggerated, based upon the fact that artificial desires are more intense and recur more frequently than natural desires.

Again, to-day it is hard for a man to stand between two factions. He is in "no man's land" and likely to be shot by both parties. Hence the necessity of the renegade making it clear that he is either a bourgeois or a radical.

But no one trusts the renegade. Confidence in him is lost by all. The radicals reject him and the reactionaries use him till, when no longer able to serve their purposes, they cast him aside as a child abandons a toy which no longer delights it.

And history, with its cruel and relentless judgment, records the renegade as neither a notorious criminal nor a celebrated statesman. Such is the lot of a radical renegade. There are renegades and renegades, but the radical renegade is the worst of all. He deserts the people for the predatory interests, while others only make changes which are about the same, and sometimes better.

The march of soviet government.—Still it continues! The cosmic tread of soviet government, with ceaseless step, claims another nation. Russia and Germany have yielded to its human touch, and now Hungary joins the people's form of rule. Italy is standing upon a social volcano. France is seething with social unrest. The triple alliance of Great Britain—the railroad, transport, and mine workers—threaten to overthrow the economic and political bourgeoisism of "Merry Old England." The red tide of socialism sweeps on in America. South America is in the throes of revolution.

Soviet government proceeds apace. It bids fair to sweep over the whole world. The sooner the better. On with the dance!

The peace treaty.—If press reports are true, the treaty about to be imposed upon the German people will stun the democratic sense of liberals and radicals in all countries. Huge indemnities and territorial concessions, without historical or other legitimate justifications, will lay the foundations for future wars, for the flooding of the world in another orgy of blood and death.

Frequently the President has said, "We have no quarrel with the German people." Then why all this vindictive action with respect to the German people? The Messenger has no interest in the reactionary government which formerly dominated the German people. We are even opposed to the present Ebert bourgeois government. But we realize that the Ebert government of Germany is more democratic—more representative of the German people—than any government of any one of the entente nations is representative of its people. The peace treaty will not be worth the ink with which it will be written if it is vindictive and imperialistic. "It will leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory, which will not rest securely, but as upon quicksand." It will be a veritable "scrap of paper."

We might as well go on record, therefore, now as opposed to any unfair, vindictive, and undemocratic treaty being forced upon the German people.

How Germans treated Negro soldiers.—If the testimony of Negro soldiers is to be taken, the Germans are not such Huns, despite our reactionary papers to the contrary. We have talked with hundreds of Negro soldiers to get the real facts without any intimation of our own opinion, sympathy, or inclinations. In all except one case the testimony is about as follows: "The Americans were most prejudiced, unjust, and unfair, and they attempted to spread race prejudice against us at every opportunity. The French people were fair, friendly, and kind, but the effect of American race prejudice propaganda began to show its effect among them during the latter part of our stay. The German people treated us the best of all. They invited us into their homes, they entertained us as human beings, and they showed no prejudice."

This is most unfortunate, if true, and the evidence points to its accuracy. The countrymen with whom the black men were fighting and for whose liberty they were dying treated them worse than the enemy whose duty was to kill the Negro soldiers and whom the Negro soldiers were killing. We account for the attitude of the German population toward the black soldiers on the ground that the American whites had no chance to contaminate them with race prejudice propaganda.

The editors of the *Messenger* are preparing a scientific history of this war and of the Negro's part in it. In due time we shall announce its appearance, and it will contain facts not found in Kelly Miller's history, the Du Bois-Scott history, or the histories of the Negro written by white authors.

We care nothing particularly for any nation, race, or people, and we shall give the facts, whether they favor the Negro or not, whether they reflect credit on the United States or not, whether they are creditable or discreditable to the enemy. Only truth matters. We suspect that our systematic and methodical collection of data on the war will startle our rhetorical historians who are writing a deal of stuff on Negro gallantry—most of which is irrelevant and immaterial.

Negro mass movement.—The time is ripe for a great mass movement among Negroes. It ought to assume four distinct forms, viz, labor unions, farmers' protective unions, cooperative business, and socialism.

Negro workers especially suffer from low wages, long hours, and bad conditions under which to work. Everywhere in the country they ought to come together, organize their labor power, either by trades and crafts, or better still, according to the industry in which they work. Having thoroughly organized, they should make a united demand for more wages, shorter hours, and better conditions. Railroad porters, firemen, track walkers, longshoremen, masons, molders, plasterers, farm hands, cotton pickers, elevator operators, packing-house workers—all kinds of workers should organize.

Secondly, colored farmers' protective associations should organize. You are getting too low prices for your cotton, corn, potatoes, meat, and peanuts. Speculators are giving you what they please. Sometimes you ship your goods North, East, and West without getting any returns, or just what the whims of the speculator may direct. You are paying too high prices for fertilizers and machinery and too high interest for money. Organize with a view to paying less for such goods as you must purchase, and also in order to get better prices for your produce. You are simply agricultural laborers. Your wages are what you get for your farm products. Organize in every Southern State.

Third, cooperative business must be adopted by negroes, whether in the country or in the city. Big negro business is not desired from the point of view of having a big negro own a fine drug store, clothing store, or grocery store. He will charge you the highest prices and pay his employees the lowest wages just like anybody else. Already negroes pay negro undertakers the highest prices for funerals, and they are charged the highest premiums by negro insurance companies. What we must do is to have genuine cooperative businesses (not fake cooperative businesses), where the people are the beneficiaries of all returns.

Fourth, and last, negroes must get into the Socialist Party. Politics should reflect the economic condition of a people. Socialism is the political party of the working people. Now, 99 per cent of the negroes are working people, so they should join the working people's party. The Republican Party is the party of monopoly, big business, and wealth. It represents plutocracy. Negro plutocrats should belong to the Republican Party, but negro working people should join and support the workingmen's party. That is the Socialist Party in all countries. It draws no race, creed, color, or nationality lines. All are freely welcome into its ranks.

Unemployment and unrest.—Still they come. The ranks of the unemployed grow daily. Soldiers are discharged from the Army and industrial soldiers are thrown out of the factories. The country has no reconstruction program. Congress cuts out the Federal Employment Service by reducing 80 per cent of the bureau's appropriation. A bonus of \$60 is voted to discharged soldiers three months after their discharge and was paid probably two or three months hence. Our legislators don't seem to recognize that there are certain wants which will not admit of postponement—eating, sleeping, and wearing clothes. These wants must be satisfied continuously; but Congress says debate when the people's interests are involved. It votes only when big business is involved.

Meanwhile hungry soldiers roam the streets of cities without money or work. They discuss the \$4,000,000,000 coined by big business of the United States last year. They reflect on the 7,995 millionaires produced last year. They read from the Federal income tax reports that millionaires have increased by 22,000 in the United States since the war began. They read that the packing industry made 300 per cent profits, that a certain textile industry made 700 per cent. All of this was done while the soldier boys were risking their lives on the fields of Flanders. The sacrifice at home was in striking contrast with the sacrifice abroad.

Shoes are \$8, \$9, and \$12; hats are \$6, \$7, and \$10; ties are \$1.50, \$2, \$3, and \$5; suits are \$40 and up; rent and food are soaring. There is no money and no work, and the Government refuses longer to try to find work for the unemployed.

And yet there is wonder at social unrest!

To the enforced unemployed we say that you must work to change the system of society which makes you endure this suffering. You must so use your political and industrial power as to hasten the change. The intelligent direction of your political power or your industrial power can accomplish the change as calmly and tranquilly as a star meets morning. The immediate issue is the acceleration of the rate.

New leadership for the Negro.—The Negro needs new leadership. The old leadership has failed miserably. Du Bois and Kelly Miller, Pickens and James W. Johnson, W. H. Lewis and Charles W. Anderson, W. T. Vernon and Roscoe Conkling Simmons, W. H. Tyler and the politicians of Chicago have simply held jobs, produced school-boy rhetoric, and lulled Negroes into a false sense of security. Another set of leaders, like George E. Haynes, Emmet Scott, Dr. R. R. Moton, Fred R. Moore, and T. Thomas Fortune have preached a gospel of satisfaction and content. With one or two exceptions, the whole group lacks information and courage. They demanded nothing during the war, and now that it has closed they can goad nobody for having failed to keep his promises.

In the midst of the war, when black men were giving their lives by the minute, Du Bois wrote his infamous "Close ranks" editorial in the *Crisis*, which will rank in shame and reeking disgrace with the "Atlanta compromise" speech of Booker Washington. Kelly Miller's contribution to the reconstruction discussion so far has been that "just as we have been 100 per cent Americans during the war we want to be 100 per cent Americans after the war"—whatever that means. William Pickens's contribution was a "good nigger" exhortation, with this argument: "If your mother doesn't treat you right, she's your mother just the same." This was handed out to persuade Negroes that they should not complain about lynching, disfranchisement, Jimcrowsism, and segregation, because their mother country did it. What trash! Did Pickens ever read Thomas Paine's *Crisis* and *Common Sense*? In speaking of England as the mother country he argued: "Even brutes do not kill their young or starve them by privation." He there showed that even a mother should be respected only for that which was good in her and rejected and rebuked when she failed to act as a mother. James W. Johnson is a man of considerably more ability than his economic relations will permit him to reveal. He would make a much abler editor of the *Crisis* than Du Bois. He can not be accused of using school-boy rhetoric and he is inclined to prosecute his study of modern problems more than any of the old liners. His giving credence, however, recently to a suggestion that lynching could be dealt with by a day or week of prayer shocked our opinion of his good judgment. Lewis, Anderson, Vernon, and Tyler, of course, are simply old-line Republican politicians who have been celebrated for their faithful service to the reactionary Republican machine. Like most appointees, they are of no service to the people. They owe their places not to the votes of the people but to the white bosses who appointed them, and, therefore, they represent not the people but the white bosses to whom they owe their jobs. "The power over a man's subsistence is the power over his will." Haynes, Scott, Moton, Fortune, and Moore belong to that extremely conservative wing of Negroes who can qualify to the satisfaction of Tillman, Blease, and Vardaman. As a matter of fact, just a few months ago Mr. Fred R. Moore, in company with some other Negro leaders, held a conference with Cole Blease! What was done, we fear, was not in the interest of the Negroes, or he would have given out the accomplishments of the conference. In the next issue of the *Messenger*, however, we shall give a full account of what took place in the

Cole Blaise-Fred Moore conference. Moton has just been to Europe to urge Negro soldiers to "be modest and unassuming when they get back home." Scott is having Du Bois prepare some rhetoric of praise for the black boys' valor. Poor Fortune is racking his diseased mind over the growth of radicalism among Negroes. Fortune, once a fearless spokesman of the people, is now wallowing in the shame and chagrin of his own apostasy. Haynes is poring over figures to find out whether Negroes are actually laboring in the United States. Roscoe Conkling Simmons is to deluge us soon again with a discarded and discredited rhetoric, which is distinguished for its power to talk much and say little. At best it is little more than an adroit mode of saying nothing.

All of which we regard as valueless. The Negro soldier is not asking for rhetoric and praise. He wants justice and fair play—a chance to work with a decent wage, freedom from discrimination on railroads and street cars, theaters and hotels, protection of his life from lynching and his property from mob violence, the right to vote and education for his children. Leaders who have not the courage to demand these things are worthless. Our present leaders are not demanding them. We need a new leadership—a leadership of intelligence and manly courage.

Political prisoners.—The recent conviction and sentence of the National Socialist officials, the Supreme Court's confirmation of the convictions of Eugene V. Debs and of Kate Richards O'Hare, definitely stamp the United States as the most archaic, antiquated, and reactionary of the alleged civilized nations. In addition to these popular and well-known characters, there are 1,500 political and class prisoners in the prisons. Practically all other countries have granted amnesty to their political prisoners, but the United States is sentencing them more savagely now than during the war. Men like Victor Berger, Adolph Germer, Louis Engdahl, Irwin St. John Tucker, and Charles Kruse have each been sentenced to imprisonment for 20 years for speaking a word in favor of human liberty and for making statements concerning profiteering and patriotism, the truth of which has been amply corroborated by the Federal Trade Commission and the Federal income-tax reports. Among the 1,500 political and class prisoners are men of practically all races and nationalities. Negro men like Ben Fletcher, who have done more to improve the actual economic and social life of Negro workers than the much heralded so-called leaders, are in prison for 15 and 20 years. There is no race, color, or sex line involved. The best and bravest, the noblest and most courageous, are in the dark and cavernous prison cells of this country.

Eugene V. Debs, who refused to speak in a Jim Crow hall in Atlanta, and who took his stand in the open air, deserting a despicably segregated hall, has been sentenced to 10 years. And Kate Richards O'Hare, who never allowed the race or color issue to swerve her from her duty, is to be there for five years.

A call we send out to white and black citizens. We must stand together as a stone wall in demanding the release of these political prisoners. Among their members are to be found those white men and women and those courageous Negro workers who have most frequently raised their voice and pen against lynching, disfranchisement, segregation, and discrimination in this alleged land of the free. Their concern is our concern. We must give more consideration to those men who will face jails and cells for a principle, and less to the smug, sleek leaders who swerve, compromise, and equivocate for soft berths, fat salaries, and slothful ease.

The Civil Liberties Bureau.—The Civil Liberties Bureau has been one of the most effective and efficient organizations in America during the war. Nor has its good work ceased to function. It has in it a group of broad and liberal minded men and women of different nationalities, races, and political faith who believe in the maintenance of free speech, free press, and free assemblage in war or peace and who believe in the freedom of conscience. No economic or political question has been too delicate to merit their examination. They studied the facts about the Industrial Workers of the World and ably set them forth in a pamphlet entitled, "The Truth About the I. W. W." They published another pamphlet entitled, "The Truth About the Conscientious Objectors." All of these were courageous efforts on the part of a group of quiet, sincere unostentatious men and women. The former director of the bureau, Roger N. Baldwin, is now in the Essex County jail, New Jersey, for refusal to report for the draft board's physical examination—war being contrary to his conscientious scruples. We can not extend sympathy to Mr. Baldwin, because sympathy is objectionable to men who stand upon principle and suffer for it. We do,

however, extend our congratulations and express our appreciation of his stand. We also commend most heartily the splendid work of the Civil Liberties Bureau, 41 Union Square, New York City.

Triple alliance of labor in Great Britain.—The railroad workers, the transport and harbor workers, and the miners of Great Britain are holding a general concerted strike over the head of Lloyd George and his Tory Government. It is a sword of Damocles which is forcing the British Bourbonism to grant decent conditions to the workers. The British miners demand a six-hour day, a five-day week, the nationalization of the mines, and a 30 per cent wage increase. The transport and harbor workers and the railway men are making similar demands. The demands are entirely sound, too. Six hours a day is long enough for anybody to work. Five days a week are enough days, too, to work out of seven. In fact, four days are adequate. Nationalization of the mines will prove the foregoing facts. And a 30 per cent wage increase is a moderate demand when the mine owners have made 135 per cent.

We congratulate the British mine, railroad, harbor, and transport workers on their demands. Negro workers in the United States have tens of thousands of men in the mines, over 149,000 on the railroads and thousands of longshoremen, stevedores, and transport workers. Organize your forces and you can tie up the transportation and fuel in the country unless you get a decent wage with decent hours. Follow the British workers and go by them if you can. We wish to congratulate the miners of the United States for the position recently taken at Indianapolis by the United Mine Workers of America, in demanding a six-hour day and a five-day week.

An open letter to the Union League Club of New York—

GENTLEMEN OF THE UNION LEAGUE CLUB:

On the 13th of March, your committee appointed to study bolshevism reported that an attempt to arouse discontent among Negroes in the United States is being made by circulating bolshevik doctrines among them. Your committee further reported that "in order to stimulate an interest in socialist activities, an association has been formed which is known as the National Association for the Promotion of Labor Unionism Among Negroes." After reciting certain excerpts from the Messenger, your body unanimously "passed a resolution directing the committee to present to the Legislature of New York, a resolution for an investigation by a joint committee to determine the extent of the revolutionary movement in New York with a view to the enactment of laws necessary to protect the Government."

First. With respect to the legislative committee's investigation of our activities, we wish to say that all of our work is open to the public and we shall welcome the proposed investigation.

Secondly. The National Association for the Promotion of Labor Unionism Among Negroes was not formed to stimulate socialist activities among Negroes, but to promote unionism among Negroes, just as its name implies.

Third. It is true that an attempt is being made to arouse discontent among Negroes by circulating sound economic, political, and social doctrines among them. If that is what the Union League Club means by bolshevik doctrines, we plead guilty to the charge.

We wish, however, to ask the Union League Club a few pertinent questions. You gentlemen represent and control about one-third of the wealth of the United States—\$100,000,000,000. There is hardly a corporation, trust, syndicate, railroad, or bank which you do not control directly or indirectly. Your political party is the party of big business—the Republican Party. That party just now is in control of the Government. You have it within your power to allay the discontent of the Negro population by according justice to it.

1. Negroes are disfranchised. They don't like that. Will the Union League Club direct its Republican Congress to reduce the representation of the South, which it now sends to Congress in criminal violation of the Constitution, and also to enforce the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Federal Constitution?

2. Negroes are lynched—one every four days. One was burned at stake in Pensacola, Fla., just about the time that the Union League Club was passing its resolution on bolshevism among Negroes. Will the Union League Club direct its Republican Congress to pass a Federal law against lynching—a law with real teeth in it?

This will do much to allay discontent among Negroes, for it is lynching more than anything else with which Negroes are dissatisfied.

3. Negroes are in peonage and on convict farms in the South. This is a violation of the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution.

Will the Union League Club direct its Congress to enforce this amendment and stop nullifying the law in its administration?

4. Negroes are Jim-Crowed and made to ride like cattle on the Government-controlled railroads of the United States. This is unjust and undemocratic. It creates discontent.

Will the Union League Club direct its Republican-controlled Congress to abolish the despicable Jim Crow car?

5. Negroes can not enter the military and naval academies of this country at Annapolis and West Point, respectively. We do not believe in such academies at all. We wish they could be discontinued completely. But while they exist, there should be no discrimination shown between the dusky and the fair skin warrior.

Will the Union League Club direct its Republican Congress to open the doors of West Point and Annapolis to all applicants without regard to race or color?

Gentlemen of the Union League Club, in asking you these questions, we have incidentally stated the chief causes of unrest among Negroes. The unrest grows out of the unjust conditions in this alleged land of the free and home of the brave. They are the true bolshevik propaganda. Without the conditions the agitator could not exist.

The disfranchisement of more than 2,000,000 Negroes in the United States is a complete refutation of our professions of political democracy!

The lynching of more than 270 Negroes since war was declared—among them 15-year-old girls and 14-year-old boys—shows that law and order does not exist and that any professions to the contrary are a delusion and a snare.

The peonage which obtains in the South is a complete refutation of any claims of industrial democracy and largely accounts for the widespread migration of Negroes to the North, East, and West within the last three years.

The Jim Crow car smacks of an unspeakable caste system which does not obtain any longer in any other civilized country.

The discrimination in our military and naval academies reveals our sham professions about undiluted patriotism.

Finally, gentlemen of the Union League Club, 99 per cent of Negroes are working people. They earn their living by labor—by sweat and toil and tears, by brawn and blood. You are 100 per cent plutocrats. You get your living from rent, interest, and profits. You secure it by the manipulation of paper, by taking title to wealth produced by the labor of the toiling black and the sweated white workers. Only last year you gained over \$4,000,000,000 off the food which you sold them, off the shoes and clothing which they had to buy, off the high rents you charged for the hovels in which they eked out a miserable existence. You paid both black and white workers the lowest wages for their labor, and charged them the highest prices when they bought back the products of their labor.

You smug plutocrats and silk-gloved hypocrites who have time to sit in clubs, steam-heated in the winter and ice-cooled in the summer, are the real causes of the discontent among Negroes and among whites and all classes of labor. We would advise you to read Lowell's "Vision of Sir Launfal." The story there is in point. Then remember the inscription of the historian, "Lector si monumentum requires, circumspecte."

You are really attempting to avert suspicion by condemning the thing you are doing yourself. You are crying: "Stop thief!" with the loot under your arms.

Unle s you billionnaires of the Union League Club stop playing the African ostrich with your heads in the sand, trying to convince yourselves that things are not as they are; and unless you quickly find out and remedy the real causes of discontent among Negroes and among whites, you will not have occasion to doubt the result. Once a certain king, drunk with power, said: "This will last as long as we last; after us the deluge!" But the deluge came before he had finished his unhappy and hapless career. You are in danger of the same fate, as the hands of evolution's clock rapidly strike the high noon of the black and white workers' seething unrest, brewing revolution and wild-eyed discontent.

Gentlemen of the Union League Club: Beware the Ides of March; beware of March revolutions!

George E. Haynes, Director of Negro Economics, Department of Labor, Discusses the Negro and national reconstruction.—In the Public of February 8,

George E. Haynes, Director of Negro Economics in the Department of Labor, essays to set forth a national reconstruction program for the Negro. He bears his burden this wise: "They (the Negro) have come to a new conception of the dignity of common labor. The stigma of manual labor as a badge of servitude is disappearing." This statement suggests that Mr. Haynes sketched this cornerstone of his program in the shadow of Vardaman and Cole Blease. It is followed by a characteristic comment of a "big" Negro leader, namely, "The demonstration of the Negro's loyalty and devotion to his flag and country has created a marked change in the attitude of thousands of white Americans, North and South."

The only marked change, as we can see, toward the Negro is increasing race prejudice. Witness the formation of a Klu Klux Klan in Tennessee to maintain white supremacy. The Negro is still Jimcrowed, lynched, and disfranchised. Mr. Haynes speaks of the Negro as fighting for his country. The law recognizes the right of a sane person to control that which he owns. One's home is his castle. But Negroes are departed from Coatesville, where they worked to make profits for those who support Mr. Haynes. We recollect, also that a rich negro by the name of Crawford was lynched in his own country.

More specifically, Mr. Haynes urges as a part of his economic program that "an adjustment be made of the landless peasant Negro." But of course Mr. Haynes reveals his utter bankruptcy of any fundamental information as to methods for adjusting the Negro farmers' conditions. He suggests no remedy for tenant farming and the crop lien system, which are the bane of the Negro farmer.

What about farmers' cooperative protective associations to safeguard the interests of Negro farmers, Mr. Haynes? Something similar to the Farmers' Nonpartisan League of North Dakota is fundamental. Of course no philanthropist or good mission societies with Christian impulses will contribute to this type of organization. Yet, obviously, the chief need of the Negro farmer, like the white farmer, is to eliminate the speculative middle, commission jobber who robs him of what he produces. He must discard the bankers, too, in the South, who charge him as high as 125 per cent on the dollar for a loan which he needs with which to get machinery to cultivate his farm land. These very same bankers, who make farm tenants out of Negroes by foreclosing the mortgage on the farms, contribute to Tuskegee and Hampton Institutes.

In what he calls the third phase of the Negro and reconstruction, Mr. Haynes says that the Negro has not yet been organized into unions. Why echo the obvious? Mr. Haynes states that some labor leaders are advocating that the unions accord the Negro a fair play. The editors of the Messenger know of no discrimination against Negroes in the I. W. W. In fact there is a clause in the constitution against discrimination on account of creed or color. Is this sufficient for Mr. Haynes to advocate the Negro workers joining the I. W. W.? The Negro I. W. W. longshoremen of Philadelphia are some of the best-paid workers in America. This ought not, of course, to be new to Mr. Haynes.

Mr. Haines speaks of education. But the kind is of chief importance. What program does he present? None. He also bewails the housing conditions among Negroes, which he would remedy by bringing the said conditions to the attention of city officials.

You are late, and credulous, too, Mr. Haynes. The city officials are controlled by the very men who make profits out of the housing conditions against which you complain. The landlord profiteers also give money to Negro schools and charity organizations now busy doing patchwork and camouflaging the Negro.

Mr. Haynes says in conclusion: "Last, but by no means least, if the public press of the country could be led to adopt a national attitude of seeking and giving publicity to the better side of Negro character and life, of emphasizing the better side of racial cooperation and racial relations, much good would be accomplished."

Mr. Haynes is lamentably ignorant of the economics of the public press. Capital is national to-day. Railroads and real estate are owned by corporations which are controlled by southerners and northerners. Capital also controls the press through advertising, etc. Hence any condition which is a source of profit to landlords and capitalists generally will not be condemned by the press, and anything which is not of interest to capital will either be condemned or suppressed. Race prejudice is useful to keep the white and black workers from organizing and striking against capital. Besides, publicity of the better side of the Negro is of no interest to Capitalistic paper.

We would refer Mr. Haynes to the files of the New York Call, a socialist paper. It gives the N. A. A. C. P. more publicity than any other paper in the country. Is Mr. Haynes willing to support the press that gives publicity to his desires?

The editors of the Messenger take this privilege to analyze the true value and worth of the methods which the big Negro leaders offer upon reconstruction—which is doubtless the most important period of the Negro in America. The amazing lack of the slightest conception of the problems of reconstruction confirms the repeated charge of the Messenger as to the ignorance of Negro leaders. If all which Mr. Haynes demands were granted, the Negro would be in no better condition than that in which he now is. He also suggests that the American Negro be used as ambassadors to the darker peoples. Does Mr. Haynes know that a representative must obey those who appoint him? Political parties control the appointment of ambassadors. The ruling political parties of America are controlled by the steel, coal, and iron interests, who make billions out of the resources and cheap labor of darker peoples. How now can a Negro ambassador, appointed by either the Democratic or Republican Party, serve the interests of the Negroes at home or abroad? Negro job holders are not allowed to speak out for their people. The Negro, like the white ambassadors, may be used as tools to rob their ignorant black brothers.

Mr. Haynes, like the Government which he represents, has no reconstruction program which will really reconstruct.

ECONOMICS AND POLITICS.

Uncle Sam No Land Grabber(?).—By George Frazier Miller: The Wanamaker store thus advertises in the Sun: "Uncle Sam is not a territory seeker, but sooner or later the United States must do what James G. Blaine wanted to do 30 years ago—acquire Mexico, and thereby do away with hiding places for enemies."

Here we have it: Uncle Sam, though professing to be no land grabber, must grab some land, and the most accessible, the richest and therefore the most desirable land that comes within the scope of probable, successful conquest is Mexico. The pretext of this claim and cherished purpose is very plausible. But why, really, does the Wanamaker interest make this specious overture to Uncle Sam that he "acquire" Mexico—do "what James G. Blaine wanted to do 30 years ago"?

Let us note the artful villainy enfolded in those few words, "not a territory seeker," "acquire Mexico," "hiding places for enemies."

The unvarnished truth of the matter is that the Wanamaker people are consciously voicing the sentiment, and pleading the cause of their class—the class that availed itself of the advantage of special privilege, and immunity from accountability, to bleed the common people throughout the World War, and furnished some genius the occasion to originate the word "profiteer." They represent that class that cried patriotism and fixed prices while the unsophisticated went voluntarily upon the field of slaughter to bleed and to die that the despoilers of the people might reap their rich harvest: the class that cried patriotism and increased its number, by 7,000 millionaires, at the expense of the blood of its fellows. Now it wants to lay the guilty hand—the hand of plunder and spoliation—upon the rich and favored land of Mexico.

The principle of "Mexico for the Mexicans" finds no response, hearty or otherwise, in the predatory soul of American plutocracy.

Not surfeited yet with its depredations amongst weaker peoples, and its slaughter of men to enrich itself, it plants the seeds of war, and deeply roots them, in this vicious, but, withal, plausible "ad"; and nothing less than war, fierce, relentless war, is inclosed in this covert purpose and calculation to "acquire" Mexico. "Acquire," indeed! Let us translate it "steal"—that is the plain meaning; and as this theft could be committed or accomplished only through force, it would amount to highway robbery on a "grand" scale, and be "dignified" with the euphemism of "war of conquest."

The Mexicans are holding the land for their own purposes and pleasure, and are not baring their land to the designing schemes of aliens.

The American investments in Mexico are not yielding the fabulous profits the dream of which excited the marauding mind of the "lovers of liberty" to dispossess the Mexicans and to seize their territory; and the only hope of these despoilers of men is to grasp the land of Mexico and reduce the inhabitants thereof to virtual serfdom. Little likelihood there is, however, of the Mexicans

yielding themselves the willing prey these unconscionable plunderers design to make them.

Uncle Sam is not a land grabber, but poor Hawaii lost her identity through the land-grabbing proclivity of this sedate old gentleman; and as the people of that country were not prepared to defend their interests, they had no course other than to be absorbed into the body politic of the Union; it was only through the determined spirit of the Cuban people to establish and maintain their independence that Uncle Sam did not indulge his land-grabbing propensity upon the Queen of the Antilles; Porto Rico would now be free, but helpless she finds herself in the clutches of the greedy old man.

We look with deep commiseration upon the case of the Philippines—Aguinaldo had demonstrated the ability of leadership and would have led his people to independence, self-reliance, and competency but for the shameless treachery of one Frederick Funston, in base violation of the universally accepted rules of war; and the nonland-grabbing Uncle Sam now dominates the land and dominates the life of its inhabitants.

Haiti is now an involuntary subject of this nonland-grabbing man, but we are hopeful that the establishment of the principle of self-determination of nations may free the little Republic from this mastership uninvited and unwelcome.

The Mole St. Nicholas had long been a gem fascinating and entrancing, holding in hypnotic spell the covetous eye of this sedate and retiring old gentleman; finally, however, he could withstand the severity of the temptation no longer, so he decided that the whole of Haiti needed protection, and, forthwith, he proceeded to "protect" her. We used language loosely and carelessly in saying we are hopeful of a break of this mastership—there is precious little ground of hope; we were merely expressing a wish.

Uncle Sam is no land-grabber, but Simon Legree was not less kindly to old Tom than is dear old Uncle Sam to Haiti.

Then again, don't say this courteous old gentleman is not alert, dextrous, and subtle in picking quarrels to satisfy his insatiable greed. The plea of necessity might be made the extenuating ground for any theft, however bold, despicable, or ruinous. The high-handed theft of the Canal Zone from the defenseless State of Colombia is one of the cardinal disgraces of this nonland-grabbing Uncle Sam. And in that case no more effort at excuse was found or sought than that offered by a bandit on a Western train: "I need the money."

No; Uncle Sam is no land-grabber, but if there be any lands held by weaker peoples, lands whose wealth the old man can convert into profit, you may rest assured he will lose no time in grabbing them.

Now Mexico must be taken, beaten, plundered, despoiled, to "satisfy" the insatiable greed of the capitalistic interests of America.

Again, "hiding places for enemies!" The shrewdness of these plunderers is just too adroit for anything. This is an elusive piece of legerdemain, indeed! We want the enemies of Mexico kept out of Mexico; and we want the enemies of the working class kept out of Mexico; the profiteers are not content with bleeding the people here and those whom they sent to war to subserve their ends, now they want to lay their grasping tentacles, like the giant octopus, upon another people who, despite internal disorders, are purposed to brook no interference from without.

Now we are antiimperialists on the high ground of the right of peoples to govern themselves and the further principle of the instinctive wrong of theft, whether committed singly or by concerted action; but the question arises: Why should the colored man of America, in particular, be opposed to imperialism? There is a slogan in this country that says, "The Constitution follows the flag." With virulent spirit and rancorous determination this damnable mind we call American prejudice follows both. Even when the colored soldiers went to Europe to fight the battles of the Allies and offered their lives in sacrifice to the cause for which they were called, the American whites were not content to let them go on their merits and be received in harmony with their personal worth, but were tireless in their efforts to poison the mind of the French against them. We try to view the entirety of conditions and deeds on their intrinsic merit but when we are affected for good or ill it is impossible for us to eliminate ourselves from the general consideration.

Because the virus of American prejudice follows the flag and the Constitution, the black man in America should be always an ardent opponent of imperialism.

Let not the American of darker skin deceive himself into believing that this imperialistic procession means anything to him save the elimination of oppor-

tunity and the curtailment of liberty through the propagation of this reprehensible thing we call American race prejudice.

The League of White Capitalist Governments.—By Chandler Owen: A league of white capitalist governments has been formed at the peace conference with our good, democratic Democrat, Woodrow Wilson, the chief pilot. The fact that it was organized, accepted, and shunted on its way by the old-school diplomats like Lloyd-George, Clemenceau, Orlando, Woodrow Wilson, Bonar Law, and Arthur Balfour would result ordinarily in our prima facie rejection of it as full of loopholes and obstacles fraught with grave danger to democratic governments. A document upon which those pious, old-school diplomats could agree would necessarily be against the interests of the people, white or colored, and of any race, creed, or nationality. As social scientists, however, we are called upon to examine it critically and, instead of a blanket rejection of it, to point out just where it is faulty and why it should be immediately scrapped.

The preamble is probably the construction of President Wilson. It is padded and long suavely rhetorical, and sufficiently vague and meaningless to be characteristic of his writings.

Article I speaks of the high contracting parties, giving the pact a true stamp of its genuine character—an agreement of the old Austro-German variety in the days of resplendent Kaiserism.

Article II prescribes the number of votes of members of the league and prescribes that the representatives may meet anywhere. The reason for this, no doubt, was that the league felt it might have to seek an asylum any day—just where it is impossible to say—as the march of soviet government is rapidly narrowing the seats of comfort for capitalist governments.

Article III provides that the big five shall control the league with representatives of four other States. The United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan are to have five votes against the votes of the other four States represented. These States are to be selected (not elected) and the selection is not subject to any clearly defined or prescribed principles but upon "such principles" and in such manner as they—the big five—think fit. This provision is made to keep the league purged of democratic and revolutionary countries. The capitalist big five will not select a revolutionary Russia or Germany to be a member of the league. We fear that Germany of William Hohenzollern had a better chance of entrance than republican Germany of to-day has.

This article also provides that meetings shall be held from time to time as occasion may require. That occasion, we predict, will be frequent, since the league's chief problem will be the consideration of how to check the rapid development of democratic and revolutionary government.

The article also states that invitations shall be sent to any power to attend a meeting of the council at which such matters directly affecting its interests are to be discussed, and no decision taken at any meeting will be binding on such powers unless so invited.

This cause looks innocent upon its face, but it is as vicious as the grandfather clauses in the Southern States. Economic, political, commercial, and trade problems are so intertwined, interlaced, and interconnected to-day that almost every nation is concerned about matters to be adjusted. Directly affected. Isn't it innocent! The Straits of Gibraltar and the gates to the Mediterranean Sea only indirectly affect Germany, but what does it matter whether an effect is direct or indirect? The Bagdad Railroad affected Great Britain only indirectly, but that did not minimize the nature and character of the effect. The "open door" in China affects all the big five only indirectly, but each one is clamoring for an equal chance to hog the coal mines and oil wells of China. The Monroe doctrine only affects the United States indirectly, but she fights hard to prevent that indirect effect of other nations sharing part of South and Central America. A man may be starved, poisoned, or killed indirectly, but death is the result. We suspect this is a shrewd design to keep Germany and Russia out of councils where trade expansion, colonial development, and commercial agreements are discussed and settled.

Article VII requires a two-thirds vote for admission to the league, and limits such admission to fully self-governing countries, including dominions and colonies. This is a clear Anglo-Saxon clause framed by Woodrow Wilson and Lloyd-George to keep out negro and colored peoples. None of the Negro African colonies, Indian, or the West Indies are permitted to be self governing, hence the conditions could not be met by the black colonies without revolution.

The second clause of Article VII is clearly aimed at Germany. It states that no State shall be admitted unless it guarantees that it will behave to the satisfaction of Anglo-Saxon international law, and unless it keeps its naval forces sufficiently low as not to threaten Great Britain's naval supremacy, and its military forces sufficiently low as not to be able to overrun France or any country or countries which Great Britain may depute to stand between Germany and the British Isles.

Article VIII fraudulently and hypocritically deals with the reduction of armaments. It holds that the Executive Council shall determine for the several Governments what armament is fair and reasonable. These terms—fair and reasonable—are very oily and vague. Great Britain has always maintained that her naval strength was fair, necessary, and reasonable. So did Kaiser Wilhelm maintain that the German army was a defense strength army—with numbers fair and reasonable.

This article states that the high contracting parties agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war lends itself to grave objections. There is nothing mandatory, however, about this article. It simply takes cognizance of an evil. It does not go into the real causes of the evil, for it would mean a condemnation of the capitalist system. The only objection to private manufacture of munitions and implements of war is the profit stimulus which will bring on war in order to create a demand for the goods manufactured.

There is a reservation in this clause which is pernicious. The Constitution does not say by whom, but we presume that the private capitalist manufacturers of the big five countries will set up and reserve for themselves an exclusive monopoly in the manufacture and traffic of munitions for undeveloped countries. This will be supplemented by stirring up strife continually to keep these small nationalities fighting, so that they will consume the munitions. Ain't it clear as day to even a blind man?

The high contracting parties are so honest that they agree not to conceal from each other any new method of killing. No more submarines or new forms of poison gas shall ever again be sprung as a surprise! There is an amusing suggestion, too, that each country is to carry on a department of inventions of such implements of war. But if anything new is discovered or invented the big five will give the secret to each one of the league's members, to be used, not on themselves, but upon the Bolsheviks, or some such noncapitalistic countries. No country—civilized country, we mean—will profit any more from the exclusive invention! We shall hereafter have open inventions openly arrived at in the place of secret inventions secretly arrived at and secretly kept.

Article IX is probably a military council which will show how to execute the league's mandates. It is not clear, as much of the Constitution is not clear, but this is probably the meaning.

Article X agrees to use the combined forces of the Big Five and other good nations who are members of the league to preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing independence of all states, members of the league. This provision is to prevent the spread of revolutionary and democratic government. It is a pact between parties confronted by a common danger. France, Great Britain, and Italy can't tell which one will go into the control of the soviets first. And the change of any one of the Big Five into a soviet or socialist form of government would endanger the existing independence of the other four countries.

Articles XII and XIII admit the probability of war and give the league members the right to use any means which they deem wise and effectual to safeguard peace. The whole of Clause XII is vague and might well have been omitted.

Article XIII is a triumph for William Jennings Bryan. It is a reproduction of his famous breathing-spear treaties which will enable the two sides to get prepared after they actually decide to fight.

Article XIV provides for a sort of United States Supreme Court which is supposed to render international justice, whatever that is. We judge that it is a sort of "Capitalist International" to offset the Socialist International Bureau.

Article XV admits the likelihood, probability, and possibility of rupture, war, and dissension among the members of the league despite the unctious pretenses of drawing up an agreement which will prevent war.

The latter part of the second clause of the article recognizes that a balance of power may be formed within the league by one group of the nations against

the other group—Japan, France, and Italy, possibly, against America and England; or Great Britain and Japan against France, America, and Italy.

Article XVI provides that any member of the league which disregards its covenants shall be blockaded and cut off from trade, financial and personal intercourse—or economic boycott.

Article XVII deals with wars or disputes between states not parties to the league, or when one party is a member and the other not a member.

Article XVIII is in sharp contradiction with the spirit which purported to dominate Article VIII and clearly reveals that the munitions trust intends to manufacture and sell munitions for profit to small countries and probably for big countries except for the fact that the big countries are not supposed to fight and the league can not make open provisions for supplying them with munitions.

Article 19 deals with colonies. It institutes and revives the vicious mandatory which Belgium used in the Congo Free(?) State with which she reduced the African population there from 20,000,000 to 8,000,000. Such countries or colonies as have ceased to be under the sovereignty of any of the Central Power States, by virtue of the war, and "which are inhabited by people not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world," to them "there shall be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization." This hypocritical clause has all the style and subtle subtlety of Woodrow Wilson. It is aimed directly at the German African colonies. It pretends to aim also to carry the so-called European civilization to benighted Africa. The truth, however, is that the combined big white capitalist nations desire and intend to use Africa as a beast of burden to feed the belly of Europe.

The clause reads further "that the tutelage of such peoples should be intrusted to advanced nations." Advanced nations like Belgium who, under Leopold's reign, killed 12,000,000 Africans. Advanced nations like Great Britain, who pay a wage of 15 cents a day to Africans, who are forced to work from 12 to 18 hours. Advanced nations like France, who, according to Statesman's Year Book, owns more African territory than any other nation—3,940,000 square miles, with a population of 31,533,000 Negroes to work for France at the lowest wages and the longest hours.

Certain nations or races like America and Palestine, formerly under the Turkish sovereignty, are to be given quasi freedom and semiindependence when they have reached a certain stage. That stage, we understand, is their willingness to maintain capitalist and bourgeois government for themselves. If they desire to be democratic or bolshevistic it is a conclusive presumption that they are not prepared for self-government.

The third clause of article 19 is interesting both for what it attempts to conceal and for what it reveals. It reads:

"Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory, subject to conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience or religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic, and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defense of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the league."

Let us examine this whole paragraph. "Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa," is made sufficiently precise to include the Negroes of Central Africa. There is to be "freedom of religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals." This latter phrase looks innocent on its face. Mr. Edgar Mels, writing in *Collier's Weekly*, March 22, 1919, says: "What does the native want? Print cloths, cheap clothing, of gay colors, pocket knives, canned goods, tobacco, the historic beads, and anything in the way of mechanical toys." Now this clause, "subject to the maintenance of public order and morals," is very likely a basis for forcing the African to wear a certain kind of clothing of the type which British, French, American and Italian capitalists have to sell. Not to wear them is to be against public order and morals. To wear them is to maintain public order and morals. But it is chiefly to secure profits by selling to the natives such goods that this clause is drawn. Print cloths, cheap clothing of gay colors (to hide the quality), pocket knives (probably for the Harvester Trust or Sears Roebuck & Co. to sell), canned goods (so that surplus rotten

goods may still yield a profit), tobacco (Oh, you American Tobacco Co., with your fool at one end and fire at the other), the historic beads (Isn't it romantic?), and anything in the way of mechanical toys (Won't the Allies have a time on selling those toys with Germany's toy trade shut out!)—these are the articles which Mr. Mels says must be sold to the native. And if he doesn't use them, the League of Nations will discipline him for breach of public morals.

The slave trade is to be prohibited—the same slave trade which civilized white men started to rob the African and keep him from ever being civilized. It is to be cut out; though we were told that it had been cut out long ago!

There is to be no more arms traffic. The natives have had too much experience in this war, too much eye-opening, to permit them to get hold of arms. Egypt already is in revolution, resisting forcibly the British exploiter who for decades has held her under the brutal feet of greed.

And the liquor traffic is to be cut out. You know this is awful—the liquor traffic. You know, no doubt, that liquor is not known in any part of Africa, except in Christian Africa! It is a distinct product of the advanced nations' civilization—the white man's civilization! But liquor demoralizes the productive power of the natives and they don't produce as much wealth for the British, French, Italian, and Belgian exploiters. So the liquor interests must give up their petty profit for the sake of the larger profit of the rubber, gold, copper, date, and diamond interests.

No military or naval bases are to be established. Watch your step! The fear here is twofold: (1) The members of the League of Nations distrust each other; and (2) they all fear that the natives may seize the fortifications and bases to expel the whole League of Nations, as will actually happen one day, sure enough.

The forces, however, may be kept large enough for police purposes. That means if the natives are too arrogant and untrustworthy the big white planters and exporters may organize a sort of national guard, as we have it in the States of the United States and as Great Britain has in the West Indies, the object being to break and suppress strikes and to terrorize the workers.

The last clause of this paragraph calls for "equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the league." This is what we call the economic interpretation of history. Throughout this war it has been almost a crime to claim that trade and commerce—economic relations—had anything to do with war (or the Democratic Party). "We do not ask a single thing for ourselves," said President Wilson. "We have not a single selfish purpose." But when hard tacks were gotten down to, the pious gentlemen of the League of Nations called for equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the league. Remember, now, that this is the clause referring strictly to the African colonies. Why equal opportunities for trade and commerce in Africa? Let statistics answer. The "Statist" declares that in 1916, undeveloped though it be, the total imports of Africa amounted to £100,950,000, or over a half billion dollars, and the exports to £97,584,000, or a half billion dollars. For the six months ending June 30, 1917, Consul Bray reports the mineral production of the Union of South Africa was: Gold, \$94,445,421; diamonds, \$18,562,505; coal, \$7,808,421; copper, \$2,793,171; tin, \$981,622; antimony, \$45,750; asbestos, \$221,392; ostrich feathers, which farming trade originated in Cape Colony, had an export trade of \$10,000,000.

"There are 6,000,000 human beings in the Union of South Africa, of whom 4,200,000 are black."

This explains the desire for equal opportunities in trade and commerce. It is the equal opportunity to rob the natives of their land and labor. It is cheap land and cheap labor that Britain, America, France, and Italy desire, an equal opportunity to exploit. This is the real motive power behind the whole League of Nations idea.

Article XX assures labor that the high contracting parties will endeavor to maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women, and children both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend. Bah! It is the commercial and industrial relations of these countries which create the inhumane and unfair conditions of labor. Labor, however, will not leave its interests to the tender care of the League of Nations. Shop stewards, soviets, bolshevism, and strikes, together with high-grade labor organizations, with its sword of Damocles dangling perpetually over the heads of the industrial and commercial relations of the league's members, will exact fair and humane treatment.

Article XXI again calls for equal treatment for commerce of all States members of the league. How about others? Commerce and trade seem to be getting a pretty good plea for protection in the league constitution. Still this should not surprise political scientists. Interstate commerce was the moving force which actuated the formation of the Constitution of the United States. And in the New Freedom President Wilson tells what a crassly materialistic document that was and is.

Articles XXII, XXIII, and XXIV deal with treaties and their publication, etc.

Article XXV deals with the abrogation of the vicious and pernicious secret treaties which Trotsky exposed upon the advent of the Bolsheviks to power.

I have herein reviewed the most important parts of the constitution of the League of Nations. The reader will note, however, that my title is: "The League of White Capitalist Nations." I predicted even before the peace conference began its deliberations that the race issue would split Japan from the so-called "big five." The facts have richly corroborated my predictions—so much so that we see the whole metropolitan press speaking of the "big four" now. Even if Japan had winked at all the discrimination on account of race and color, the whole league would still have been made up of the worst stripe of capitalist nations. With Japan out, it will be truly a "league of white capitalist nations."

Of course, the league will not last. The growing class consciousness of the international proletariat will equitably revise it, or better still, destroy it and build up in its stead a league of free peoples.

Nor is the League of Nations, strictly speaking, a league of nations. It is a league of white capitalist governments against the peoples of all the nations. The object of its members is to suppress and exploit white, black, and brown working men, women, and children everywhere, of every nationality, religion, race or color. It is the capitalist international suavely and subtly set forth in saccharine language. It has all the unctuous rhetoric of a Wilson, all the subtlety and shrewdness of a Lloyd-George, and all the pertinacity and force which Clemenceau could give it with that terseness for which the Frenchman is so celebrated.

There is nothing to hold the league together except the fear of democratic growth of the people. It will be held together by the same forces which caused its formation. All through its articles the Constitution breathes distrust, infidelity, and doubt among the members with respect to each other—and justly so. It is undemocratic, archaic, antiquated, reactionary, and imperialistic. It is better calculated to produce war than any document since the Franco-Russian treaty of 1871. Negroes and white men—working people everywhere—should fight against it. It is a living challenge of capitalist internationalism against working-class internationalism. As the capitalists of all countries have united to hold back the red tide of revolution, the people who toil and sweat and bleed and die must unite to warn the capitalist league of white nations—"Thou, too, must pass away!"

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Let the following comments speak for themselves:

To the editor of the Messenger:

I have just been reading the March number of the Messenger. Opening it in casual spirit, with the idea of glancing at a few of its pages, I found myself reading it through with the greatest interest and care. May I congratulate you upon publishing so admirable a paper? It is handsomely printed, well written, and dominated by that thoroughgoing radical spirit which can alone accomplish anything for truth and righteousness in these chaotic days. I can not refrain from sending you this word of congratulation and Godspeed.

With all best wishes, I remain,

Sincerely, yours,

(Signed) JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

We must congratulate you, for you have produced a journal that any race should be proud of it. It is discriminative, justly critical, farseeing, and tolerant. In fact, we have failed to find one paragraph in the Messenger that strikes a false note.

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THOMAS W. CHURCHILL,
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As a former professor of English, permit me to congratulate you both on the skill and vivacity with which you both write. But far more important to me than the style of your writing is the substance—the courage and significance of what you have to say.

H. W. L. DANA,
*Former Professor of English and Comparative Literature,
For 10 Years in Columbia University, New York City.*

We wish you great success and are thankful that we have such fearless and able periodicals as the Messenger and the Liberator to dare to speak out now when others grow silent and submit to be muffled.

ARCHIBALD H. GRIMKE,
*President of the National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People, Washington, D. C.*

I have just read the current copy of your magazine. It has a lot of good stuff in it.

ROGER N. BALDWIN.

I want to express to you my pleasure at the publication of a magazine, edited by colored men, that makes its cornerstone the solidarity of labor, and the absolute need of the negro's recognizing this solidarity. As a socialist of many years standing, I have looked closely at the young colored men and women, graduates from our colleges, hoping to find some of them imbued with the revolutionary spirit. I have found a few, and I have been especially happy to see, here in New York, two good socialists of college training who are giving up their life to the spread of socialist thought.

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THE NEGRO—A MENACE TO RADICALISM.

By the editors: There is much opposition nowadays to the very word—radicalism. The radicals are hunted, outlawed and jailed for propagating, as it were, "dangerous thoughts." Whoever seeks to find out the root-cause of social diseases is a radical. Hence socialism and industrial unionism and agnosticism are radical. They search for the forces which determine human actions and human institutions, in order to ascertain which methods to adopt either to destroy or to develop the institutions and to direct human actions to socially constructive ends. In short, all radicals are opposed to the status quo; they desire change; but not mere change, but progressive change.

This is the crux of the opposition of the propertied class to all radical propaganda. Those who hold vested property interests and privileges under a given social system will resist with desperate determination any assault upon that system by the advocates of a new, a different social doctrine. Moreover, the beneficiaries of a social order strive through force or deception to secure the acquiescence and support of the victims of the social order. This is being done with respect to Negroes and the radical movements.

For instance, the leading capitalists of the country—the chief artfully and persistently prosecuting an insidious campaign of propaganda among Negroes, through the press, pulpit, and school, with a view to making them fireproof to all liberal and democratic opinions. The jim-crow Negro censorship either withholds from or misrepresents the radical movements throughout the world, to the Negro. When one is uninformed of the nature of a movement he is disinclined to entertain it, and when one is misinformed concerning the objects and aims of a movement, he is inclined to oppose it. Hence, through ignorance or error the opposition of the Negro to the very movements which are calculated to achieve his economic, political emancipation, is being effected by big, hand-picked Negro leaders—and the plutocratic interests of this country. Witness a Negro minister of reputed light and leading in the city of Savannah stating in an address before a large convention that:

"Bolshevism was begotten in Germany, or that it is of German parentage, or that it was born in Russia, it took its name from a man named Bolshevik, an insurrectionist or rioter, who raised an army to overthrow the recognized government of Russia. At that time the Government was tottering under the great blows of the German army. Bolshevik thought that the time was ripe to establish new ideas and a new government that was somewhat after the idea of the Socialist. The definition or meaning of Bolshevism, as may be determined by research, is analogous to anarchy, the state of society where there is no law or supreme power, a state of lawlessness and general disorder. A condition where human life and property, human rights and justice, all that is noble and great, trampled under the feet of human beasts." (Taken from the Savannah Journal, of Saturday, Mar. 22, 1919, a Negro weekly.)

This is a mild sample of the intellectual pabulum served up to Negroes on problems of world moment.

This is why, unless the Negro worker is unionized and the Negro public educated as to the nature and aims of radical movements, the Negro constitutes a definite menace to radicalism in America.

In the first place, the organized labor movement—the American Federation of Labor has either ignored or opposed Negro workers. Hence, the labor movement is not in their confidence. Secondly, no systematic effort has been made to arouse the interest and enlist the support of the Negro by radical labor and political organizations, with the exception, only recently, of the Socialist Party in New York.

Thirdly, capitalists through contributions to Negro schools, churches, and charitable institutions, are impressing him with the idea that they are his real benefactors and friends. He (the Negro) sees workingmen forming the mobs of the South and opposes unions on the grounds that workingmen lynch him. Thus the Negro is inclined always to choose the side of capital. Herein lies the menace of the Negro to the movement toward industrial democracy.

And this much the white radicals must learn that, 10,000,000 Negro soldiers and scabs will break the backbone of any radical movement. To maintain that the Negro is not ripe, is not only fallacious, but suicidal folly. Labor can not afford to ignore any factor which capital does not ignore. Unhappily, the Negro is the most backward part of the working class in America and the radical Negroes fear, lest he be used savagely to beat down the more radical wing of the

working class. Negro soldiers, if ordered, will shoot down Negro workingmen as quickly as they will white workingmen; just as, for instance, while soldiers shot down white workingmen and women at Ludlow, Colo., or just as white policemen beat up the heads of white girls striking for a living wage. Add to the Negro obedience to order the factor of race feeling and one can conceive of a saturnalia of blood that makes one sick at heart.

Hence, the Negro radical's task is doubly huge and difficult. They must educate the radicals to the realization of the fact that capital is ever weaving a net work of lies around Negroes and to educate Negroes so that they may understand their class interests. Negroes must learn to differentiate between white capitalists and white workers, as yet they only see white men against black men. This makes the Negro both a menace to the radicals and the capitalists. For inasmuch as he thinks that all white men are his enemies, he is inclined to direct his hate at white employers as he is to direct it at white workers.

Hence, the editors of the Messenger sound this note of warning to the white ruling and working class in America of a gathering race storm which can only be averted by more sober, enlightened, and dispassionate studying of the problem, with the purpose of removing the cause of an impending explosion.

Organized labor must harness the discontent of Negroes and direct it into working-class channels for working-class emancipation.

EDUCATION AND LITERATURE.

The right and left wing interpreted.—By the editors: In all parties there are radical and conservative elements, keeping in mind, of course, that both terms are relative. The phenomena are monistic, for we find the same or similar evidences in all countries, among all nations and all races. In Germany formerly we had our Fatherland Party, which represented the landed interests, and a National Liberal Party, which represented the industrial classes. In England we have the Unionist and the Liberal Parties, which represent landed estates and industrial interests, respectively. In America we have our national Democratic Party, representing landed bourbonism, and a Republican Party, which represents big business and the industrial classes. As to all of these groups the Socialist Party represents a left wing. The Socialist Party regards them as hypoconservative, and they in turn regard the socialists as extremely radical.

Now, all the time as change is going on in all these parties. Men from the extreme conservative parties become quasi liberal and go into the liberal party, while men from the liberal parties gradually drift into the socialist parties. To illustrate: Watch the present trend of the Republican Party. We have a so-called progressive, independent wing, led by La Follette, Hiram Johnson, Borah, and Cummins, while the standpatters like Lodge, Penrose, Smoot, Wadsworth, and Nelson call them radical socialists or Bolsheviks. In the Democratic Party we have a so-called liberal or left wing, led by President Wilson (?), J. Hamilton Lewis, Walsh of Massachusetts, Frank P. Walsh, Brandels, Villard, Frederick C. Howe, and Amos Pinchot. At the same time we have a reactionary wing, led by the southern South, with its John Sharp Williams, Hoke Smith, and Col. E. M. House; also such standpatters as Senators King, of Utah, and Reed, of Missouri.

To continue the illustration, we find the same thing taking place in our own party—the Socialist Party. In Russia we have our more conservative Social-Revolutionary Party and our Bolshevik Party. We have our Kerenski and our Lenin, Trotski, Radek, and Tchitcherin. In Germany we have our Ebert and Scheidemann leading the right wing of socialism and at the same time we have our Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Franz Mehring, and George Ledebour. In France we have a conservative "social patriotic" leadership of the right wing socialists in Albert Thomas and Renaudel. At the same time we have our more splendid leaders of the left wing in Jean Longuet and Loriot. In England we see such conservative leaders of the right wing as George Barnes, J. H. Thomas, Adams, and even Henderson. We see a more courageous left wing, led by Robert Smillie, Philip Snowden, Ramsay MacDonald, and McLean. We could trace all the countries at length to show that the law of evolution is moving with the same inexorableness and absoluteness in social as in physical life. In America, then, it could not be different. The forces of conservatism and radicalism are clashing here, too. The Socialist Party is in the midst of a keen and sharp discussion as to tactics and policies. The left

wing has issued a manifesto with 10 planks, points, or whatever you wish to call them, in its program. Let us examine them critically and fairly, giving them full credit where such is due and withholding credit where the planks are without merit.

Program of left wing:

1. "We stand for a uniform declaration of principles in all party platforms both local and national, and the abolition of all social reform planks now contained in them."

First, a uniform declaration of principles in all party platforms—both local and national—is illogical. In the South in some States we have disfranchisement and Jim-Crow laws. In northern, western, and eastern States we do not have them. It would not be worth while for New York and Ohio in their State platforms to declare against Jim-Crow and grandfather laws.

Second, with respect to social reform planks, we can not dispose of that matter with platitudes. The opposition to social reform is based upon a widespread fallacy and a great deal of misinformation on social evolution. As Lester F. Ward says: "Discontent increases with social improvement." The more concessions granted, the more concessions will be demanded. The best cared for workers, the highest paid, are usually the least contented. Bismark attempted to hold back socialism in Germany by adopting social reform legislation, but he thereby increased it. Wisconsin has more social reform legislation than any State in the Union, but Wisconsin also has proportionately more socialism. The legislators feel that unless they grant certain concessions, they will be supplanted, and they do what we call "stealing socialist thunder." But the truth is, that the more they grant the more they must grant, and social reform legislation has not hindered, but has accelerated socialist and radical growth.

2. "The party must teach, propagate, and agitate exclusively for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of socialism through a proletarian dictatorship."

Here again amateur enthusiasm is not keeping pace with scientific method. The mere uttering of the words, "overthrow of capitalism" and "proletarian dictatorship" are not so material. It is method that counts. Every time we can pull a brick out of the capitalist wall we are hastening its overthrow, speeding the day when it will topple over. Get woman suffrage to-day. Strike to increase wages and shorten hours. Abolish child labor. Take over your railroads. Take over your telephones and telegraphs. Don't refuse to strike these blows, because all can not be gotten at once.

Remember, comrades, that we are in a war, and several battles are generally fought in order to win. But each battle won gives aid and comfort to the winner and weakens the morale of the loser. Every triumph creates fresh hope and new faith in the victor. So with the proletariat. Each strike won means much toward creating that industrial proletarian militarism which is necessary to fight the organized capitalists and employers.

3. The Socialist candidates elected to office shall adhere strictly to the above provisions.

Of course, unless the first two provisions are sound, there is no reason why the Socialist candidates should adhere to the provisions.

Plank No. 4 calls upon the Socialist Party to assist industrial organization by a propaganda of revolutionary industrial unionism as part of its general activities. This plank is absolutely sound, but, so far as I know, this is just what the party has been doing. It supports the workers' strikes, criticizes constructively and destructively their labor organizations, attempts to stir labor into newer and more revolutionary modes of action. That is why the Gompers American Federation of Labor machine opposes the Socialist Party so bitterly.

5. We demand that the official party press be party owned and controlled.

This is in harmony with the constitutional requirements at present and the party is not supposed to donate funds to any other press. There are, however, certain socialist organs owned by private parties who were able and willing to organize and float them when the party was not. Whether the left wing would purchase these organs, start new ones, or destroy them, we have no intimation.

6. We demand that officially recognized educational institutions be party owned and controlled.

This is a sound demand for newly created institutions, but should not affect certain existing institutions which are efficiently organized and manned like the Rand School.

Article 7 demands that the party discard its obsolete literature and publish new literature. Such literature as is obsolete should unquestionably be discarded and literature in keeping with the times should take its place.

Article 8 demands that the national executive committee call an immediate emergency national convention for the purpose of formulating party policies and tactics to meet the present crisis. We recognize that such conventions cost much money, but we believe there are a number of problems necessitating such a convention. There is the New Labor Party. What position does the Socialist Party take on it? There is the Non-Partisan League. What is the party's position on that? There is the march of soviet government with the cosmic tread of revolution. What is the real position of the party on soviets? It is time that the leaders stopped proclaiming in the party press and out of the party press that they are not bolsheviks. Are the bolsheviks something to be shunned, despised, and disclaimed? If we oppose them, why? If the soviet system is sound, then let the party say so. If it is not adapted to conditions generally, then let us discuss the facts and interpret them. What about real propaganda among Negroes? Does the party believe in that? If so, let us get on the job. We believe the left wing demand for an emergency convention is sound. We believe that such a convention should be called by the national executive committee.

Article 9 demands the repudiation of the Berne congress as engineered by "Moderate Socialists" and social patriots. The March issue of the Messenger sharply took that congress to task for such trite things as appointing commissions to fix the blame of the war—or the "bad nation" theory, which is about as fallacious as the "bad man" or "good man" theory. Repudiation of that nationalistic Berne congress would do credit to the party.

Article 10 calls for the American Socialist Party to elect delegates to the International Congress proposed by the Communist Party of Russia (Bolsheviks) and that our party shall participate only in a new international formed of left wing parties or groups.

We think that the party should send delegates to the international congress proposed by the Bolsheviks. We do not agree, however, that we should determine the representation from other countries. If the majority party of France were under the leadership of Albert Thomas, we would receive the delegates and exchange opinions with them just as readily as with the left wing, now the majority and led by Jean Longuet.

So much for the program of the left wing. What else must we admonish?

First, we believe that there is a sincere difference of opinion in the party: that there is an honest difference between men of high purpose and loyal devotion to the socialist movement. The solution can not be helped by calling names, whether it be the right wing calling the left wing anarchists, lunatics, and traitors, or the left wing calling the right wing reactionaries standpatters, and Scheidemanns. There are men also in the party like Nearing, Lochmer, Berenberg, Glassberg, and ourselves who do not desire an unnecessary split. Fight the difference out on its merits if it is a deep conviction with you. Then take a clean, straight vote. If the left wing wins, let us yield to the majority. If the right wing wins, let us do likewise. Don't have a split. Stay in the party and fight for the change within.

The tendency is world-wide just now. The fight grows intense and bitter. But in the words of Lester F. Ward, "We need more light than heat." We need clear, intelligent thinking. It is not action but the direction of our action that counts. Let us submerge any personal feeling for the best interests of the socialist movement. The left wing of to-day will be the right wing of to-morrow. Let us remember this, too.

Race hatred shall die—

Within that breast of ebon hue
There is a heart that beats as true
As does the heart of you.
Oh, hater of his race!
Nor in him can you trace
The bitterness that dwells
Within thy mind from whence there wells
More words with danger fraught
Than his hath ever wrought.

Within his midnight eyes there gleams
 A tender light that ever seems
 To grow and shed its cheerfulness
 Wherever need hath brought distress.
 Nor hath the wrongs of ages
 That stain historic pages
 Until they cry aloud with shame,
 And cast upon his foes the blame
 For every act thou dost condemn
 And all the odium on them.

The black man's patience doth excite
 My wonderment! Man could not write
 A list of all the monstrous deeds
 Committed 'gainst him that he who reads
 Might comprehend! No other race
 Could stand it all and leave no trace
 Of fierce revenge in frenzy wrought
 On those that to it e'er have brought
 Such degradation, hellish wrong,
 And woe extending ages long.

The blood that courses Negro veins
 Is just as red as that which stains
 The bosom of good Mother Earth
 When white men die in giving birth
 To fair democracy.
 Oh, the hypocrisy
 Of those who claim that all who live
 Are sons of God, then fail to give
 Fraternal greeting to their brothers
 If they are black. Alas, that mothers
 Should e'er be doomed by fate
 To sense the white man's hate!

When evolution strikes the bonds
 From all mankind and love responds
 To love, and hatred dies,
 And man to man with succor flies,
 Then the black man will arise
 And lift his hands toward the skies,
 While voicing loud his glad refrain,
 Hozannah! Man is man again.

BERTUCCIO DANTINO.

What are we, Negroes or colored people?—By W. A. Domingo, editor of *The Negro World*: The discussion as to what should be the racial cognomen of the composite people of Negroid descent living in the western world is not a new one, but has been a moot question for nearly 50 years. This discussion, strangely enough, has always been waged among the people in question themselves, and while arguing the, to them, momentous matter, the white race, which controls the literature of the world, has gone its way placidly, fixing the term according to local usage or the particular language.

But among the disputants considerable bitterness and acerbity of feelings have been engendered, which in the long run have only helped to make a breach in the ranks of a people who, despite their foibles and intraracial distinctions, are destined by the dominant white man for a position of social inferiority.

In other worlds, while we are fighting among ourselves over inconsequentials, the Caucasian keeps his determination fastened to the more important matter of a fixed relationship between himself and us. However, as the question seems to disturb Negro minds so much and having a definite opinion on the matter, we are treating it editorially without importing either personality or petty antagonisms into the subject.

According to modern ethnologists, the human family is capable of two main divisions, viz, the colorless race and the colored races. This division is arrived at from a purely scientific standpoint. White, as any scientific book or any dictionary proves, is not a color, but is the negation of all colors, and since there is no pigmentation in white people, science correctly regards them as

being the colorless race. On the other hand pigment is to be found in the skins of all the colored races whether it be yellow, Mongolian; black, Negro; red, Indian; or brown, Malay. From these major divisions, subdivisions are made, as for instance among the Caucasians, who are classified as Latins, Teutons, Slavs, etc.

It is, therefore, easily seen that the term "colored" can with equal exactness be applied to a Chinese, a Nubian, an Apache, or a Hindu. But the term colored has a special as well as a general usage. When the Kaiser is trying to unite the white people of the world, he refers to the bogey of the colored races uniting; when a person refers to a man of Negroid extraction in the United States, he speaks of a colored man, but that conveys to the hearer's mind no idea as to the man's actual color; but in the West Indies when the word "colored" is used in statistics or in describing a person, the understanding is that it refers to a person of visible white and black ancestry. Hence the term has three meanings:

The first meaning is scientific, the American meaning is vague and interchangeable with Negro, while the West Indian meaning is definite, if inappropriate. What the West Indian use of the word really implies is that a colored person is a person of white origin but who has been "colored" because of an infiltration of nonwhite blood, and, but for this coloration, such a person would be white. In other words, the original use of the word came from the white man's reluctance to admit into his racial group anyone who is not altogether white. But their terminology is weak, for by the same process of reasoning, a person of Hindu-Caucasian parentage is a "colored" person, because such a person has an infusion of some kind of pigment into his otherwise colorless self. But out in India such persons have a distinct group name, one that connotes both their social status and their origin—Eurasian. The same thing is also true of the hybrid of Indian and white in Brazil; they are called Mestizo, and not colored.

There is this that can be said though of the West Indian usage. It is possible of continued acceptance and currency despite its obvious weakness, because the people so classified have become a more or less exclusive or distinct group with definite color and group interests, which fact makes the term colored one of value to them. The average West Indian of visible white admixture would be insulted to be called a Negro, because he realizes that that word connotes in that country a status lower than that connoted by the word colored. Hence the clinging to an ethnologically vague and philologically inexact terminology. In the United States the situation is different, as there is no material or social gain in the use of either term. Whether a person is called colored or Negro, the dominant white man has a fixed status for that person.

If a man applies for a position and refers to himself as colored, it does not insure him greater possibility of success over the other applicant who refers to himself as a Negro. The two terms are used interchangeably, as both connote to Negroes and Caucasians in America the same social civic and industrial destiny. When either colored or Negro is used, it means any person in America who is not a Mongolian, an Indian, or a Caucasian. And if he hasn't on his native robes, it may even include a Hindu!

Both the words Negro and colored are terminological inexactitudes in so far as they refer to the composite millions of America; for a person one-eighth black is more a "colored" man than is the person who is one-eighth white a Negro. The so-called colored or Negro race, so far as the western world is concerned, is neither black, yellow, nor brown; but a composite people carrying in their veins the blood of many different types of the human family. What holds them together is the pressure exerted from the outside upon them by a dominant and domineering stronger race. This pressure has produced oneness of destiny and for that reason the "race" is developing a sentiment and consciousness of unity. Working from the inside is a centrifugal force that tends to disrupt, but stronger than that is the centripetal force exerted by the white man.

The Caucasian has said that if a man has one-sixteenth black blood, such a person is black. While this is an absurdity in logic, still it is a fact in practice; hence such a person has no choice but to accept the name given to the black race, a little of whose blood flows in his veins. To do otherwise would be to proclaim a longing to be included in a race that despises him.

Of the two terms "colored" and "Negro" the former is the weaker, as it is too loose, too inexact, and means nothing specific in America; while the latter is generic and is reinforced by a history that is worthy of pride. The word colored, as apart from the people called "colored," connotes shame and implies

an insult. Besides, with what kind of logic could anyone insist that such an indefinite adjective as colored should be capitalized? On the other hand, the generic term Negro is gradually being capitalized, because the word designates a racial group and not a particular color, and it would be absurd in speaking English to designate color by saying "a Negro hat," but it would be eminently correct to refer to "a colored hat," meaning a hat that is not white.

The word Negro is never used to describe skin color, but rather to fix racial affiliation; while a majority of Negroes are black, nevertheless even in Africa itself there are yellow Hottentot, brown Zulu, and ebony-black Nubian, all of whom are generally grouped as Negroes.

Whenever color descriptions are being made, the race name is used as a noun and is preceded by a distinguishing adjective thus—a brown-skinned Negro, a yellow Negro, or a black Negro. Nor is it correct to think that all black people are Negroes, as the supporters of the word "colored" unconsciously imply, for there are black Hindus with aquiline features, black Arabs, and black Jews. And conversely all so-called Negroes of Africa, even if black, have not the other alleged Negro characteristics, for there are aquiline-featured Mandingoes with curly hair on the West Coast, and straight-haired black Somali on the East Coast, while as already pointed out, there are few yellow and brown Kaffirs with kinky hair in South Africa. These facts make the conclusion unavoidable that the word "Negro" covers, as applied to Africa, a people of varying external physical characteristics.

Even as the word "Mongolian" includes Tartars and Chinese, and Japanese who are of various degrees of mixture of Chinese, Malays, and the aboriginal hairy Ainu of their island kingdom, and the word "Caucasian" includes blonde and "black" Germans, pigmented Spaniards and South Italians and red-headed Celts, the word "Negro" can include all the people of African blood in this country who are, because of that blood, given the same ethnological classification. It might be permissible to use the indefinite word colored as a more or less general term, or as a colloquialism, but as a specific racial designation it is fatally weak, as it is not on a par with Malay, Caucasian, Mongolian, or Indian; nor is it as terminologically precise as Eurasian or Metizo; nor is it specific in fixing mixture or racial types as mulatto, quadroon, zambo, or octoroon! Ethnologically, anthropologically, and terminologically the word "colored" can not stand the test of even a casual examination.

Many persons object to the Negro because they hate its corrupted form "nigger." But have they ever stopped to think that any word in any language is susceptible of being debased into a corrupted term of contempt? What word would they suggest that is ethnologically exact and yet would be free from being corrupted? The term "nigger" lives largely because of the careful nurture given to it by Negroes themselves. White people can hardly be blamed for using the objectionable corruption when Negroes are the principal peddlers of the term. And what does "nigger" mean? According to the dictionary it is "a term of contempt applied to Negroes," just as the terms "cracker" and "greaser" are terms of contempt applied to certain other peoples. Will white people stop calling Negroes "niggers" because Negroes refer to themselves as colored? That is too childish for belief.

No one has ever heard of any agitation on the part of the natives of Japan to change their national name of Japanese to something else because of the use of the, to them, offensive abbreviated corruption "Jap" by the English-speaking world. Instead, they have by their achievements made the words "Jap" and "Japanese" synonymous of prowess, daring, energy, and progress—synonyms that are respected and feared by all races of mankind.

Another objection advanced is that the word "Negro" connotes slavery, but since colored and Negro are synonyms in America, how can one word connote something which the other does not connote? This objection is puerile.

Every one of the other races has a generic race name, and since the composite gets its present status from one branch of its origin, it seems but sensible to accept the generic term that specifically designates that branch. Unless they can control American literature, it will be utterly impossible for Negroes to obliterate the word "Negro." And the word is more worthy of living than the vague substitute offered. Instead of fighting a windmill and doing the futile, energy-dissipating thing, Negroes should concentrate upon demanding that the word "Negro" be capitalized in the literature of the English language even as its fellow generic terms Malay, Mongolian, Caucasian, and Indian are capitalized. No amount of exclusion from racial newspapers will kill the word, for although no Negro newspaper is so shameless as to use the word "nigger," still that

word has great currency among Negroes and is still to be found in the dictionary! Negroes can do better than fritter away their energy on nonessentials and start in right now to give prestige to the word "Negro," first, by capitalizing it and next by deeds that any race would be proud to have connected with its name.

To sum up: The word "colored" is objectionable because, first, it is philologically weak; second, it is ethnologically inexact; third, its origin is not pleasant; fourth, it tends toward division inside the "race"; fifth, it has comparatively no history; sixth, it can not be capitalized; seventh, it is a makeshift.

The word "Negro," on the other hand, has all the qualities lacking in "colored" and is the word, more or less in one or other of its forms, incorporated into all modern languages.

In the absence of a nomenclature that is satisfactory to all types of so-called Negroes or colored people in America, the word "Negro" should stand, and it is for the people so designated to use all their influence to see that their race name is lifted from the same literary status as pig, monkey, and dog to the level of other race names and be spelt with a capital "N."

When the colored troops got back.

When the colored troops got back,
And the whites "joined in" with them
In the hurricane of laughter,
Which stirred the city to its depths
And thrilled all hearts with paternalness,
I felt—if only for a moment—
"The Great International Spirit of Brothers."

And when the town was "whipped up" to catch the stir
Of so spirited a "welcome" of our colored fighters;
And when hearts shuddered for the release
Of long-repressed joyousness and sang;
And mothers tried to "mother" their hilarious boys
Back to the heaving bosoms of a suffering humanity,
My heart beat high for the Negro.

And as I let my mind pierce through the hard granite past
To catch the bold glow of the future—
I see two hostile camps
Throwing aside their inherent hates—
Prurient with passion.
I see the barriers of prejudice and racial antagonisms
Torn away in the whirlwind of brotherly feeling,
Which promises to wreck all of our petted anachronisms.

I see the victims of the crowbar and the lawless mobs
Pressing forward in restless steadiness.
To challenge the pitiless judge,
Who has condemned them—without just cause—
To a life of slavery, and made them to suffer
The pangs of a birth or insolence and ridicule.
And I see the dawn father our colored brothers
Into a world of freemen, proud of their heritage.

In the look of those troops faces—
Faces worn by sufferings encountered in the struggle,
Faces beaming, hiding the marks of slavery
Beneath the joys of victory—
I felt the heavy gaze of a noble and heroic race
Lighten up; and in the sunlight of that smile,
The wrongs against our colored brothers,
Will melt into acts of kindness.

—By Dan Block.

Mill grindings.—By G. F. M.: The most abominable thing on the green earth is the "loyal slave," so heralded by our "race leaders" (?), our white coddlers and cajolers.

Patriotism and profits move in parallel lines; their velocities are equal, the velocity of the first being determined by the velocity of the second.

Loyalty postulates a moral relation subsisting between equals, founded upon reciprocal pledges or promises, expressed or implied; the slave may be submissive or servile, he can not be loyal.

I had rather bow my knee in adoration of a fly-blown horse than sing the praises of a "loyal slave."

Nat Turner and Denmark Vesey are my heroes, not Uncle Tom.

Maybe we will believe bolshevism ought to be shot to death when we see the fat Mr. Taft on the way to Russia, himself to do the shooting.

At the annual meeting of the Urban League right thinking was greatly stressed as a cure for social and economic ills. But who are to do the "right thinking"—Elihu Root, Alton B. Parker, and Charles E. Hughes, those artful and greedy servitors of predatory wealth?

"Don't preach class consciousness" some of my friends say to me, "the array of class against class is wrong and very injurious." Maybe that profiteering combine, sucking out the very lifeblood of the people, Armour, Swift, Morris, Wilson, and Cudahy, think so, too.

Maybe that vulgar fellow, Chandler Owen, was right after all in saying the people don't know how to spell "patriotism"—they persist in omitting the "y."

It was terribly embarrassing for that borish New Yorker, Hubert Harrison, to ask me before a crowded audience in Washington whether Mr. Taft proposed going to Russia himself to shoot bolshevism to death or wanted some poor mother's son to try his hand at it. Please do not ask me a question like that again before a large audience, and that, too, at the seat of government.

When a man prates much of the courage of his conviction, note well whether it be not the courage of his financial interest.

Who advances his loyalty as a slave as a feature of merit glories in his own shame and is wanting in self-respect.

A man's claim to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness is not based upon the aid he renders the cause of his oppressors but solely upon the fact of his manhood.

The test of a man's devotion to principle is what he is willing to have it cost him.

Regard the man who is domineering and arrogant toward his subordinates; likely he is cringing and fawning at the feet of those above him.

Who is bought for much is no better than he that is bought for little—honor is above price.

Ingersolls' vision of the future.—A vision of the future arises. I see a world where thrones have crumbled and where kings are dust. The aristocracy of idleness has perished from the earth.

I see a world without a slave. Man at last is free. Nature's forces have by science been enslaved. Lightning and light, wind and wave, frost and flame, and all the subtle powers of the earth and air are the tireless toilers for the human race.

I see a world at peace, adorned with every form of art, with music's myriad voices thrilled, while lips are rich with words of love and truth; a world in which no exile sighs, no prisoner mourns; a world on which the gibbet's shadow does not fall; a world where labor reaps its full reward, where work and worth go hand in hand, where the poor girl trying to win bread with a needle—the needle that has been called "the asp of the poor"—is not driven to the desperate choice of crime or death, a suicide or shame.

I see a world without the beggar's outstretched palm, the miser's heartless, stony stare, the piteous wall of want, the livid lips of lies, the cruel eyes of scorn.

I see a race without disease of flesh or brain—shapely and fair, married harmony of form and function—and, as I look, life lengthens, joy deepens, love canopies the earth; and over all in the great dome shines the eternal star of human hope.—ROBERT INGERSOLL.

WHO'S WHO.

A new crowd—a new Negro.—By A. Phillip Randolph: Throughout the world among all peoples and classes, the clock of social progress is striking the high noon of the old crowd. And why?

The reason lies in the inability of the old crowd to adapt itself to the changed conditions, to recognize and accept the consequences of the sudden, rapid, and

violent social changes that are shaking the world. In wild desperation, consternation, and despair, the proud scions of regal pomp and authority, the prophets and high priests of the old order, view the steady and menacing rise of the great working class. Yes, the old crowd is passing; and with it, its false, corrupt, and wicked institutions of oppression and cruelty; its ancient prejudices and beliefs and its proud, hypocritical and venerated idols.

It's all like a dream! In Russia, 180,000,000 of peasants and workmen—disinherited, writhing under the ruthless hell of the Czar, for over 300 years, awoke and revolted and drove their hateful oppressors from power. Here a new crowd arose—the Bolsheviks, and expropriated their expropriators. They fashioned and established a new social machinery—the soviet—to express the growing class consciousness of teaming millions, disillusioned, and disenfranchised. They also chose new leaders—Lenin and Trotski to invent and adopt scientific methods of social control; to marshal, organize, and direct the revolutionary forces in constructive channels to build a new Russia.

The "iron battalions of the proletariat" are shaking age-long and historic thrones of Europe. The Hohenzollerns of Europe no longer hold mastery over the destinies of the German people. The Kaiser, once proud, irresponsible and powerful; wielding his scepter in the name of the "divine right of kings," has fallen, his throne has crumbled and he now sulks in ignominy and shame—expelled from his native land, a man without a country. And Neitsche, Treitschke, Bismark, and Benhardi, his philosophic mentors are scrapped, discredited and discarded, while the shadow of Marx looms in the distance. The revolution in Germany is still unfinished. The Eberts and Scheidemanns rule for the nonce; but a new crowd is rising. The hand of the Sparticans must raise a new Germany out of the ashes of the old.

Already, Karolyi of the old regime of Hungary, abdicates to Bela Kun, who wirelessly greetings to the Russian Federated Socialist Soviet Republic. Meanwhile the triple alliance consisting of the National Union of Railwaymen, the National Transport Workers' Federation, and the Miners' Federation threaten to paralyze England with a general strike. The imminence of industrial disaster hangs like a pall over the Lloyd-George government. The shop stewards' committee or the rank and file in the works, challenge the sincerity and methods of the old pure and simple union leaders. British labor would build a New England. The Sein Fleners are the new crowd in Ireland fighting for self-determination. France and Italy, too, bid soon to pass from the control of scheming and intriguing diplomats into the hands of a new crowd. Even Egypt, raped for decades prostrate under the juggernaut of financial imperialism, rises in revolution to expel a foreign foe.

And the natural question arises: What does it all mean to the Negro?

First it means that he, too, must scrap the old crowd. For not only is the old crowd useless, but like the vermiform appendix, it is decidedly injurious, it prevents all real progress.

Before it is possible for the Negro to prosecute successfully a formidable offensive for justice and fair play he must tear down his false leaders, just as the people of Europe are tearing down their false leaders. Of course, some of the old crowd mean well. But what matter it though poison be administered to the sick intentionally or out of ignorance. The result is the same—death. And our indictment of the old crowd is that it lacks the knowledge of methods for the attainment of ends which it desires to achieve. For instance the old crowd never counsels the Negro to organize and strike against low wages and long hours. It can not see the advisability of the Negro, who is the most exploited of the American workers, supporting a workingman's political party.

The old crowd enjoins the Negro to be conservative, when he has nothing to conserve. Neither his life nor his property receives the protection of the Government which conscripts his life to "make the world safe for democracy." The conservative in all lands are the wealthy and the ruling class. The Negro is in dire poverty and he is no part of the ruling class.

But the question naturally arises: Who is the old crowd?

In the negro schools and colleges the most typical reactionaries are Kelly, Miller, Moton, and William Pickens. In the press Du Bois, James Weldon Johnson, Fred R. Moore, T. Thomas Fortune, Roscoe Conkling Simmons, and George Harris are compromising the case of the Negro. In politics Charles W. Anderson, W. H. Lewis, Ralph Tyler, Emmet Scott, George E. Haynes, and the entire old-line palliating, me-to-boss gang of negro Republican politicians are hopelessly ignorant and distressingly unwitting of their way.

In the church the old crowd still preaches that "the meek will inherit the earth," "if the enemy strikes you on one side of the face, turn the other," and "you may take all this world, but give me Jesus." "Dry bones," "the three Hebrew children in the fire furnace," and "Jonah in the belly of the whale" constitute the subjects of the old crowd for black men and women who are overworked and underpaid, lynched, jim crowed, and disfranchised—a people who are yet languishing in the dungeons of ignorance and superstition. Such, then, is the old crowd. And this is not strange to the student of history, economics, and sociology.

A man will not oppose his benefactor. The old crowd of Negro leaders has been and is subsidized by the old crowd of white Americans—a group which viciously opposes every demand made by organized labor for an opportunity to live a better life. Now, if the old crowd of white people opposes every demand of white labor for economic justice, how can the Negro expect to get that which is denied the white working class? And it is well nigh beyond the realm of controversy that economic justice is at the basis of social and political equality.

For instance, there is no organization of national prominence which ostensibly is working the interest of the Negro which is not dominated by the old crowd of white people. And they are controlled by the white people because they receive their funds—their revenue from it. It is, of course, a matter of common knowledge that Du Bois does not determine the policy of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; nor does Kinckle Jones or George E. Haynes control the National Urban League. The organizations are not responsible to negroes because negroes do not maintain them.

This brings us to the question as to who shall assume the reins of leadership when the old crowd falls.

As among all other peoples, the new crowd must be composed of young men who are educated, radical, and fearless. Young negro radicals must control the press, church, schools, politics, and labor. The condition for joining the new crowd are: Ability, radicalism, and sincerity. The new crowd views with much expectancy the revolutions ushering in a new world. The new crowd is uncompromising. Its tactics are not defensive but offensive. It would not send notes after a negro is lynched. It would not appeal to white leaders. It would appeal to the plain working people everywhere. The new crowd sees that the war came, that the Negro fought, bled, and died; that the war has ended, and he is not yet free.

The new crowd would have no armistice with lynch law; no truce with jim crowism and disfranchisement; no peace until the Negro receives complete social, economic and political justice. To this end the new crowd would form an alliance with white radicals such as the I. W. W., the socialists, and the Non-Partisan League, to build a new society—a society of equals, without class, race, caste, or religious distinctions.

THE OPEN FORUM.

THE CRUCIBLE.

A magazine, new to us, has made its appearance in the literary world, and having read every word in the first issue which fell into my hands, I feel justified in giving it unstinted praise.

The Messenger is a publication written principally by members of and in the interests of the Negro race, and is a work of which any race might well be proud. While calculated to promote the welfare and interests of the Negro people anyone can profit by reading it. The Crucible wishes of the Messenger a long life of usefulness. It is published by the Messenger Publishing Co., 2805 Seventh Avenue, New York City, and will be on sale at 1330 First Avenue, Seattle, Wash.

BERTUCCIO DANTINO, *Editor, the Crucible.*

HON. CHARLES EVANS HUGHES,
Union League Club, New York City.

MY DEAR MR. HUGHES: I note by the press that the Union League Club is to petition the State legislature of New York for an investigation of the spread of bolshevism, and that part of your evidence of its spread is the many editorials that appeared in the Messenger, a monthly edited by two brilliant young men in New York.

I assure you that these two young colored men and their paper represent the highest thought among colored people, and the wisest statesmanship among whites in this country. They have shunned the ranks of the time-server to war upon all forms of injustice, hence they offer a policy that will make America great. What your club should recommend is not an investigation, but a system of universal justice, a justice that gives to labor the fruit of its toll, shorter hours, and larger pay; a justice that will end all forms of color caste, and depredations of wealth. Men will never change to something new if they are happy with what they have, hence it is up to great legal minds to withdraw from the service of predatory capital and enter that holier service to masses.

When will men learn that there can be no peace without justice? When will they learn that persecution only makes converts to the cause it seeks to stamp out? When will they learn that picking a leader for us and paying him well to preach contentment with our wrongs is an unwise investment, as unwise as it is wicked? We are never going to stop agitation until absolute justice is done, and we have a real democracy in this land our fathers have served so well, and in which we can not draw a free breath.

No, Mr. Hughes, if Bolshevism spreads, it will be the fault of capital and all other forms of Bourbonism and not that of the tolling masses who are groping and struggling upward toward a genuine democracy that is sure to come.

Hoping you will aid in eradicating the cause of social unrest, which is patent to all, I have the honor to remain,

Yours, for our common country,

NEVAL H. THOMAS.

TWO ARTICLES CONDEMNED BY THE UNION LEAGUE CLUB OF NEW YORK.

THE SOVIET.

The soviet is, doubtless, the most hated, the most loved, and the most misunderstood political institution in the world to-day. The Russian people love it; the capitalists of all countries hate it. Most people don't understand it because the channels through which they get their information are controlled by its enemies, the capitalists.

The soviet government resembles the elements in our American democracy which are the most stable and strong. The soviet organization rests upon local self-governing bodies, like the famous New England town meetings. These local self-governing bodies are comprised of the peasants and working men of local communities. These local bodies send delegates to the "All Russian Assembly of Soviet Delegates," which must meet every three months, sometimes more frequently. This All Russian Assembly of Soviet Delegates, in turn, elects a central executive committee of about 250 members. This executive committee is the legislative body of the Russian people.

This central committee elects what are called "Commissioners of the People," who are similar to the cabinet officers in England, France, and Italy, and the President and Cabinet Officers in the United States. These "Commissioners of the People" are always responsible to the legislative body which has chosen them.

Where, then, is the ground for the cry of disorder and anarchy in Russia? Nothing can be more orderly or more stable in a democracy than this!

Here the representatives of the Russian people are both selected and elected by them. Whereas in all capitalists' countries the representatives are selected by the capitalists and elected by the people.

Of course, the capitalists maintain that anarchy exists in Russia, because the discarded and discredited Romanoffs and their ilk no longer rob, exploit, pillage, and plunder 180,000,000 of Russian peasants.

The ruling class in Germany, England, France, and America are in a state of consternation and despair, lest the clock of democracy be striking the high noon of the reign of the ruling class in their countries, too.

Order! Who calls for order in Russia? "Let him who is without a sin cast the first stone." By order do we mean a state in which life, property, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness are safe? If so, have we order in America, where over 280 Negroes have been lynched since the war began; where free speech, free press, and free assemblage no longer exist; where 1,200 I. W. W. miners were

torn from their families in Bisbee, Ariz., packed in cattle cars, and deported away into a hapless desert by capitalist thugs and gunmen; where men are being imprisoned because they dare to quote the Declaration of Independence or a passage from the New Freedom, by President Woodrow Wilson; where the Supreme Court, by a decision of 5 to 4, declared the child-labor law unconstitutional? Can England make a motion in the "parliament of the world" for order, who has held her heel of oppression upon the neck of Ireland for over 800 years and whose hand is red and reeking with blood of India and other undeveloped peoples?

After the revolution of 1789 France was chaotic for years, and changed governments constantly and rapidly, swinging from a republic to a monarchy.

Germany only became an organized nation in 1871. The North German Confederacy welded with the sword the recalcitrant duchies, monarchies, and principalities into a stable empire. And yet the "Zabern affair" is a fact of common knowledge to every student of world politics.

As for the Negro, neither property, life, liberty, nor the pursuit of happiness, which, by the way, is only possible by the possession of the former, is secure in the southern section of these United States.

The Messenger denies the right to every capitalist hypocrite in Christendom to speak to the motion of order on the soviet of Russia. Long live the soviet!

WE WANT MORE BOLSHEVIK PATRIOTISM!

We want more bolshevik patriotism in this country. We want a patriotism which springs from the breast of the people. We want a patriotism to attract rather than coerce. We want a patriotism where the people are more articulate and the profiteers less articulate. We want a patriotism which is proclaimed by the teeming millions and not by the scheming few who make millions of dollars. We want a patriotism which thinks more of the children than of the fathers; which loves posterity more than ancestry. We want a simple patriotism which spontaneously emanates from the bosom of the masses because they love the country, and not a "hat waving" patriotism, based upon fear of punishment. We want more patriotism which recognizes the substance of justice, fair play, and public service, and not a sullen, reluctant form of patriotism which proclaims its love under the lash of pressure. We need more patriotism which loves the country, because the country accords to all a chance—the humble and the high, the lowly and the lordly, the nobility and the poor ability, the strong and the weak, the rich and the poor. We want more patriotism which gives unselfish service—popular service, and not pecuniary service; public service, and not profiteering service.

We want no landless patriots in a country of almost unlimited lands. We want no patriot talking about "my country," not a foot of whose land he owns. We want a patriotism which practices that "Any man who protects the country's flag shall be protected by that flag." We want a patriotism not streaked with race, color, or sex lines.

We want a patriotism represented by a flag so red that it symbolizes truly the oneness of blood running through each one of our veins.

We want more patriotism which surges with turbulent unrest while men—black or white—are lynched in this land. We want more patriotism which makes us hungry while our fellowmen are without food. We want more patriotism which produces chills while our fellow men are cold. We want no black and white patriotism which demands separate camps, separate ships, and separate oceans to travel on.

What we really need is a patriotism of liberty, justice, and joy. That is bolshevik patriotism, and we want more of that brand in the United States.

EDITOR OF THE MESSENGER: I have just been reading the March number of the Messenger. Opening it in casual spirit with the idea of glancing at a few of its pages, I found myself reading it through with the greatest interest and care. May I congratulate you upon publishing so admirable a paper? It is handsomely printed, well written, and dominated by that thoroughgoing radical spirit which can alone accomplish anything for truth and righteousness in these chaotic days. I can not refrain from sending you this word of congratulation and Godspeed.

With all best wishes, I remain,

Sincerely, yours,

(Signed)

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

WHERE AIR OF FREEDOM IS.

[By Walter Everette Hawkins.]

Where air of freedom is,
 I will not yield to men
 To narrow caste of men—
 Whose hearts are steeped in sin.
 I'd rather sell the king,
 And let his goods be stole,
 Than yield to base control
 Of vile and godless men.

Where air of freedom is,
 I will not yield to men.
 I'd rather choose to die
 Than be a living lie—
 A lie in all I teach,
 A lie in all I preach,
 While truth within my heart
 Its burning fires dart
 To burn my mask of sin.
 I'd rather victory win
 Through martyr's death than grin
 At wrongs of godless men.

Where air of freedom is,
 I will not yield to men.
 I spurn the alms of men,
 The livery of kings;
 I own far nobler things.
 I'd rather choose to own
 The pauper's garb and bone,
 The eagle's eye of truth,
 The lion's strength of youth,
 The liberty of thought,
 A free man's right unbought,
 A conscience and a soul
 Beyond the king's control
 Than be the lord of slaves,
 Of quaking, aching slaves,
 Of senseless, soulless knaves,
 Or seek to revel in
 His ill-got wealth and fame,
 His world-wide name of shame,
 His liberty to sin—
 I will not yield to men!

MARCH 14, 1919.

EDITOR OF THE MESSENGER: Fortunately, by the merest accident, we happened to stumble onto a copy of your most excellent magazine, the Messenger, and to say that we were delighted with it would in no way express our sentiments. We did not know that such a periodical was published, never having seen a copy, or even heard of it.

We must congratulate you, for you have produced a journal that any race should be proud of. It is discriminative, justly critical, far-seeing, and tolerant. In fact, we have failed to find one paragraph in the Messenger that strikes a false note. Mr. Raymer, the business manager of the Crucible, is a man devoid of race prejudice and one that believes in the greatest freedom of thought and press, and I, the editor of the same, am in thorough accord with his sentiments. I have lived in Tennessee and Texas, and met with disfavor in both States from a certain element because I defended the rights of the Negro, whom I had been taught to consider human, and not the senseless animal, only fit for slavery, which so many in certain quarters profess to believe.

I have Negro friends for whom I have the greatest respect and esteem as I do for people of any race whom I consider worthy of the same respect good people of my own race are entitled to.

Good for you, boys, and may you have the greatest success! As an appreciation of the possibilities of the Messenger, we inclose a check for \$5, for which please send us 25 copies each of the March and April issues, to be sent at your earliest convenience. We will see what we can do in working up a sale for you in this region. We would suggest that it might be a good thing for you to mail us some extra numbers, to be distributed among the Negroes of our vicinity.

We started with 25 copies of the Masses and now sell 500 copies each month of the Liberator. We hope we can do as well for you. We also are sending you a bundle of the Crucible, and shall put you on our exchange list, and hope you will reciprocate. I shall give your magazine a good notice in the Crucible. Also, we will gladly exchange "ads" with you. If that is favorable to you, use the inclosed and forward your ad for insertion in our paper.

With best wishes for your success, we are,

Sincerely, yours,

THE CRUCIBLE PUBLISHING CO.,
C. D. RAYMER, *Business Manager*.

BERTUCCIO DANTINO.

(La Verne F. Wheeler, sr., editor.) P. S.—If it would be agreeable to you, I would gladly contribute for your columns occasionally. I have some decided ideas on the race question that might please you at times.

B. D.

MARCH 20, 1919.

EDITOR OF THE MESSENGER:

The People's Institute is an educational center, organized and controlled by the workers. Our membership consists of men of all nationalities, so called, and men of the yellow and black races. We are a center for the worker in the full sense of the word.

I was very much pleased with the stand that your paper is taking and am now making a special effort to help bring your problem—and it is our problem as well—before both the white and the black workers in this city. It may be hard going at first, but I am sure it is well worth it.

We plan to place your literature and other working class literature in those stores and stands where the most good may come from them. One of the members, one of your race, is putting them in touch here in San Francisco and in Oakland, so that we may begin to do our work systematically. We are inviting men and women interested in this problem and who are willing to work for it to meet at our school and devise ways and means to carry on this educational and propaganda work.

For the present send us 15 copies of your next issue. April, of the Messenger, 10 copies each of the "Truth about lynching" and "Terms of peace and the darker races."

We are just ordering in small amounts just to get the work started, and hope later to increase our orders. Check for the above will be mailed as soon as we receive bills for same.

Yours, for the day of the workers,

THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE,
EMANUEL LEVIN, *Business Manager*.

EDITOR OF THE MESSENGER: A copy of your magazine the Messenger has just come to my hands—sent me as the secretary of the Lawrence Socialist local I suppose, and I have fairly been running around in circles, cheering ever since I got hold of it. I can not remember when anything has given me so much encouragement, so much certainty that the old world really is moving along the right way, too slowly. This little magazine of yours is what I have been longing for.

As the daughter of a radical abolitionist, I have always been interested in the Negro race, longing to see them make good, that the suffering and privation, humiliation and bloodshed of my parents and grandparents would be

justified as they were certain it would be. As a radical socialist (of course, being of the stock I am, I could be nothing else) I have been so discouraged at times when I found so few of the colored people on our side. Yet knowing them so well, as I do, I have seen that it was one of their best traits, that of gratitude, which has held them to the old party so faithfully. I have been able to make some impression upon a few but have longed for the right sort of publication—for a few good orators of their own people to lead the way And here it is.

I have let no grass grow under my feet before getting busy. Already I have shown this one copy to several colored people and have one man who will take up the work of getting subs for you. He is the Baptist minister here. He is not a socialist, but is interested in the magazine just because it is put out by colored people and is one they can not help but be proud of. Well, though not a socialist, here is betting he will be after he reads your Messenger a while—so will a lot more of them.

Here's success to you and also the desire to "do my bit" toward helping you attain it.

Yours for the cause for all the people of all the world.

(Signed) GERTRUDE CRUMB HARMAN.

MARCH 11, 1919.

OUR PEOPLE ARE LYNCHED, JIM-CROWED, AND DISFRANCHISED.

They are your people, too. Then, rally to our cause. It's your cause, too.

Support The Messenger in its fight. It's your fight, too.

Subscribe to our stock. It's your stock, too.

Help us to send this drive "way over the top," and "do your bit" to make "America safe for the Negroes."

It is not only your sense of "duty" that we are appealing to—we are not seeking charity—we are offering you a clean-cut, straight-from-the-shoulder business proposition. We are asking you to invest your money in a growing, thriving, flourishing business—one that must succeed for it is a success already.

Invest to-day and you will never regret it. Send your money order to-day to Victor R. Daly, business manager, The Messenger, 2305 Seventh Avenue, New York City. Shares, \$5 each. Terms, \$1 down on each share; balance in four monthly payments.

UNLESS NEGRO LYNCHING IS STOPPED.

Unless Negro disfranchisement is stopped; jim-crowism is stopped; unless Great Britain, Belgium, France, Italy, Germany, and America stop robbing the darker races of their land and labor in Africa, India, China, the West Indies, Cuba, Philippines, Porto Rico, and Haiti, the world can not be made safe for democracy.

A graphic and scientific exposure of the white world's colossal conspiracy and international black-hand movement to steal the darker races' wealth and labor by holding them in ignorance, superstition and slavery has been made in a valuable booklet entitled "Terms of Peace and the Darker Races," by A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen.

This is an historical document that contains facts not found in white histories. It may be bought from the Messenger Publishing Co., 2305 Seventh Avenue, New York City.

Every home should have a copy. Hand it down to your children. Price, 15 cents. Lots of more than 20, 10 cents per copy.

LYNCHING MUST GO.

Memphis, Waco, and East St. Louis must never happen again. But lynching will never go until you understand its causes, realize its effects, and apply the remedy.

Order to-day "The Truth About Lynching," its causes and effects, by A. Philip Randolph and "The Remedy," by Chandler Owen.

The pamphlet is an exhaustive, lucid, clear, and scientific survey of the economic, political, psychological, and legal phases of the question.

Every person, white and black, ought to read this pamphlet.

Price, 10 cents; in lots of 10 or more, the price is 5 cents.

Address, Messenger Publishing Co., 2305 Seventh Avenue, New York City.

THE MESSENGER.

Only radical Negro magazine in America.

Edited by Chandler Owen and A. Philip Randolph.

Comments. "You both write clearly, forcefully, in diction that is fine, and with ample knowledge and grasp of your themes. One may dispute your opinions, but not criticize with much success your presentation."—Thomas W. Churchill, former president of the New York City Board of Education.

"As a former professor of English, permit me to congratulate you both on the skill and vivacity with which you both write. But far more important to me than the style of your writing is the substance, the courage, and significance of what you have to say."—H. W. L. Dana, former professor of English and comparative literature for 10 years in Columbia University, New York City.

"We wish you great success and are thankful that we have such fearless and able periodicals as *The Messenger* and *The Liberator* to dare to speak out now when others grow silent and submit to be muffled."—Archibald H. Grimke, president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Washington, D. C.

"I have just read the current copy of your magazine. It has a lot of good stuff in it."—Roger N. Baldwin.

"I want to express to you my pleasure at the publication of a magazine, edited by colored men, that makes as its corner stone the solidarity of labor, and the absolute need of the Negro's recognizing this solidarity."—Mary White Ovington.

"I have just been reading the March number of *The Messenger*. Opening it in casual spirit with the idea of glancing at a few of its pages, I found myself reading it through with the greatest interest and care. May I congratulate you upon publishing so admirable a paper? It is handsomely printed, well written, and dominated by that thoroughgoing radical spirit which can alone accomplish anything for truth and righteousness in these chaotic days. I can not refrain from sending you this word of congratulation and God-speed."—John Haynes Holmes.

15 cents a copy, \$1.50 a year.

The Messenger Publishing Co., 2305 Seventh Avenue, New York City.

[Editorial page of the Chicago Whip.]

AWAKENING.

The opinion of Attorney General Palmer, that there was a growing tendency toward racial consciousness among colored people, is one of the few of his opinions that does not invite controversy. The colored people are slowly but surely being aroused into a state of unrest and dissatisfaction. If this awakening of racial consciousness is to be construed as the offspring of radicalism, then radicalism is the hope of the race.

The colored people without seeming feeling, apparently oblivious to cause or effect, have lived through lynching festivals, riot pandemonium, Jim Crow warfare, discriminatory legislation. They have been unconscious, as far as action is concerned, to the high cost of living, to the robbery of the landlords, and multifarious insults. They have not yet resorted to reprisals, nor have they plotten vengeance or violent reaction. The awakening has been evidenced by a bolder note struck from their press, by a sterner defense to life and property, and by a vague and feeble effort to organize. This, according to the South, is the embryo of an uprising.

The colored people of America must rise up against all conditions that militate against their progress and solidarity. They must relieve themselves of all sleeping potions and soothing sirups and awake and arouse themselves to the fullness of their powers and inherent rights.

The African in darkest Africa had no cause to arouse his slumbering sound. He gathered his food from the trees and by his vigilant spear. He was not burned nor lynched nor jim crowed. He was "monarch of all he surveyed." So the African slept on and reveled in the dream of his contentment. When the white man invaded Africa under the guise of Christianity and started to enslave and exploit the Africans the natives became dissatisfied, and we hear of riots in Egypt and on the west coast.

In China, where civilization was barred by the great walls thrown around the heathen Empire, peace and contentment were the ruling passions. When the same profiteers in souls and vital commodities broke the wall and entered we find the awakening of China, and the Government was overthrown.

This country is no different. When natural rights are destroyed, when human rights are disregarded, peace and content will be replaced by factional and racial consciousness.

The colored people of America are not conscious enough; their leaders have not been filled with the courage fiber to awaken them. They are learning the first lessons in collective bargaining. The teachers are misery and wage slavery.

The white man's own method of civilizing the world has awakened the world. It is strange to us that Mr. Palmer fails to lay his finger on the root of the evil, which is the economic gluttony and gormandizement of the white man. The late war was admitted in last analysis to be the offspring of economic immorality underlying lynching and disfranchisement. We, here in Chicago, know that the "drama of bombs" played by greedy real-estate profiteers, the monopoly system, has led to radicalism, unrest, and racial consciousness.

If the people in authority would notice that the value of a dollar had decreased in the same proportion that color prejudice had increased! they would fill the soviet ark with a different class of passengers.

We feel that competition, mass action against monopolies, and intelligent organization, with leaders of courage to press the cause, will give us a share in the good things of the world. Until we can bargain and trade in the political and economical world we will continue to be the under dog.

Racial consciousness bespeaks of new thinking. If the press of colored folk continues to preach the doctrine of an equitable share in the returns of Americanism, a share in the profits of labor, a voice in the manipulation of Government affairs, the people who read will think, and those who think will awaken.

EXHIBIT No. 32.

[The Rebel Worker, organ of revolutionary unionism. Take the "s" out of resolution and add "v" for victory. New York, Apr. 15, 1919.]

REVOLUTION—TERRIBLE DAYS AHEAD IN THE UNITED STATES—MACHINE GUNS AND BOMBS TO QUELL REVOLT.

"The United States is in the grip of a bloody revolution. Thousands of workers are slaughtered by machine guns in New York City. Washington is on fire. Industry is at a standstill and thousands of workers are starving. The Government is using the most brutal and repressive measures to put down the revolution. Disorganization, crime, chaos, rape, murder, and arson are the order of the day, the inevitable results of social revolution."

The above is what we may expect to see on the front pages of what few newspapers survive the upheaval.

No one who has the interest of the working class at heart wants to see such a revolution. But whether those interested in the working class want to see such a revolution or not, there are powerful forces in the United States that are making for just such a catastrophe.

The Industrial Workers of the World has in the past and is now using all of its energies to avert such a cataclysmic debacle. It is not yet too late to avoid this terrible and sanguinary strife, provided that the I. W. W. is allowed to carry out its program of organizing and educating the workers for the purpose of taking control of, and operating industry and giving to those who work the full social value of the product of their labor.

But the powerful forces of reaction seem bent upon driving, with the most ruthless and barbarous tactics, the workers to open revolt.

That the masters are preparing for a revolution in this country is no secret. They openly boast that they are ready to meet any crisis. They are reorganizing their police forces and reserves and drilling them in tactics used in street fighting. They tell us of the gas bombs and machine guns that are in store. The iron heel is ready.

Unwilling or incapable of meeting the present crisis in a humane and rational way, not heeding the warnings coming from Europe, the masters are plunging ahead—in many instances deliberately provoking the workers to violence, in the hope that the revolt may be smothered in blood.

The great danger lies in the fact that the mass of workers are not class conscious, not organized and not educated to the idea of industrial democracy. The industrial tyrants knowing this, believe that if they can provoke the workers to unorganized revolt, the latter will murder each other and, when the fracas becomes intolerable, the masters will be able to appeal to the workers "in the name of humanity" to reestablish "law and order" and thus perpetuate capitalism, even though it be modified.

One does not have to look far to discover the causes that are driving the workers toward revolt. Unemployment is a growing menace. Already bread lines and soup kitchens are being established in the hope of palliating the misery of starving men and women. Free speech and free press are relics of the past. Thousand of working men and women are now in prison or on their way and for no other reason than championing industrial democracy. Deportation of union men and women adds fuel to the flames of discontent.

The lawmakers of many States are now engaged in passing laws designed to suppress the few remaining liberties of the workers. The country is facing a financial panic. Practically no new industrial undertakings are under way. Business is fast approaching the point where thousands of small business enterprises will be forced into bankruptcy. Wages are being cut with a will. The cost of living is still soaring. The climax is not far off—and the workers are not prepared.

In our opinion capitalism must and should go. But that is no reason why we should not do our utmost to make the change as peaceful and bloodless as possible. Our program is for organizing the workers industrially and educating them in the business of carrying on industry for themselves. We are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

We will go on with our program in spite of the industrial tyrants who would crush us with their machine guns, and without regard to the boneheaded would-be saviors of the workers who are trying to incite us to unorganized mass action, dynamite, and votes. We hold to industry with our constructive program. Onward.

THE INTERNATIONAL REVOLT.

Germany: A soviet republic was proclaimed in Munich April 4. The communist movement is spreading throughout Bavaria and other parts of southern Germany. General strikes have been declared in various industrial centers and union with the workers of Russia and Hungary against the common enemy is being effected. The yellow Socialist government is at its wits' end, as it no longer dares outrage the workers by the ruthless cruelty with which it has suppressed the working-class movement up to this time. The army is becoming permeated with communist ideas and various regiments have been disarmed on account of their disloyalty—to the bourgeois Socialist government. An effort is being made to double-cross the workers by the trick of a constitutional provision for "industrial councils" in which they would negotiate with their exploiters as to the terms under which they would continue to be slaves. The majority Socialists are everywhere lining up against the workers and trying to block the movement for general strikes throughout the country as a prelude to the real revolution. At a national convention of unemployed, held in Berlin, April 5, the delegates reported that there were 3,500,000 German workers out of employment and that the Government bureaus were powerless to cope with the situation. There will be something doing when the Central Council of Soldiers and Workers Councils meets in Berlin the middle of this month. The miners in the Ruhr district, 142,000 of whom are on strike, voted to stop the pumps and let the mines be flooded if their demands were not granted by April 9. The miners of Silesia and central Germany have declared their solidarity with their fellow miners of the Ruhr district. They have also voted that those who responded to the Government's call for troops should be "avoided like the pest," and denied the right to work with them in future. There are 345,000 miners out on strike in the Rhineland and the movement is spreading. The workers everywhere are demanding the disarming of the police and Government troops, the arming of the working class, the six-hour day, the formation of workers' soviets, and the establishment of close relations with their fellow workers in Russia and Hungary. The revolutionary movement is making slow progress in the territory occupied by troops from "the democracy of the golden west," as the American authorities are either deporting workers who go on strike or fining them and making them work out their fines under military guard. The

mayor of Coblenz has been put on trial for "ignoring Gen. Dickman's order to produce 300 laborers for army work." A Spartacide plan to arm several thousand Russian war prisoners was blocked by the American guards, who scattered the Russians among various camps, where they can now spread Bolshevik propaganda.

Hungary: The revolution is consolidating its position in Hungary. The transfer of power to the working class has been accomplished without bloodshed, and order prevails throughout the country. The Allies are enraged, but do not dare to interfere. The French Government is for armed invasion, but the other representatives of capitalism, fearing the consequences at home, are trying to use the Czecho-Slovaks or some other small nation as cat's-paw. Meanwhile the reorganization of society is progressing rapidly along lines worked out in advance of the revolution. Suitable homes for those who do the work of the community are being provided by dividing up the houses of the rich and apportioning the apartments among the workers on the basis of the size of the family. Rents have been reduced and will be collected by the State. Jewels above a certain value are confiscated and private art collections are declared public property. The public debt will probably be repudiated. Law courts have been abolished and judges deposed, revolutionary tribunals taking their places, "with more consideration for real justice than mere law." The stock exchange has been put out of business and religious schools have been closed. State aid for churches has been withdrawn and priests will be compelled to go to work. Clergymen and nuns have been removed from the hospitals. Socialism is being taught in all the schools, and workers' universities are to be established. Horse racing has been prohibited and the race tracks turned into vegetable gardens. Industry is being socialized, the Standard Oil Co. plant being one of the first to be confiscated. Every industrial establishment employing 20 or more workers has been turned over to the control of the workers themselves. Soviet councils are being organized, the right to vote being extended to all men and women over 18 years of age, with the exception of those who employ others to work for them or who live off unearned income; also merchants, priests, and common criminals—in short, crooks, lunatics, and parasites generally. "The expropriator is being expropriated," says Bela Kun, one of the leaders of the communist movement. "The fetters of wage slavery have been shattered. Air, light, and cleanliness, formerly the privileges of the bourgeoisie, can now benefit the proletariat. The cinemas and theaters, which until now have mainly served for the amusement of the rich, are open to the proletariat. The press, the most important organ of capitalism for influencing proletarian minds, is in our service."

Austria: The example of Hungary is expected to be followed soon in Austria, where the communist idea is making rapid progress. April 15 is said to be the date set for the overturn. The Entente Mission in Vienna has called on the Government to expel agents sent by the Hungarians to aid the communist movement. Workers' councils are being formed in Prague and other parts of Bohemia.

Roumania: Berlin dispatches state that "Bolshevism's next onslaught will be in the direction of Roumania," which is caught between Russia and Hungary and is being attacked also by the Bulgarians and Ukrainians. The British Government has opened credits for the purchase of supplies and has sent complete equipment for an army of 150,000 men. Canada has likewise thrown away \$25,000,000 in a "loan" to Rumania.

Serbia: A crisis is reported to be imminent in Serbia, where 85 per cent of the workers are said to be without employment. When the railway workers struck last month and the Government mobilized them under martial law, a sympathetic strike was threatened.

Poland: All of Galicia is said to be in a state of revolution. The Lemberg Soviet has declared a general strike. Workers in the oil region around Drobnyoz have established a soviet government and the movement has spread to near-by districts. Troops sent by the Polish Government have joined the communists.

Russia: Finnish troops who form part of Gen. Maynard's force in north Russia are becoming mutinous and threatening to go over to the Bolsheviks, now that they see what they are being used for. Troops are being hurried from England to keep them quiet. The Bolshevik army is in better condition than ever before. The total number of allied troops invading Russia and Siberia is officially stated to be 369,465, with the land of liberty represented by 12,420

American scissor bills. The same "democratic" country recently dispatched a shipment of 60,000 Remington rifles to "the brave Czecho-Slovaks," to be used to kill Russian workmen guilty of defending their country against foreign invaders. Bolshevik agitation is growing so powerful in Vladivostok that the allied representatives are alarmed over the situation. Most of the Ukraine, the granary of Russia, is now in the hands of the Bolsheviks and pressure on Odessa has become so great that the allied invaders are making preparations for a retreat. Greek troops are being used by the Allies in this region. Those rascally Bolsheviks are continuing their unfair tactics of bombarding the invading troops with "seditious" literature, and distributing quantities of it among the natives. French regiments in Odessa mutinied last month and refused to kill their Russian fellow workers at the command of international capitalism. Bill Shatoff is reported to be chief of police in Petrograd.

WICHITA DEFENDANTS GO BACK TO DUNGEONS—STARVE IN JAIL AWAITING TRIAL.

[C. W. Anderson.]

On March 10 the former Newton group were taken to Wichita for trial, as had the other boys a day or two before. On the 12th of March all defendants were marched to the Federal court. This first day in the squared arena was taken up with the selection of a jury composed almost wholly of "farmers." At the end of that first day the 12 men who were supposed to judge us "guilty" or "not guilty," consisted of one banker and eleven farmers. What would you have given for our chances?

Judge Pollack suggested that the jury be picked first of all so as to enable the empaneled men to either be accepted or sent home and not to be kept waiting while the arguments were heard on the bill of particulars, demurrers, and motion to quash the indictment.

The second day in court, March 13, was taken up almost wholly by Attorney George F. Vandever for the defense on arguments for quashing the indictment, the return of papers illegally seized, and many other matters. Vandever was at his best and his talk was so clear cut and convincing that he held the attention of the entire court, including the judge, the entire period. The five counts of the indictment was literally torn to shreds.

Take the "food and fuel act" of August 10, 1917, for instance. That is an "act" which provided for the punishment of those who hoarded, wasted, or otherwise hampered or interfered with the production or distribution of food, fuel, oil, natural gas, and farm products, with intent to enhance their price. This does not apply to the workers but to those who own and control. In the oil fields there is scarcely anything else but oil and gas produced, so no one could have interfered with food, fuel, or farm products because there was none to interfere with. As far as the hampering of oil production was concerned I wish to state that the workers couldn't have done so because statistics prove that there were 21,000,000 barrels or so more oil produced in 1917 than in 1916, in the Kansas fields alone. The powers that be have charged us with something that they got away with and profited by, and made the defendants the innocent victims of something we couldn't have done if we wanted to. Not one profiteer has been convicted under this act that we know of.

Further, we were charged with obstructing the draft, enlistments into the Army and Navy and with insubordination in the same, in another count. In the indictment it did not specify when or how we conspired to obstruct. As a matter of fact it is a mythical charge. All defendants registered and answered their calls.

In another count we were charged with intent to murder citizens of the United States unknown to the grand jurors or anybody else, but in the indictment it does not specify when or where or whom we conspired against. That count seems to be a pipe dream cooked up by some one who thought he could get away with it under the cloak of war hysteria.

The other counts charge violation of the "S-spinach" act and other criminal codes. All are bunched together in one huge heap, making it appear as if we were a group of hardened criminals, instead of just plain industrial unionists, working for the betterment of a world through education and organization.

Vandever further argued that all our literature, letters, and supplies had been illegally taken, in that the search warrants did not specify what was wanted at the time of the seizures. In some instances no search warrants were

presented at all. Much of the material used against us was the evidence used in the Chicago and Sacramento cases. What is more, the writer was the only one out of this entire group that was presented with a warrant of arrest, at the time of being apprehended, and that I was taken on a William D. Haywood warrant in Chicago. Moreover, I had never seen an oil field nor had I ever been near one until forced to come down here.

As a whole the entire indictment against us is out of order and is so rotten it stinks to the high heavens. No sane individual could have been the author of such a document. Previous to September 24, 1918, we had been held for 10 months on a smaller indictment, charging only violation of the food and fuel act but it was too rank for presentation in court, so was quashed and on waiting for decision last September were reindicted on this present five count indictment, which was even more ridiculous.

In his arguments for the quash, etc., of this indictment, Vandever quoted many cases and astounded the legal fraternity of this neck of the woods. He raised all his points on technical flaws and there is no way to get around them. The opposition had little or nothing to say and was completely taken by surprise. The prosecutor tried to raise the point that the I. W. W. was a criminal organization, but there is not a court of law in this country that has ever proved it as yet.

At any rate the judge was so impressed by Vandever's arguments that he asked if both sides would present their briefs in printed form, allowing each side 30 days apiece to get them filed. This was with the understanding that providing the defendants were willing to lay over this period. We consented to lay over. The judge will probably render his decision on or about two months from the time we were last in court, March 13. It seems as if the object in view of the judge in having the briefs filed in printed form was for the purpose of establishing a precedent case, and if he is the jurist that they claim he is he will sustain our quash to throw the case out of court. But if he should overrule it, we go to bat next September, and if we have to lay in the jail till that time, it will mean 22 months in county jails, mostly of the worst description.

Since last September and even at the present time 28 of us are held under \$10,000 bail and conditions such that they are prohibitive and next to impossible for us to make them. If there ever was an iron heel used, it has been applied to us most vigorously. Many of the defendants are physically weak, one died last fall, three are mentally unbalanced, and a few have contracted symptoms of tuberculosis.

After the court proceedings at Wichita 10 of the boys were moved to the Reno County jail, at Hutchinson, Kans., as follows: M. Sapper, corresponding secretary; Robert Poe, A. Barr, F. Patton, H. M. McCarl, J. Wallberg, Leo Stark, S. Forbes, E. M. Boyd, and J. Caffrey.

Six of us were brought here for safe-keeping as follows: C. W. Anderson, corresponding secretary; F. J. Gallagher, H. Drew, S. B. Hickok, E. J. Huber, and P. J. Higgins.

Twelve were moved to the Shawnee County jail, at Topeka, Kans., as follows: O. E. Gordon, W. Franick, M. Quinn, Joe Gresbach, M. Hecht, R. A. Lambert, Tom O'Day, P. Mahak, E. Henning, F. Grau, George Wengerand, C. Schnell.

The conditions in Topeka are intolerable. It is a virtual Middle Age dungeon and as bad as that one at Wichita. How long is humanity to suffer in such vile dens? The Topeka can is not fit for human habitation.

Here in Lawrence we have a clean jail and the food is much better than in some jails but we are fed only twice a day, 7.30 a. m. and 2 p. m., whereas at Newton and Hutchinson prisoners are fed three times a day. We are in a small steel tank, with very little room for exercise. And plenty of exercise and fresh air is what we need now, on account of our 16 months' confinement.

FOR A GENERAL STRIKE.

Resolution adopted by "the general strike conference for the liberation of Eugene V. Debs and all political class-war prisoners," on March 23, 1919, at 232 North Ninth Street, Philadelphia, Pa.:

Whereas Eugene V. Debs and other champions of the interests of the working class have been sentenced to long terms of imprisonment because they have had the courage to express their convictions, and have dared to affirm their loyalty to the working class; and

Whereas these men and women are paying the price of their devotion to the interests of toiling humanity, under sentences more savage than any that have been imposed in Prussia and even in Czaristic Russia, thus proving that the instruments of law have been perverted into weapons of class oppression on vengeance, and persecution: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we call upon the organized and unorganized workers of this country to declare a general strike on May 1, 1919, as the only effective step in the direction of securing the release of the class-war prisoners.

MASS MEETING.

The Printing and Publishing Workers' Industrial Union will hold a mass meeting in Union Hall, 27 East Fourth Street, New York City, Tuesday, April 22, at 8 p. m.

NEW YORK PRINTERS ORGANIZE IN THE ONE BIG UNION.

Formation of industrial unions of the I. W. W. in the New York district is progressing steadily. The latest group to organize is the printing and publishing industry. Other I. W. W. unions established in New York within the past few months include textile workers, metal and machinery workers, and construction workers.

The new union will be known as Printing and Publishing Workers' Industrial Union No. 1200. It already has many active members who have started work at once on a vigorous propaganda and membership campaign. Special literature has been prepared and public meetings are going to be held for the purpose of spreading the One Big Union idea among the workers in the printing industry.

The field is ripe for an I. W. W. organization in this industry. Wage increases in recent years have been so few and far between that printers can no longer boast of being "the aristocrats of labor." The gradual introduction of the eight-hour day in other industries has removed one "talking point" of the American Federation of Labor organizations, while the 9 and 10 hour day prevailing in nonunion shops is an effective source of discontent among the unorganized.

The humiliating \$2 hand-out by the bosses as a sop to the workers in the early part of the war, and the later fiasco of the \$3.60 increase granted by the War Labor Board and raised to \$6 at the request of the employers themselves, have begun to open the eyes of the members of American Federation of Labor unions to the inherent weakness of the craft form of organization.

The autocratic actions of the American Federation of Labor international officials have already led to serious revolts and defiance of their authority. The Hebrew compositors laughed at the international's threat to "lift" their charter, and called the bluff, with the result that they now have a shorter day and better pay than any other local branch of the industry. In like manner last fall, the pressmen's assistants, scorned by the "higher" grade workmen, struck in violation of their contract and, in spite of the efforts of their international officials to bully them into submission, stuck to their guns and pulled down a \$6 a week raise, which forced the officials of "Big Six" and Pressmen's Union 51 to take some action to satisfy the discontent of their less fortunate followers.

The new I. W. W. printers' union, said to be the first of its kind in the history of the I. W. W. movement, expects to make big inroads among both organized and unorganized workers. Regular weekly meetings are held at 27 East Fourth Street, on Friday evenings. All compositors, linotypers, pressmen, bookbinders, lithographers, also stenographers, clerical employees, etc., employed in the printing or publishing houses—in short all workers in any branch of this industry—are invited to line up and help build up the One Big Union.

Notice to all secretaries, stationary delegates, and delegates of 573: Send all 50-cent general defense stamps, all day's wage stamps to this office at once. Same have been called in by No. 573. By sending them in, we can turn them into general headquarters and get credit for same.

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION NO. 400.

The auditing committee of three members of the organization committee is now in auditing the books of the main office of the A. W. I. U. and their report will be out by the end of the week; they have also counted the ballots which were out to decide where and when the spring convention would be held and

they make the report that the convention of the A. W. I. U. will convene at Sioux City, Iowa, April 21, at 10 a. m.

As many members as possible should attend this convention as no doubt there will be many changes to be brought up and discussed concerning both the A. W. I. U. and the organization in general; those who can not attend and who have any points that should be brought up should send same in writing to either this office or to James Kelley at 316 Jennings Street, Sioux City, Iowa.

All members who have carried credentials during the winter months would do well to write in to the main office and send a statement of the supplies on hand so that they will know that they are starting out in the spring with a correct understanding as to how their account stands at the main office.

Come to the open forum held every Sunday evening at New York headquarters, 27 East Fourth Street. Good speakers, questions from the floor, and general discussion.

DO IT NOW.

By far the most important thing you can do is to get busy on the job with supplies and credentials. The delegate on the job now is necessary, because, at the time of writing, peace has been declared, and the problems pursuant to this event can only be met by a strong revolutionary organization, such as the I. W. W.

Many fellow workers do not like to take out credentials unless they see a chance to do a land office business. This is a mistaken idea of the delegate system. Because where the workers can be organized en masse, they generally organize themselves. Where the delegate is needed most is on the jobs, where, after hours, he can talk and agitate to those other workers who do not yet see the light. If a delegate sells only \$2 worth of stamps a month, that is far better than having no supplies and selling nothing. And if there was a delegate on every third job in the country, how long would it be before every unorganized worker who travels from one job to another would be lined up? Figure it up for yourself, and if you figure it the same as we do, you will have credentials and supplies as soon as you can get them.

The job delegate is the most important part of the organization. No delegates, no organization; lots of delegations, big organization. If you are on a hostile job and have to whisper, then whisper; maybe after awhile if you whisper enough you can talk right out loud. But in any case be a delegate. Don't leave it to some one else. Always bear this in mind—that the capitalist class don't care a damn what you believe in, just as long as you don't get active. (C. W. I. U. No. 573 Bulletin.)

NOTICE TO NO. 500 DELEGATES.

All delegates and secretaries of the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union should send to their headquarters for ballots.

George H. Ricker informs us that prospects are very good for the spring drive in the woods. Many new members are lining up daily.

A CORRECTION.

In the last issue of the Rebel Worker we stated that an organization committee of six members had been elected at the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union convention. As the ballots will not be sent out until the 10th of April, our report was a bit premature. We will do better next time.

WHILE CAPITALISM LASTS.

The following letter, written by one of our fellow workers who, with three others, was deported to England by our Government in its efforts to make the United States safe for business, is interesting because it shows that the wobbly spirit can not be killed and it is useless to try it:

FELLOW WORKERS: We arrived safely and were subjected to a severe "frisking" by the authorities. They robbed us of all I. W. W. literature found in our possession, even the addresses from our notebooks. All four of us are under surveillance of the military and are restricted from speaking in public.

The voyage was fine as far as the weather was concerned. We traveled steerage and the food was surely bum. There were about 200 other passengers and most of them were sympathetic toward us; only two showed any antagonism. Our case has received great publicity, and the prospects are that it will react in favor of the organization before long.

The situation here is looking pretty fair, as far as the movement is concerned, and you can bet your life that we are still as active as ever and will be as long as capitalism lasts.

Yours, for industrial freedom,

HERBERT JACKSON.

NOTICE TO LAWRENCE TEXTILE WORKERS.

We hope that you have not forgotten the organization which championed your splendid cause and the victory of 1912. We regret being handicapped by having 2,000 of our liveliest members in jail. The education the workers received in 1913 is bearing fruit in the victorious fight you are now waging. We know it is impossible for the Golden outfit to exist in Lawrence.

However, do not be misled by so-called garment industrial unions who would take advantage of this opportunity to organize the textile workers of Lawrence in a union that stands for "a fair day's pay for a fair day's work," which makes contracts with the bosses. There is only one revolutionary I. W. W. The American Woolen Co. is about to grant an increase of wages if you will stick together, for the following reasons:

Your strike has compelled the American Woolen Co. to establish the 48-hour schedule in all of its mills outside of Lawrence.

Due to the unemployed conditions most of the small independent mills, scattered in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, have violated this scale and are running their mills 54 hours in 5 days and others operating night shifts, work their help 48 hours in 4 nights per week.

The American Woolen Co. always sets the pace in all its activities. Notice this company auctioned off a lot of cloth recently to establish a basis for the prices of cloth to prevail in the future market.

The independent mills can always get the jump on the large companies like the American Woolen Co., because they usually buy their yarn already spun and ready for weaving; consequently delivering the finished product before the large mills have finished the preliminary process of working up the raw stock ready for weaving.

The American Woolen Co. is compelled to give at least a 12½ per cent increase very soon because the small mills are getting the first choice of help and will operate their plants 54 hours and the deluded workers most likely will prefer to get 54 hours and pay, respectively, than work in the American Woolen Co.'s mills on the established 48-hour basis. With this competition there is no choice in the matter for American Woolen Co. They must force the other mills in line with them and a substantial increase is the only way. The independent concerns will lag behind for some time on the increase of wages, as usual, and the discontented workers will tend to float toward the highest wages. With the natural advantages the Lawrence strike is won. Then for the O. B. U. to take over control and manage the textile industry for themselves.

TEXTILE NEWS FROM NEW BEDFORD.

The workers in the mills of this city are dissatisfied with the method in which their recent strike was handled by the Amalgamation of Textile Operatives (A. F. of L.).

The workers in general were striking under the impression that they were to receive the 44-hour week with 56 hours pay, but on returning to the job they find themselves working 48 hours with a reduction in pay of 12 per cent.

John Golden in one of his speeches made the statement, "We told the manufacturers that not a cent was to be taken from the pay envelopes," but as usual the bosses show their contempt for any statement made by their "Jack on a string."

In a good number of the mills not even the 48-hour week has been granted, many of them working the night force as many as 66 hours. The employers further refuse to grant an audience to the textile council, stating that no specific agreement has been made for night workers.

In their statement to the press the following is gleaned from the attitude of the employers: "Inasmuch as no women or minors are employed during the

night, and that there are no legal restrictions upon the hours of labor for men, it does not seem as though any change in the operation of the mills at night at present should be considered."

For the enlightenment of our local "labor" (mis) leaders of the textile council we recommend the reading of the I. W. W. preamble, and to give particular attention to this section: "The working class and the employing class have nothing in common." "Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class take possession of the earth and the machinery of production and abolish the wage system." (Press Committee.)

BOSTON OPENS NEW HALL.

The Boston Recruiting Union celebrated the opening of its new hall on Saturday night, April 5, at 385 Harrison Avenue. Abner E. Woodruff, of New York, delivered the principal address.

OPEN THE DOORS.

All members of the I. W. W. understand that it is the mission of the working class to overthrow the rule of capitalism, abolish the wage system, and establish a true industrial democracy.

With this end in view the task of to-day and the immediate future are undertaken with the knowledge that each strike and protest which calls for a display of solidarity on the part of the workers, is but a part of their training for the great conflicts which will be forced upon the working class by the plunderers when they feel that their grasp upon the material things of life is slipping.

The release of our class-war prisoners, our fellow workers, who have been sentenced to long terms in prison because they were fighting your battles, is the most pressing of all our immediate problems. Our cause was their cause when they were fighting side by side with us. Their cause must be our cause now that they are deprived of all liberty for daring to be men.

We can not leave this work to any group of individuals outside of ourselves, no matter how well-intentioned their efforts may be. We can not expect the courts to take any other stand than they have already taken. We can not leave to our comrades in Europe the task of freeing our class-war prisoners here, although we know they are doing, and will continue to do, everything in their power to bring about the liberation of our fellow workers.

It is up to you, fellow-worker secretary; it is up to you, fellow-worker traveling delegate; it is up to you, fellow-worker job delegate; it is up to you, each and every fellow worker who holds a card in the I. W. W.

If any fellow worker holding office and getting wages from the organization does less than all he can possibly do, then he is a traitor to his fellow workers in jail. If any individual member of the organization fails to respond to the call of his fellow workers behind the bars to do his utmost to gain for them liberty, then he is not true to the cause of his fellow workers who have sacrificed their liberty for his welfare.

And how shall we gain for them their freedom? The answer is simple. By displaying our economic power. By the cessation of work in all industries. It has been successfully accomplished before now in similar circumstances.

Are we strong enough to make this display of our economic power tomorrow? Next month? You know we are not. Can we gain economic power in the near future? Assuredly we can.

How can we gain that economic power at an early date? Again, the answer is easy. By organizing the masses of the workers.

This is the day and this is the hour for each and every one of you to devote your time and your energy to the work of organization. Give the boss his Caesar's coin in the routine work you have to do to get your living. Give all your spare time and energy to the work of getting all who are not already lined up into the One Big Union with you.

Until you take that stand, until you do everything in your power to make the organization strong enough for the accomplishment of our task, you have no right to criticize the work, or lack of work, on the part of any other member.

The unorganized worker is not going to come into the I. W. W. of his own accord. He must be reached with literature. He must be induced to attend the propaganda meetings. Day after day he must be called upon by job delegates until he is finally induced by education and persuasion to become a fellow member.

Do your secretaries need spurs to keep their feet on the desks? If so, chase them out of their offices without formality, and elect live ones in their places. Are your traveling delegates and stationary delegates entertaining you with pleasant stories instead of pounding you on the back and making you redouble your efforts in getting the slaves lined up? If so, tie the can to them at once. This organization has no money to waste on dead timber.

Are there job delegates in your community who are taking a rest until the pressure eases up a little? Give them a rest for a while by transferring their credentials and supplies to some other fellow worker who feels like taking on a little hard work, and who wants his imprisoned fellow workers to breathe free air once more.

Fellow workers, are you doing your best? You know that without your help all the work the secretaries and delegates can possibly do will not be enough. If from this minute you do your full part, we will have that economic power in less than three months, and our fellow workers now in prison will be walking with us, free men once more.

The work is hard, yes. But you work hard for the boss. Why not work hard for your friends in jail during the next three months? There is a chance of your going to jail yourself. Yes, there is. Did your fellow workers now in jail lay down on that account? Can you do less than they did?

These are hard times and you may lose your job. Yes, that's true. Would you be willing to give up your job to-morrow if you could get one of your fellow workers out of jail by doing so? Of course you would. All right. You can get them all out of jail if you do your full part from now on.

And when you have built up the organization until it has the economic power necessary to set free our class-war prisoners, you will also have made it strong enough to get for yourselves the six-hour day.

Take out credentials; hold meetings with other delegates in your community. If you can't take out credentials, get in touch with a live delegate and help him to line up the slaves. Distribute the literature, attend the business meetings yourself, and see that the man working beside you comes to the propaganda meetings and follow him up until he gets a red card.

Get to work at once. (No. 800 Bulletin.)

ENTERTAINMENT AND DANCE.

Grand entertainment and dance by the Russian Recruiting Union for the benefit of the Russian I. W. W. paper, *Golos Truzenika* (Workers' Voice), April 26. 27 East Fourth Street, New York City. Admission, 15 cents.

NEWS FROM BUTTE.

It is hard to give Butte news without going into detail and that would really take more time than I have at my disposal.

The strike was nearly 100 per cent effective as far as the miners were concerned, and our picket lines for the first three days prevented the craft men and even shift bosses and foremen from going on the hill. On the fourth morning of the strike the soldiers were ready to break up our picket lines on the hill so we switched them to the car barns on the south side of the town and tied up the street car system.

The craft union rank and file, being unable to go to work anyway, voted to join the strike, but after the soldiers arrived pressure was brought to bear by the companies on the many reactionaries they have in these unions and with picked meetings and parliamentary tactics the strike vote taken at first was rescinded and one after another the unions voted to go back to work.

The miners of Butte, and for that matter the metal miners of the West, have learned by experience that a long strike is not effective or efficient. We now regard our strikes as skirmishes in the class war. Therefore, after we found the craft unions would go back to work under protection of the soldiers the strike was called off and the miners went back on the hill cheerfully and ready to come out again and engage in another skirmish with the companies whenever the time is opportune.

A move is now on foot, engineered by the A. C. M. Co., to have all the craft unions vote that demands be made upon the company, that every employee on the hill shall be a paid-up American Federation of Labor member. The vote is to be taken on April 13 and the demands are to be made through the engineers' unions, which will notify the company that they will refuse to lower any

employee without a paid-up American Federation of Labor card. The object of this is to force the miners into the old Butte No. 1, Moyer's Union. That union, for the last two years, has had a membership of less than 50, being held together for the purpose of holding what remains of the old union hall for the Moyer organization. These members are reactionaries and stool pigeons for the company. During the last week they have taken in a number of new members, all of whom are shift bosses and foremen on the hill. Their constitution and by-laws forbid the attendance of shift bosses and foremen at the union meetings but the constitution, on which they lay so much stress on some occasions, will not stand in their way when the interests of the A. C. M. are concerned. The object of getting the shift bosses into the union is to have them pass on the applications for membership if they succeed in getting the closed shop. Of course the A. C. M. blacklist will be the official blacklist for the union.

We are not at all concerned regarding this move, and if we thought it would pass when the referendum vote is taken we would not make a move to stop it. On the contrary, when the engineers got their demands ready for presentation to the company we also would have demands ready for the abolition of the rustling card, two men on a machine, \$6 a day, and either eight hours from collar to collar or a six-hour day. This would precipitate a strike and would force the hands of the reactionaries in the craft unions. During the last strike the rank file of these craft unions were with us but were herded and cheated by their business agents, officials, and the reactionaries.

However, I do not think there is any chance of this referendum vote going the way the company stool pigeons, who are engineering it, want it to go. Accordingly we are getting out a leaflet explaining the whole scheme and will distribute them by the thousands all over the community.

Colorado is coming to the front for the first time since No. 800 was started. We have over 100 members now in Telluride, two or three delegates having accomplished this in less than two months. The town is now swarming with Federal dicks, who are investigating the growth of the I. W. W. there and are wondering where it got its start. We are also getting a pretty good start in Tonopah, Nev., and hope to accomplish a good deal in all the mining camps in Nevada this spring and summer.

You have read in the Chicago papers of the coal miners at Van Voorhis, Pa., coming into the organization, and I hope you fellow workers in New York will do everything you can to spread literature and propaganda among these Pennsylvania coal mines.

Minnesota and Michigan are the scenes of considerable activity, the number of new members per week averaging about 100.

That's a fine title Art Young and Ellis O. Jones have selected for their new satirical weekly, "Good morning." After the awful night of capitalism we've just had, the "Good morning" of proletarian revolution sounds splendid to us.

During February, 1919, the mining department of the I. W. W. enrolled 784 new members. That's a fitting way to protest the lynching of Frank Little, who was murdered by tools of the copper mining corporations.

The working-class demand for I. W. W. organizers and organization is overwhelming. It is beyond I. W. W. resources to fill. This simply goes to show that the working class understands the secret of I. W. W. persecution, which is, namely, to kill an effective organization and a great ideal.

The doctors can't just decide what it is that ails the present system. They don't know whether its sleeping sickness or influenza of the brain that produces that drooping, comatose condition. Perhaps its prostration of an overworked ideology, superinduced by "imperialismus capitalismus," is really to blame.

MAY DAY, 1919.

May day, 1919, promises to be the greatest international labor day ever celebrated. Europe has been the realization of many proletarian ideals, and now America is undergoing a transformation that points to their eventual success here. General strikes and mass demonstrations promise to be the order of the day as never before.

The Rebel Worker is going to join in this celebration. It is going to publish a special eight-page May day number full of good stuff. How big will be your bundle order? Send it in now! Last year the Labor Defender (our former name) put out a May day special that was a great success. We are undoubtedly going to beat it this year. Hustle in your bundle orders and encourage us to surpass ourselves.

We hope as our next venture to publish a weekly Rebel Worker soon. A weekly Rebel Worker is needed in the East to combat our opponents and present our program. Are you with us in this? If so, boost our circulation; then we can be self-sustaining and get out the weekly. Its editorial reportorial work is done as a contribution to the cause. Will you help us to get a paid editor for our weekly? Let your answer be a big boost in circulation. Boost now—early and often.

RALPH EASLY'S LATEST.

It is to be hoped that the next time God creates Ralph Easly (God has made us all in His own image, and we are all destined to be reincarnated, you know) God will endow Ralph with a sense of humor. He needs it.

The whereas for this will be found in the following: Ralph announces in a recent issue of the National Civic Federation Monthly Review a change of policy. The Review will no longer limit itself to an advocacy of conciliation and arbitration between capital and labor, but will broaden its scope so as to promote the more important measures of social reconstruction as well. Bolshevism and I. W. W-ism especially will be strenuously combated.

Now, if this means anything, it means that Ralph Easly, \$15,000 a year "social engineer," originator, brains, and secretary of the National Civic Federation, has been getting good capitalist coin without having earned it. He has been booming conciliation and arbitration as an economic and social cure-all, only to confess to his employers that it has failed.

And this high-salaried business agent of the American federation of capital thinks he is personally fitted to wipe out Bolshevism and I. W. W-ism!

If failure is synonymous with success, its other name is Easly!

CAN THE CAPITALISTS RUN THE WORLD?

The March Liberator wants to know, "Can the workers run the world?" This question tickles our risibilities and causes us to submit to an attack of the merry ha ha! It unconsciously reechoes the capitalists' claim that they run the world and that they are the only ones that can run the world. For a radical socialist magazine to reecho capitalist misstatements is bad Marxism—the sin of sins against the holy of holies. And then the question is preposterous in the light of contemporaneous events. What we behold, if our eyesight is not falling us, is not a world run by capitalists, but a world that is running the capitalists—running them out of existence, p. d. q. (By the way, we suggest that Art Young draw a cartoon for his new satirical weekly, "Good morning," showing the capitalists "running" the world according to modern history.)

Then look at the way the capitalists run the world when the world is not running them. H. L. Gantt, one of New York's foremost production engineers, says the present system is only 15 per cent efficient. There's some running for you—running to waste—85 per cent. Will the Liberator please repeat its question again? We enjoy anything that suggests a colossal joke, such as the capitalists' assumption that they are the efficient world runners par excellence. Ask Gantt; he knows.

Now, for a change, let us take seriously this question of running the world. Let us state frankly that if the workers ever run the world the way the capitalists are running it, we'll start a bloody counter-revolution against them! And we'll inflict an antiproliferation mismanagement dictatorship on them; by God, so we will. We want the world to be run, not ruined or wasted.

The capitalists do anything but run the world. They either bring it to a dead stop or they develop conditions that throw the world into a state somewhat akin to a volcanic eruption. They have, in this heavenly society of theirs, stagnations, crisis, struggles for commercial supremacy and world domination, all climaxed by great wars. Its more like the catnipation fits than running, in the sense of orderly, efficient management. We are tired of it. And if ever the workers try the same game on us, we'll raise old Harry, damned if we won't!

Can the workers run the world?

Aw, shucks! Ask us something serious and sensible.

THE SKILLED WORKER AND THE I. W. W.

A well-known radical woman employed as a chemist in the textile industry, and popularly supposed to be informed regarding every detail of the revolutionary labor movement, was recently asked, "Why don't you join the I. W. W.?"

To which she made this amazing display of ignorance in reply, "Why, I can't. The I. W. W. is a union of unskilled, migratory workers. They wouldn't accept me. I am a skilled, scientifically trained worker."

All of which is far from being the truth. If this young woman were really "scientifically trained," she'd first learn the facts and then make her deductions accordingly. That's scientific training in its best sense. The I. W. W. is full of scientifically trained workers when it comes to getting at the real facts and arriving at sound conclusions therefrom. She'd be in good company from that viewpoint.

The truth of the matter is that the I. W. W. is not solely and exclusively a union of unskilled and migratory workers. They are included in its membership, and at times have formed the bulk of it. The I. W. W. is just what it claims to be, namely, a union of all those employed in industry, regardless of skill or craft, or whether paid in wages or salary, which may be larger than the former, but is essentially the same thing, viz, labor's share of its own product.

Accordingly the I. W. W. accepts chemists when employed on the technical staff of firms or corporations for wages or salary. Doctors exploited in industrial warfare work are also eligible. So also are dentists and nurses of a like character. So on down the whole list; wherever the intellectual is exploited in industry in conjunction with other salaried or waged workers, he is eligible to join an I. W. W. industrial union together with them; provided, of course, they are convinced of his good faith, sincerity, and desirability. Some intellectuals are stool pigeons—sycophants—of the worst character and are not wanted. Only the true blue intellectual need apply.

The I. W. W. already has civil engineers, teachers, journalists, etc., on its membership list. They have realized their kinship with all the workers, and they join with them in one great mutual fraternity for labor's benefit and emancipation. They have put behind them all the supercilious feelings of intellectual superiority which their professions so stupidly and assiduously cultivate. They aim to serve together with their fellow wage slaves, the entire working class of which they are a part.

The I. W. W. has its doors wide open to receive more of them!

We welcome the minor Liebknechts whom industrial plutocracy fain would murder.

STOP SLURRING; GIVE US FACTS.

The Messenger, "the only radical Negro magazine in America," is to be welcomed by all revolutionaries as an indication of the progress of the Negro race in this country. If the Negroes generally read magazines of the high literary character of the Messenger, they are far from being the illiterates they are said to be. It is some publication, worthy of a race that is surmounting the greatest of obstacles with success.

The Messenger is to be congratulated on advising Negroes to get into labor unionism, regardless of form or principles, in order to make the necessary beginning toward class consciousness somewhere. It evidently believes that any kind of unionism is better than no unionism, a belief the soundness of which few are likely to dispute.

Its only when the Messenger makes such statements as the following that disagreement stirs within us:

"Political action must go hand in hand with industrial action. A class of people without the vote of the privilege of determining the kind of government under which they live has neither security of life nor property, from which liberty proceeds."

The above statement is made by many radical papers, like the Messenger. Is it true? Does it agree in the current history? Did not the foremost countries engaged in the late war have the vote in some form? Did the possession of the vote secure the life and property, the liberty, of the people of those countries?

Ask the editor of the New York Call, who votes as regularly and as often as the law allows, what liberty has his vote secured for him as against the imperialist necessities of capitalism, the patriotic Henry Dubbs and the Bourbon thought controllers. Or possibly the Messenger knows of some country in which the white man's vote "kept us out of the war?" Will it kindly tell us where it is located? We'd like to know.

Now, be it understood we are nonpolitical, and as such not opposed to political action. But we object to boosting political action by slurring industrial action by means of untenable arguments.

Its up to the Messenger to show us wherein we err.

IS IT WORTH IT?

Seven million three hundred and fifty-four thousand dead; \$179,000,000,000 in losses; such is the estimated cost of the war to date. This is the price paid to perpetuate the system of industrial autocracy and rivalry for world markets known as capitalism. Is capitalism worth it?

And the end is not yet. Billions of debts and taxes must be paid. Exploitation will be increased, life's burdens intensified, and distinctions of wealth and class accentuated. Again, is capitalism worth it?

Further, the World War did not end war. The lust for world domination, with its war-producing proclivities, was rampant at the peace conference, and Senator Knox declares that the covenant for a League of Nations does not abolish or prevent wars, but does "sanction and command them." Once more, is capitalism worth it?

Finally, the World War leaves the materialism of capitalism intact. The latter, in order to preserve the billions loaned to Czaristic tyranny by world financial magnates, stands in the way of progress and civilization. It is an obstacle to the advancement of mankind. Once more, is capitalism worth the awful cost of war, with its loss of millions in life, billions in wealth, and untold, incalculable values in ideals and development?

SENATOR ADVISES CONFISCATION.

You ask me what is the remedy. The remedy is clear and plain—the same remedy you apply when a man breaks into your strong box and takes your money. You capture him and take the stolen property away from him.

It is the duty of the 65 per cent of our population who produced all the wealth to reach over and take back the 60 per cent of the wealth which the 2,000,000 thieves have stolen from them and appropriate it to the good of all, as all produced it and therefore the mass of the people are entitled to it.

This is not confiscation or robbery; it is simply taking from the thieves what they have stolen from you. (R. F. Pettigrew.)

THE MENACE.

E. E. McDonald, Ellis Island.

This sounds like a story from the land of the Czars, but it is a tale of happenings under the "new freedom" of Wilson's administration. It is a story of a woman torn from her home and husband, railroaded across the continent, held for shipment across the Atlantic for the crime of loyalty to the working class and steadfastness in union activity:

Two little Scotch lassies who two years ago turned their backs upon their native highlands to seek their fortunes in the gilded land of North America have arrived here in the clutches of the immigration authorities. One of them married an American in Seattle, and is now an American citizen by virtue of that marriage, but that, and what pain her deportation to Scotland may cause her and her husband, is no reason why the mad corporation tools of the West should show her any consideration. To them the family is not an inviolate institution, if it may interfere with the profits of their masters; and she is a "menace" to those masters and the western plunderbund—a member of the I. W. W., as also is her sister.

Menacing they surely look, the younger about 22, the elder perhaps 25, with the bloom of Scottish roses in their cheeks—cheeks which would probably awaken the muses in Burns, were he here to see them.

It makes one wonder what sort of cattle in the West constitutes the guardians of American "civilization" and traditional liberty. To those who do not know its history it might seem strange that so much misery, injustice, and terrorism should sweep from that romantically free West, with its wonderful forests, plains, and mountains; but to those who know of its wars between the robbers and the robbed, and its political corruption, it is no surprise. Its history from the early days of the open cattle range and fights with the red man has been

one of terrorism by the exploiters through the machinery of government. The deportation of the Roy sisters—Margaret and Janet—and the deportation “frame ups” on dozens of other workers is characteristic of the West and only an insignificant incident when compared with the tortures, arson, murders, which the capitalist tools of the West have so often committed in the name of so-called law and order.

Whenever a radical is arrested, tortured, or murdered the prostituted press howls that “the country is rid of another menace”; and when the “menace” has had the misfortune to be born in another country the cry of “unpatriotic foreigner” arises to drown his cries of pain and allay any resentment the crimes of capitalism may arouse in others. And yet how many of these so-called “foreigners” are the very stuff of which true patriots are made! How many of these hated aliens are thrilled with loyalty to all that is clean and lofty in American civilization. They may not worship at the shrine of Wall Street, but their minds respond with loyalty to those older and Jeffersonian traditions which used to be called “Americanism.”

Are these patriots a menace to the country they love—to the human race, which they are indeed trying to make equal, with equal opportunities for all, or are those other patriots who persecute them with deportation, imprisonment, and destruction the real menace to the country and civilization?

The latter have apparently nothing to lose by their brutalities, because their downfall is inevitable; but the former goes into the struggle for a greater, freer, and more beautiful civilization, knowing full well the hazards of that struggle and knowing that thousands before them have gone down the thorny path of exile, imprisonment, or death for such a social ideal.

When one compares the two it is an easy matter to see who is the real menace to civilization, to mankind, or the country. That menace is not the “alien disturber” or the “native disturber,” but those who persecute them and try to drive them and their children into perpetual slavery and forever chain them to the machine to wring profits from their sweat and blood.

Entertainment and dance, for the benefit of the Rebel Worker, to be held at the Finnish Hall, 422 East One hundred and forty-ninth Street, near Third Avenue, Bronx, N. Y., April 19, at 8 p. m. Admission, 25 cents.

WE WILL FREE THEM IF YOU WILL HELP.

In league with the reactionary labor politicians, the capitalists of this country are making a determined effort to crush the militant labor movement. Both groups realize that their special privileges are menaced by the steady growth of the I. W. W. and are resorting to every means at their command to wipe that organization out of existence.

Wherever signs of I. W. W. activity appear tyrannical methods are used to try to check it. The I. W. W. office in Chicago has been raided three times in quick succession recently and the workers found there were arrested without warrant. Similar illegal raids have been made in Newark, N. J., Springfield, Mass., Bridgeport, Conn., Spokane, Wash., and other places. Chinese I. W. W.s striking against the 16-hour day in New York restaurants have been arrested without warrant, imprisoned, and deported.

The wholesale deportation of foreign-born workingmen in various parts of the country for no other reason than the fact of their membership in the I. W. W. is but another move in the campaign against that organization.

The enemies of labor see where the real danger to their power lies—in revolutionary industrial unionism. That is why they are centering all their attack on the I. W. W. and are inflaming the public mind with newspaper lies about I. W. W. plots of assassination and incendiarism, as a preparation for any acts of violence or injustice they may wish to perpetrate.

The fight of the I. W. W. is the fight of all the workers throughout the country who long for freedom from industrial slavery. It is their fight as well as ours. We can not win it without them. They must help or the opportunity for industrial democracy will be lost and capitalism will be firmly entrenched for years to come.

Hundreds of dollars must be raised for immediate needs. The men in the jails and deportation pens are cold and hungry. We must send them food and clothing and reading matter to keep up their health and spirits. Many of them have left wives and little children whom we must take care of. In the meantime their cases must be fought in every way possible under the capitalist

system of "injustice," and the workers of the country must be aroused by widespread publicity to defend these fellow workers and demand their release.

This takes money—hundreds and thousands of dollars—which the workers must raise among themselves. They can do it if each will do his part.

Will you not do all in your power to help in this emergency? Will you give what you can yourself, get your friends and shopmates to contribute, and try to secure a donation from any working-class organization of which you are a member?

Above all, send what you can at once. Every dollar, every penny you can spare is needed. Give what you can and send more later if you can afford it. The need is urgent. We must have funds to carry on the fight.

Send contributions to New York defense committee, 27 East Fourth Street, New York City.

JUSTICE GONE WRONG.

Deporting people who are "undesirable" is as good a policy as hitting a man whose face you don't like. And so when the "red special" rushed across the country the newspapers celebrated the fact with flaring headlines and acrobatic editorials.

No questions asked. The fact that these men—54 in all—had been held from 14 to 16 months without trial and no legal formality, with the exception of an examination by immigration inspectors, did not concern them. Immigration inspectors are sufficient unto themselves and New York newspapers.

No one doubted when the widely advertised "red special" landed that justice was being done and that the entire lot was going to be deported. But even immigration inspectors go wrong. The first writs applied for were denied, but finally the good work of the attorneys was rewarded by an offer of parole. This was not accepted by the 14 men concerned. The Bureau of Immigration came across with an unconditional release, which was accepted to the tune of soft music by the New York papers.

The 14 men so far released are: MacGregor brothers, Christ Johnson, John Berg, August Bostrum, John Leivo, Edwin Flogaus, Axel Hendrikson, James Lund, Aaron Slutzker, Arthur Smith, Joe Martin, Jalmar Holme, Gus Lipkin, and Ephraim Kertz. Lipkin comes from Leadville, Colo., and the others from Seattle.

AN OPINION OF JUDGES.

A few Federal judges like the cheap mountebank, Landis, of Chicago, whose brother is the Washington lobbyist for the Powder Trust, still will from time to time conduct vilely patrisan "trials" of citizens accused in essence of disloyalty to our one-man Government and will impose brutally un-American prison sentences upon them. (Frank Putnam, in Reedy's Mirror.)

QUOTING MR. DOOLEY A CRIME.

One of the crimes charged against the fellow workers railroaded to jail in Sacramento in January consisted in having reprinted Mr. Dooley's famous remark: "Don't ask f'r rights; Take them. An' don't let anny wan give thim to ye. A right that is handed to ye f'r nawthin' has somethin' the matter with it. It's more than likely it's on'y a wrong turned inside out."

I. W. W.'S ELIGIBLE FOR BAIL.

Thirty-eight of the Chicago I. W. W. defendants are to be released on bail from Leavenworth Penitentiary—that is, as soon as property bonds satisfactory to the United States Appellate District Court is scheduled. Due to long distances between properties and consequent delays in verification by the court, according to our attorneys, there will be some delay in scheduling these bonds. Anyone that wishes to aid in securing the needed bonds for the release of our Leavenworth fellow workers write to James Doyle, secretary New York I. W. W. defense committee, 27 East Fourth Street, New York City, or the I. W. W. general defense, 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

Immigration officials say deportation warrants for 19 of the 38 prisoners have been issued; and that it is their intention, if the men are released on bond, to immediately rearrest and hold these fellow workers for deportation to the lands from whence they emigrated.

PICTURES OF THE SILENT DEFENSE.

The story of the silent defense of our fellow workers at Sacramento will live forever in our hearts. We can never forget the men who had the courage to go on strike against the courts of injustice and democracy in the land of the bosses, and left the court room singing "Solidarity Forever." All of us would have given much to have been there when our fellow workers were loaded on to a special train for Leavenworth, and grasped each by the hand and told him that we would hold the fort.

Three pictures were taken of the group coming out of the court room and one when they were boarding the special train for prison. These pictures are now for sale at 25 cents each or 20 cents each in lots of 25 or more.

Address: The San Francisco Recruiting Union, 1135 Mission Street, San Francisco, Calif.

THE SPIRIT OF OUR CLASS WAR PRISONERS.

The Portland Fellow Workers send \$285.75 to be equally divided among the boys in the Leavenworth Penitentiary, but the rebels confined therein decided unanimously to send same to the general office as the organization is in need of ready cash at present.

This is the spirit of the men who fought for us, and for whom we are now fighting, and their message is organize, organize some more.

A NEW JOB DELEGATE FOR SWEDEN.

Fellow Worker Robert Johnson who was recently turned loose from Bridewell, Chicago, Ill., then held for deportation has elected to go back to Sweden.

After knocking around this "land of the free and home of the brave," he has decided that a man must be brave indeed to submit to the awful torture of America's sweat shops and factories. He is a member in good standing in M. and M. I. U. No. 300.

Here's wishing him bon voyage and success in his new field of operation.

Workingmen everywhere are becoming aware that they are being exploited for the benefit of others, and that they cannot be truly free unless they own themselves and their labor. The achievement of such economic freedom stands in prospect—at no distant date—as the revolutionary climax of the age. (Helen Keller.)

BRUTALITIES AT SEA.

One of our fellow workers, a marine transport worker, on board the White Star liner *Baltic* reports that working conditions on ships, sailing under the British flag, are now worse than ever before in his experience of 10 years at sea.

The British marine transport workers intend to call a general strike in April. The object of the general strike is to install the 4-hour watch, with 12 hours off, instead of the old system of 4 hours on and 8 hours off—which by the way has never been rigidly enforced. The fact of the matter is that the men have been compelled to practically work 6 hours on, sometimes more. The object of overworking the men is to keep the crew as small as possible, thereby forcing the men to work overtime without extra pay.

In compelling men to work longer watches brute force is resorted to. An illustration of how this is done is the case of a young boy, a coal passer, who had been honorably discharged from the British Navy. This boy put in 10 hours of work when he was called upon to report for further duty. Upon refusal to respond because of physical exhaustion, the third engineer grabbed him by the hair and dragged him out of a bunk 6 feet above the floor. The boy's head was severely bruised as a result of being thrown against the bulkhead. Then he was dragged on his back 200 feet to the stokehole, after which he was beaten into a state of unconsciousness. Later he was taken up to the ship's doctor where it took 2 hours for him to come to. He was disabled from further duty for 4 days.

In these days such happenings as this are quite common aboard trans-Atlantic lines. Another important thing to bear in mind is that seafaring men have no redress, under existing conditions, for such grievances as this. If, perchance, the thing happened the other way round—this is, the boy struck the officer—the boy would have immediately been thrown in irons. When the ship arrived in port, the boy would be turned over to the port authorities on a

charge of insubordination and assault, which would call for a minimum punishment of 12 months of hard labor.

The only reason that such outrages are perpetrated upon seafaring men is that there is a lack of effective organization along revolutionary industrial lines. Each and every member should take an active part in the work of organization, and not depend, as they do now on port delegates to do all their fighting and business for them.

Fellow workers, to quote an old axiom, "If you want a thing well done, do it yourself and do not leave it to others."

SUCCESS.

A short time ago a New York paper contained an account of a laborer who became a banker. This case was pointed out as an illustration of the manner in which a workingman can succeed. Probably about three-fourths of our population work for wages. If we can discover the formula of success for the workers, it will be indeed, a worthy discovery. We predict failure however, before we start. If you ask a successful man when he commenced to succeed, he will tell you it was just about the time he gave up work. This case then, does not deal with a successful workingman, but with the case of a successful man. We would ask the name of a carpenter who pounded nails all his life and amassed a fortune. We would ask to see Joe, the blacksmith's bank roll. And Tony, the trackwalker, where is he? We may scrutinize the list of successful men without finding the names of Bill, the carpenter. Jim, the blacksmith, or Tony, the trackwalker. Tony, the trackwalker, who "succeeded," succeeded himself. His name is now Antonio, the banker. If there is a difference in name there is also a difference in the effects of being different. Tony, the trackwalker, walked. Antonio, the banker, rides. Antonio, the banker, has a career. Tony, the trackwalker, has a car-rear.

We ask one instance of a man who remained a workingman and succeeded. We venture the statement that not one exists. A senior metaphysician in one of our universities gets over the trouble by saying that "A man is what he may become." It seems more practical to divide men into classes, and besides it is more polite. Tony, the trackwalker might be "tickled to death" to know that he is a banker because he may become one; but Antonio the banker would not like to be called a trackwalker even if a metaphysical aphorism would not put the callous back on his hands or make him sleep in a caboose.

The laborers have the most enormous power in their hands, and if they once became thoroughly conscious of it and used it, nothing would withstand them: they would only have to stop labor, regard the product of labor as theirs, and enjoy it. (Max Stirner.)

AMERICAN SLAVE MARKET.

Foreign-born employees of the department of streets and engineering of that superpatriotic town, Springfield, Mass., were notified last month that they would be discharged if they did not take out naturalization papers. This puts citizenship on a level with a meal ticket and will help to cultivate a proper attitude toward nationalism, patriotism, political parties, elections, capitalist government and all the rigmarole with which the master class tries to befuddle the workers and blind them to the fact that the two classes have nothing in common, unless it be their mutual hatred and contempt.

Soldiers at the aviation camp near Houston, Tex. showed the undercurrent that is running through the Army and Navy by a mutinous demonstration last month. "All you Bolsheviks follow me!" cried one man, as he seized a red flag. The others fell in behind and paraded demanding release from the service, according to reports in the newspapers, which the military authorities tried to hold back, President Wilson's manly countenance is hissed when it appears at movie shows given in the effort to keep the men quiet. If Uncle Sam holds them in camp a while longer, they will come out well trained for service—in the ranks of labor.

A movement to organize workers' soviets, with delegates elected from the various shops, is well under way in Cleveland, Ohio. The initial demands, as a sort of dress rehearsal for the one big demand to come, include the six-hour day, with a minimum wage of \$1 an hour, and the release of all class-war prisoners.

The Teachers' Union of New York were notified by the capitalist tool at the head of the "public" school system that they would be denied the use of a

school building if they dared expose themselves to the corrupting influence of an address by a former teacher dismissed for having ideas about democracy in "our" schools.

Employees of the Brooklyn Rotten Transit Co. are organizing—the wrong way—and preparing to make the utterly unreasonable demand that they be required to work for the stockholders only 10 hours a day. As their international officials have announced that "there is really no foundation for the rumor of a strike," it looks as if the owners of the road could rest easy in their armchairs, while their slaves continue to pile up dividends for them.

In Tacoma, Wash., the city officials and police have shown that they line up with Gen. Wood and his pals by refusing a permit for the Soldiers and Sailors Council to sell "tags" in order to raise funds for discharged men out of work; arresting threescore soldiers and sailors for selling the tags, raiding the headquarters of the council and threatening to prosecute members of the Central Labor Council who had helped the service men to organize. The next time Tacoma workers are called on by the Government for military service, they will know whose government it is.

A live organization has been formed in New York under the name of the Soldiers' Sailors and Marines' Protective Association. The payrioteers have tried to hinder its growth by forming a rival organization for "good boys" under the auspices of a clique of officers close to Wall Street circles, and by encouraging a gang of empty-headed scissorbills to wreck the offices of the Association at 123 East Twenty-third Street on April 6.

Meanwhile the bread line has made its reappearance in New York City. Five hundred men a day are applying for a hand-out dosed with religious bunk at two "missions" on East Ninth Street and the Bowery.

After spending a tremendous amount of time, thought, and money on building up a Labor Party, the Chicago workers succeeded in polling 50,000 votes in the municipal election on April 1, in a city of a million workers, 240,000 of whom belong to labor unions. They will now have time to devote to the real struggle, until next fall, when politicians will again sidetrack them into thinking that they can beat the bosses by electing officials to go off somewhere and try to pass a few bills and resolutions. After a few years of such nonsense the workers of Chicago may wake to the fact that the only way they can win in the economic struggle is to fight it out themselves in the economic field by their united industrial power.

The United States Government has issued a call for 50,000 volunteers, offering as a special inducement that those who enlist for three years will be sent to Europe, to help keep the workers over there from going too far in their efforts to throw off the yoke of economic slavery.

The Indianapolis Associated Employers, realizing what is coming to them, are organizing a citizens' police reserve, "to meet bolshevism in its insipieny, squelch the fire of anarchy, and sever the head of the revolutionary serpent." What they call "the privilege of being invited to join" will be extended only to "American citizens of proven loyalty"—to the master class.

On April fool's day, the United Mine Workers celebrated in Pittsburgh the fact that it is 21 years since they began slaving eight hours a day to make their masters rich, while they are as poor as ever.

The same highly revolutionary organization has announced through its official journal that its half a million members will not help in the July 4 strike for Tom Mooney. The excuse they give is that the Chicago Mooney conference was not called by the sacred American Federation of Labor and the U. M. W. was not represented there.

Officials of the above-mentioned highly class-conscious organization have likewise issued a statement repudiating the move of the Indiana miners for a strike in behalf of Eugene Debs.

"Merely preliminary" ballots are being sent out to "reliable" labor organizations "to decide as to whether they will take a vote" to decide as to whether they will call a strike for Tom Mooney. If Tom lives long enough, some placard artists may have to allow that strike to come off and let Mooney out of prison, even if it does mean that they will be out of a job.

Twenty-six aviators have been enlisted for the airplane section of the New York police department. They will come in handy when it becomes necessary to drop bombs on crowds of workers demanding some of the "democracy" they have heard so much about from the glib mouthpieces of the master class.

The Endicott-Johnson Corporation, the largest shoe-manufacturing plant in the world, has worked out a plan to dope its slaves and make them think they

have a share in the prosperity of the concern. After the bondholders and preferred stockholders (who never do a stroke of work at making shoes) have received their "unearned increment," and the holders of the common stock (which is "water" and does not even represent earnings of the workers withheld from them and reinvested in the business) have had their rake-off of 10 per cent, "the balance if any" will be divided 50-50 between the last-named group of pirates and the men and women who earned it all—provided the latter have been good and willing slaves "during the entire year."

Rev. Dr. Frederick Lynch, envoy of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ, comes back from the peace conference with a call to Christians in America to "stand firm against the rising tide of bolshevism" and help the capitalist governments of Europe prevent the workers from freeing themselves from industrial slavery.

Government officials have decided to suspend the order against overtime in navy yards and shipyards doing navy work, so that the men lucky enough to have jobs may not realize that they are being underpaid, even if this does keep other men from getting work.

The extreme solicitude of dear old Uncle Samuel for "his boys" is shown by the announcement that, "with the present military practice," vessels bringing back troops from Europe will carry "at least twice as many" passengers as would have been permitted "under the German prewar regulations" for the safety and comfort of human beings at sea.

A petition is being circulated among the Negroes "beeseeking" President Wilson, "with the help of an impartial God," to protect them against "a Klu Klux being organized in the Southern States to perpetrate atrocities upon the colored soldier when he returns from the battlefields." A little organizing of the colored workers, men and women, in one big union would do more than a million petitions to make Woodrow, the impartial God, the Ku Klux, and all the rest of the capitalist gang step lively and treat the Negro like a human being.

I FEEL SO GOOD.

I have to sing
I feel so good,
Because some grand
Duke's sawing wood.

And pretty soon
A big bunch more,
Will have to work
Until they're sore.

And then we stiffs,
Will run this earth,
And all their pains
Will cause us mirth.

And if some guy
Tells us that's wrong,
We've got a story
Good and long.

Of things they've done
While we were slaves;
Grand Dukes and such
Are common Knaves.

A. SIGISMUND.

The first man who, having inclosed a piece of ground, bethought himself of saying "This is mine," and found people simple enough to believe he was the real founder of civil society. From how many crimes, wars, and murders, from how many horrors and misfortunes might not anyone have saved mankind by pulling up the stakes or filling up the ditch and crying to his fellows: "Beware of listening to this imposter; you are undone if you once forget that the fruits of the earth belong to all of us, and the earth itself to nobody." (Jean Jacques Rousseau.)

A WORD FROM TOM MANN.

One of the keenest observers of industrial conditions and labor unions is Tom Mann, of England. He won his spurs in the labor movement long ago. John L. Jones, a member of the Steel Smelter Workers' Union of Great Britain, who is now in America studying industrial conditions, has just received an interesting letter from Tom Mann which in part says:

"I note your interest in the shop stewards' movement. I attach more importance to it than to any other phase of the labor movement. It is only sectional because, as you know, it has hardly had time to become really national, but its basis is universal, and whilst it must partake of the character of those who compose it, its stimulating side makes for the syndicalist idea of direct control of work by those who do the work.

"It is hardly antipolitical, but it is essentially proindustrial. I am hoping and expecting to see it—the shop stewards and similar movements—become the chief influence in throwing the workers' cause on to right lines.

"I am wanting to see the revolution actually realized and am wondering if the workers in the United States are preparing for the great change? The I. W. W. is the best organization in the United States, but most of their chief advocates are in prison. What a comment upon the fine speeches of President Wilson. Here the government is again mobbing the labor leaders and only the straight-out industrialist can save the situation."

Unionism in England, like Canada and Australia, is undergoing rapid and revolutionary changes. Craft unionism is moribund. It is improbable that this collapse of craft unionism in the British Empire will not affect the craft union movement in the United States. Indeed, to judge by the frantic howlings of the fakeration leaders, disintegration is already taking place in their ranks.

Jones, who has recently arrived from England, has a very interesting story to tell of the new union movement there. He will speak at I. W. W. headquarters, 27 East Fourth Street, New York, on Sunday, April 20, at 8 p. m. He is an exceedingly interesting fellow with a fine conception of the labor movement. This is an opportunity for the workers of New York to get the facts concerning industrial conditions in the British Empire.

IMPORTANT NOTICE.

Do not wait until the last moment to send in your order for extra copies of the May Day Rebel Worker. It cost us twice as much to publish this edition as usual, so we can not afford to have more printed than we have orders for. Do not wait, send today. Three cents per copy for 10 or more.

STINGERETTES.

Bohn-headed simplicity.—"At the signing of the armistice, the task before the allies was simplicity itself," says that super-patriotic Socialist, "Dr." Frank Bohn, in an article in the New York Times.

Russian prisoners of war "subsisted in many camps by eating the bodies of those among them who had died of starvation and disease," he adds, estimating correctly the intelligence of persons who read the Times—or anything by Frank Bohn.

Tragic misfortune.—"Unfortunately, distrust of the military is deeply ingrained in the French Republic," says a mournful Paris correspondent.

Charles E. Hughes, according to a newspaper headline, "sees Bolshevik failure in Russia." That's some eyesight for old whiskers.

The slaveholder's christianity.—"A preacher is a good investment. The man who goes to church on Sunday goes to work on Monday rested, ambitious to do his best for you. He is a valuable employee." (Church advertisement.)

Will we now waltz to "The Beautiful Red Danube"?

Bullshivism in the New York Times.—"In the streets of Moscow tragic and terrifying scenes are enacted. A horse falls exhausted with hunger and is immediately attacked by a score of famished dogs. Sometimes men and women cast themselves upon the carcass, slashing it with their knives and fighting with the snarling dogs for the strips of bleeding flesh, which they devour on the spot, not having sufficient will-power left to carry their booty home to cook." (Special to the New York Times.)

When Harry Hicks, of Louisville, Ky., was arrested for keeping a disorderly house near Camp Zachary Taylor, the judge let him off on the ground that "the

war has come to an end." If a labor agitator had been up before the same judge under the espionage act, how many years would hizzoner have soaked him?

Hogs.—While Hoover is making arrangements to "restore 250,000 hogs lost to the Hungarians by the fixation of new boundaries," the Allies are trying to work out a plan for restoring the capitalist hogs the Hungarians got rid of by their own efforts.

A correspondent having written to the New York Globe urging that the capital of the League of Nations be located in New York in order to "make the city a mecca for tourists and thus stimulate its commercial life," the editor labels this, "Proposal of a patriot," thus showing that he understands the true basis of patriotism.

Superexcellent.—"The behavior of the Culo police was excellent. Altogether sixty-nine natives were killed and eight wounded." (News item.)

Now that the Chicago meatpackers are no longer under Government "control," they will have to get along without Herbert Hoover's friendly interest and the inside tips they used to get from their dollar-a-year patriotic stool pigeons in the Food Administration.

"Secretary Glass bases fifth Liberty loan on patriotism; may raise interest rate," says a newspaper headline, with an unpleasant suggestion of cause and effect.

Unfit to print.—The Rebel Worker, the New York World informs us, "continues to circulate through the United States mails by being wrapped in a page torn from the New York Times, thus deceiving postal employees into the belief that it is copies of the Times they are handling." Modesty forbids our mentioning the other thing we use the Times for.

"Good and Willing Slaves."—Charles M. Schwab, returning from Europe, "spoke in the highest terms of the conduct of the colored troops on the voyage. They were allowed to walk on the promenade deck all the time, space reserved for the deck chairs." (News item.)

The world is going to have "either a League of Nations or another war." Senator Hitchcock sagely informs us. We'll soon have both, Hitch.

The league that will stand up will be the league of the workers of the world against the capitalists of the world, started by Russia and Hungary.

We recommend safety pins.—Poland is pinning all its faith on President Wilson. (Cable dispatch.)

EXHIBIT No. 33.

WARNING—THE DEADLY PARALLEL.

A DECLARATION BY THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

We, the Industrial Workers of the World, in convention assembled, hereby reaffirm our adherence to the principles of industrial unionism, and rededicate ourselves to the unflinching struggle for the abolition of wage slavery and the realization of our ideals in industrial democracy.

With the European war for conquest and exploitation raging and destroying the lives, class consciousness, and unity of the workers, and the ever-growing agitation for military preparedness clouding the main issues and delaying the realization of our ultimate aim with patriotic and therefore capitalistic aspirations, we openly

PLEDGE GIVEN TO NATION BY AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

We, the officers of the national and international trades unions of America in national conference assembled, in the Capital of our Nation, hereby pledge ourselves in peace or in war, in stress or in storm, to stand unreservedly by the standards of liberty and the safety and preservation of the institutions and ideals of our Republic.

In this solemn hour of our Nation's life it is our earnest hope that our Republic may be safeguarded in its unswerving desire for peace; that our people may be spared the horrors and the burdens of war; that they may have the opportunity to cultivate and

declare ourselves determined opponents of all nationalistic sectionalism or patriotism and the militarism preached and supported by our one enemy, the capitalist class. We condemn all wars, and for the prevention of such we proclaim the antimilitarist propaganda in time of peace, thus promoting class solidarity among the workers of the entire world, and, in time of war, the general strike in all industries.

We extend assurances of both moral and material support to all the workers who suffer at the hands of the capitalist class for their adhesion to the principles, and call on all workers to unite themselves with us that the reign of the exploiters may cease and this earth be made fair through the establishment of the industrial democracy.

develop the arts of peace, human brotherhood, and a higher civilization.

But, despite all our endeavors and hopes, should our country be drawn into the maelstrom of the European conflict, we, with these ideals of liberty and justice herein declared, as the indispensable basis for national policies, offer our services to our country in every field of activity to defend, safeguard, and preserve the Republic of the United States of America against its enemies, whomsoever they may be, and we call upon our fellow workers and fellow citizens in the holy name of labor, justice, freedom, and humanity to devotedly and patriotically give like service.

WAR'S TOLL—CASUALTIES IN ENTENTE ARMIES 5,719,400, IN TEUTONIC FORCES 3,384,800, SINCE WAR BEGAN, FIGURES AT WASHINGTON SHOW.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *March 11.*

There have been 5,719,400 casualties in the entente armies and 3,384,800 in the Teutonic forces since the war began, according to authoritative figures obtained here to-day. The classified figures by countries follow:

	Killed.	Wounded: perma- nently disabled.	Captured and missing.	Total.
England.....	205,400	102,500	107,500	415,400
France.....	870,000	540,800	400,000	1,810,800
Russia.....	1,500,000	784,200	800,000	3,084,200
Italy.....	105,000	49,000	55,000	209,000
Belgium.....	50,000	22,000	40,000	112,000
Serbia.....	60,000	28,000	88,000
Total.....	2,790,400	1,526,500	1,402,500	5,719,400
Germany.....	893,200	450,000	245,000	1,588,200
Austria-Hungary.....	523,100	355,000	591,000	1,469,100
Turkey.....	127,000	110,000	70,000	307,000
Bulgaria.....	7,500	7,000	6,000	20,500
Total.....	1,550,800	922,000	912,000	3,384,800

Ten million human lives stand as a monument to the national patriotic stupidity of the working class of Europe. Who will be to blame if the workers of America are betrayed and led into the bloodiest slaughter of history? Who?

EXHIBIT No. 34.

[The Rebel Workers, organ of revolutionary unionism. Our strength to-day proves that Frank Little did not die in vain. New York, Aug. 1, 1919.]

THE REVOLUTION IS HERE; WHAT KIND WILL YOU HAVE?—CAPITALISM IS TOTTERING.

Industrial commonwealth near.—When the I. W. W. speaks of "revolution" it means, and has always meant, the revolution that has been going on for years. The philosophy and program of this organization is built on the fundamental basis that all things are in a state of continual change. There is no

such thing as perpetuity, except the perpetual changing of things. The evolutionary process, enunciated in our preamble, of organizing the workers to take control of the industries of the world, building the structure of the new society within the shell of the old, is the substance of our position.

However, because of the world cataclysm of the last four years and the violent opposition to our program by antisocial human beings, it is possible that the orderly process of the workers taking control of industry may be seriously interrupted.

Practically all Europe is a seething volcano of revolution. Capitalist governments are tottering. There is a growing demand for workers' control of industry. It does not follow that this is going to be realized. While it may be true that the mass of European workers have a better conception than the mass of American workers, nevertheless, the workers of Europe have not grasped wholly the importance of organizing. Industrially, for the purpose of carrying on industry once they have gained control of it.

Capitalism is essentially universal. It is not possible for a capitalist State to exist alongside a socialist or even a semisocialist State. One or the other must eventually go. The basis of capitalism is exploitation. Remove exploitation to any extent in any part of the world and the whole system begins to tremble.

Some of the most prominent men in the financial world have recently gave warning that some of the world's most powerful States are on the verge of financial breakdown. Sir George Paish, one of England's leading economists, says that the "collapse of the world's credit is near." In fact the most far-reaching crisis the world have ever known is upon us.

We, the I. W. W., would have avoided this coming upheaval. It is not of our making. The blame lies with the money maniacs, the exploiters of labor.

There is an attempt being made by the capitalists of this country to save the face of things by precipitating a war with Mexico. This is but a phase of the great world revolution. It is a counter attack made to draw the enemy's fire. Let us not get excited about this minor affair. Let us concentrate our efforts in organizing the workers for the ultimate goal, workers control of industry.

CAPITAL PREPARES TO RAVISH MEXICO.

It may mean nothing at all than an association composed of some of the largest banking houses in the United States, which means corporations having enormous international connections, are preparing to stampede the Government into taking decisive action in regard to Mexico. But then again it may. Especially when in the New York Times, the paper in which this news is discovered we find an exceedingly interesting article on a page which the workingman seldom pursues—the financial page. Here we become aware that an international corporation has been organized to "develop" Mexico. Read on fellow worker and see how these philanthropists are to "better" our fair southern neighbor.

Among the board of directors of the Mexican International Corporation, which has an initial capitalization of \$1,125,000 are the following: Representatives of Guggenheim Bros, Kidder, Peabody & Co., Chase National Bank, National City Bank, and others of that ilk. In the circular announcing its organization the syndicate managers make the following statement:

"Not only is Mexico so located as to afford a natural field for investment and development by our people, but she has unexploited natural resources * * * Here we have the crux of the entire affair. Having exploited the American workingman until the latter are prepared to step on capital's fat neck, the trusts look about them for some less dangerous virgin land, and after thoroughly preparing the field, they are now ready to drag the Mexican workers into their slave pen.

Everything is now ripe for the great play of "protecting America's foreign interests." President Wilson is reported to be on the verge of taking a more clarified stand on the situation in order to keep the bad, bad Mexicans in order. Things are being played up to the best pitch possible, as is indicated by a recent affair in the southern country, during which an American family by the name of Correll was terribly handled by some Mexicans. The great corporations here become "righteously" indignant, and demand that the Government take immediate action. It will be noticed that among the committee formed to see that the Correll family received a square deal, are such walking images of human unselfishness as the Standard Oil Co., Guaranty Trust Co., and J. P. Morgan & Co. A little examination discloses the information that

at least one of the above mentioned, the Guaranty Trust Co., is a member of the recently organized Mexican International Corporation, formed for the "benefit" of Mexico. And any fool ought to know that the Standard Oil Co., the bloody bandit of Ludlow, the perpetrator of countless industrial massacres, the persecutor of Charles Krieger, I. W. W. organizer, and general example of all that is horrible in the capitalist system, why, it should be repeated, any guy with sawdust where his mind should be, ought to know that the Standard Oil Co. would do its utmost and extend its most beneficent powers to aid the Correll family.

"There is every indication that efforts will be made to have the Correll case serve as the basis for action by the American Government with the view of bringing about a showdown with Carranza." That is the way the newspaper report goes. And the National Association for the Protection of American Rights in Mexico, of which the Standard Oil Co. and J. P. Morgan are a couple of members will see to it that our rights are well taken care of. Whose rights? Why "our" rights of course. Any worker can see that. Sure we can, and we can see a lot of other things beside that, and so will the Mexican worker before many moons.

LABOR FAKIRS BOOST NO-STRIKE LAW.

A copy of Fair Play, official organ of the no-strike organization, has found its way to the office of the Rebel Worker, eastern organ of the strike often and hard organization.

At the head of the editorial column of Fair Play we find the following announcement:

"The No Strike Association has been incorporated January, 1918, under the membership corporation laws of the State of New York. The work of the association has grown to such a large extent that it has been necessary to enlarge its general offices in the Tribune Building, New York City.

The doctrine of conciliation of labor disputes is being indorsed widely by labor organizations and by many prominent men in all walks of life.

"The principle advocated by Matt Glaser, the author of the proposed no-strike bill, has been fundamentally indorsed by Hon. George Gray, the great conciliator; Hon. Morgan J. O'Brien; Alfred I. Du Pont; J. Cardinal Gibbons; John A. Percival, president Con. Inters. Cal. Co.; Robert H. Adams, president American Linseed Co.; Charles Francis, president Chas. Francis Press; John F. O'Rourke, noted engineer, president O'Rourke Construction Co.; Don C. Seitz, manager director of the New York World; Gen. Felix Agnus, publisher Baltimore American and Baltimore Star; Chistoffer Hannevig & Co., ship brokers; J. H. Wheelwright, president Consolidated Coal Co.; H. S. Rubens, chairman of board United States Industrial Alcohol Co.; Arthur Ryle, silks; H. Rawitser, wool merchant; Charles J. Webb, wool merchant, Philadelphia; F. J. Kress, Pittsburgh; John R. Morrow, Pittsburgh; B. H. Hammill, Pittsburgh; W. A. Stone, Uniontown, Pa.; W. H. Taylor, Erie, Pa.; Alexander Steel, Scranton, Pa.; John Markle, coal operator; J. H. McCrady, Braddock, Pa.; and month others.

"The association has among its list of honorary members some of the leading men of the country, all of whom are well-known supporters of any measure that will tend to bring for industrial peace, especially as outlined in the no-strike bill.

"The organization of the association is being rapidly extended to other States.

"The official organ of the association is Fair Play, which is growing rapidly in circulation and is to be enlarged to an eight page paper.

"Matt Glaser remains as editor in chief with a well selected force of associate editors."

The editor of Fair Play and chief advocate of the no-strike bill is Matt Glaser, a former reported of the plute press of New York. This paid would-be saviour of the exploiting class says, "I question the patriotism of anybody who talks strike." In his paper he reproduces letters from some of the most notorious labor-bating "captains of indutry" indorsing his no-strike bill.

His paper also states that "It is published in the interest of the great third party, the people, for the enactment into law of the no-strike bill, thus eliminating strikes for all time." To prove that "labor" is supporting the no-strike bill Mr. Gompers is quoted as saying, "I believe that boards of conciliation made up as they will be under this no-strike bill, will prove of great value."

We do not doubt, Mr. Gompers, that this no-strike bill will prove of great value—to the employers. This advocacy of Mr. Gompers of the no-strike bill

is in complete harmony with his everlasting policy of keeping the chains of wage slavery riveted on the worker.

But it is not Mr. Gompers alone that is helping to enact this infamous no-strike bill. Officials of the International Longshoremen's Association, affiliated with the A. F. of L., have written a letter to Mr. Glaser pledging their support to his plan of keeping the workers in perpetual slavery. We reproduce a photograph of the letter so that the members of this misled, weakened, and crumbling organization may know the caliber of the men who are supposed to represent them.

MASK IS TORN FROM AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

The American Federation of Labor and its historical development.—In order that a proper understanding of the American Federation of Labor may be had by the average worker, it is best that he should know what it really is and not confound it with what it is supposed to be. First of all it is essential to know that American Federation of Labor is not a labor organization—at least not a labor organization in the interest of the worker.

When the American Federation of Labor was formed, almost 40 years ago, it was purposely designed as a job trust for skilled workers. That is, it was expected to control jobs for the union membership and through this control it was to raise standards of wages and shorten hours. In the early history of the American Federation of Labor, there was no attempt made to create any other impression than this. From time to time, in order to maintain this condition of affairs, unions were closed against the acceptance of new members and rigorous apprenticeship rules were developed so that the influx of new mechanics might be likewise controlled.

It failed to give any consideration to modern industrial development; machine processes were ignored and that the age of specialization came held out no significance to it apparently. When this condition developed, it became necessary for the officials (who at all times held the organization in their grip) to devise new methods to maintain their control. This had a tendency to develop the organization practically in its entirety from a job trust to control jobs for the union membership into a job trust for the officials constituting the machine of the entire affiliated bodies. The great bulk of officialdom in this machine functioned coherently together for the definite purpose of keeping the workers separated.

During the 40 years of the existence of the American Federation of Labor it has cost the membership therein approximately a million dollars a week for its maintenance. And what have the workers got for this outlay amounting to over \$2,000,000? If we glance into the economic history of the country covering the period since the advent of the American Federation of Labor, we find the case to be stated thusly:

In 1880 Carrol D. Wright explained that the worker's share as wages out of the social value of the product he created was 20.50 per cent. The most recent figures obtainable show the worker's share is approximately 20.36 per cent. Consequently the workers spent their time, energies, suffering, and money only to be set back further after 40 years than they were at the beginning.

For the past quarter of a century the entire organization has been involved in a tangle of industrial disputes. Some of these became so hopelessly involved that in order to keep the Gordian Knot, it was frequently necessary to annihilate the weaker union in order to benefit the stronger. But no matter what methods were devised, no reasonable degree of satisfaction developed.

To-day the American Federation of Labor, from the official utterances of its leaders, stands revealed in its true light. It sets its face deliberately against any possibility of progress. The world may seeth and bubble with the spirit of the new age but the American Federation of Labor remains firmly routed in the swamp of reaction. There be those who for years have set themselves the task of trying to capture this institution. To capture it will avail them nothing. They will merely immortalize the graveyard of the workers' hopes.

The new age demands industrial organization which will better the lot of the worker rather than merely maintain the statu quo. In the old age that passed with the World War, the worker kept on the border line of poverty and all that went with it. The new age opens up a new basis of what life should be and can be under the proper economic conditions. This can only be attained through organization of the forces of labor based upon the general scheme of production and distribution. When the worker shall have developed an

organization based upon modern lines so that he can control with his fellows his labor power, then all those things for which the working class has yearned for centuries will be theirs, and not before.—O. T.

PERSECUTION SCARES OFF WORKERS AND DRIVES UP WAGES.

Kansas farmers stung right for their fight on the I. W. W.'s, who harvest their wheat, according to a letter just received from C. W. Anderson, one of class-war prisoners at Lawrence, Kans. Wages in the harvest fields have gone up to \$6, and even \$13, a day because of the scarcity of labor, and the wobblies are getting the benefit of it all. The persecution of harvesters, hundreds of whom have been held up or arrested by the chin-whiskered constables has put fear into the heart of the scissorbill. The scissorbill now stays on the other side of the border and the nervy wob rides in and grabs the high wages which Farmer John is compelled to pay.

Standard Oil authorities and their satellites in the Kansas government, State and county, duped the farmer into allying himself with them against the wobbly, and now the farmer is paying the freight.

Anderson says that more than half the harvesters are members of the one big union now and that hundreds of delegates are lining the others up rapidly. He says that this will mean a powerful organization in the Dakotas, where the migratory workers go later in the season to harvest, and that next year there will be job control.

But this great gain is made by the heroic sacrifice of the brave men who have been railroaded to prison under false charges. Jail conditions are horrible. The prison hell that Alexander Berkman describes in his memoirs is a heaven compared to the vile holes where the boys are confined in Wichita, Lawrence, and other places. Anderson writes:

"The boys that are still in jail are coming to the point where they are pretty weak and are but shells of their former selves. Never again will they be the same men physically that they were previous to coming in jail."

The frame ups against the men are so evident, since not a bit of proof was brought to show that the boys ever advocated violence, and the economic motive of the prosecutors who owe their jobs to Standard Oil and other big corporations is so clear that the decent folks in Kansas are beginning to protest against the continuance of the persecution.

But the victims of a capitalist conspiracy need more than the sympathy of the good people in the State where they were victimized. They need financial support. Two of the indictments against the Wichita men have already been quashed, because the bosses knew they couldn't make the frame ups good even before a Kansas jury, but there is now a third indictment, and till that is likewise quashed the men must remain in the Wichita tank. Money for defense is needed and needed now. Help get the class-war prisoners out. They are in there for you. Send on your money—a dollar will help. Send the funds to general defense committee, 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago.

FULL STEAM AHEAD.

A delegate of the Railroad Workers Industrial Union, No. 600, lined up a worker, gave him credentials and supplies, and got a report from him showing three new members, and all in the same day.

A new leaflet for the railroad workers is off the press, and it is a dandy. Send in a few cents to headquarters for some of these leaflets and get them distributed. Education of the workers is the vital thing.

Out in Colorado, the land of the turquoise sky, the red cards of the wobbles is making the bosses feel blue. The railroad workers are lining up many new members and are setting the pace that kills—capitalism.

SAM A. KRIEGER.

S. A. Krieger is urged to return to Newark at once. Failure to do so will cause the branch to take action that will lead to his expulsion from the organization. Meanwhile Krieger should communicate with the Newark **secretary**.

JOSEPH ISRAEL, *Secretary Pro Tem*.

HOW TO ORGANIZE THE WORKERS SUCCESSFULLY.

Quick, easy method to industrial freedom.—How often do we hear that old dished-up question, "How can you bring industrial democracy about?" By working-class democracy education, of course. We are well aware of that. But I am confident we could overthrow capitalism and organize a few million Australian workers into the one big union within the next few weeks. You think that scarcely possible, eh?

Well, here is my plan: We must use clever tactics, cute methods to scientifically gull and hypnotize William Mug.

First of all take possession of the schools, churches, and press. You now hold the people morally and mentally in the palm of your hand. Evidently you can either swing them into hell abruptly or force them into everlasting bliss without the slightest inconvenience to the plebeians.

Every week school children to hold "one big union" patriotic demonstrations at the show ground form the red flag and collect twenty thousand pounds, which must be spent on propaganda. Every council to hold weekly meetings, preaching "follow the one big union movement." Recruiting associations to be organized throughout the country. Object: To enlist O. B. U. recruits, The police and politicians to assist. Young ladies to be educated up to hate and ignore those who do not enlist in the O. B. U. and give them the white feather and call them cowards. Politicians to hold recruiting meetings daily in the main streets and explain how the workers produce everything and own nothing, while the bourgeoisie class own everything and produce nothing. If any person howls at the speakers or asks a question, have him arrested immediately. Every man who steps forward to enlist pin a rose on his coat and the crowd will cheer like hell. The cheering will hypnotize others into joining the one great big. Get Fitzpat to fake up an O. B. U. precautions bill, so that any person who speaks against the one big union will be arrested and tried before a rebel judge. Naturally enough he will get 12 months for sure. Every shop window to be plastered with posters, "Enlist in the one big union: your country needs you to help shorten the hours of labor, etc." Big processions to march through the city streets; bands playing "The Red Flag" and other Socialist songs. Have everybody singing and waving red flags. If the whole damn thing fails, collect the names of all males and females between 18 and 60 and force conscription upon them—compel them to be industrial unionists.

Well, dear reader, this is my eclaireissement of how industrial freedom could be brought about within the next few weeks. That's if the master class only—well—only loved you.—One Big Union Herald, Melbourne.

EDUCATION ON THE JOB.

If all the revolutionary talk that passes off over the coffee cups or in union halls were turned loose on the job, the red dawn of the new society would come ere the sun had spun another four seasons. The place for talk is not among your fellow revolutionists, but among your fellow workers—the scissor-bills on the job with you. Save that steam you are blowing off among your pals and talk for the cause on the job.

The police have placed so many obstacles in the way of our old style propaganda that was once so useful that we are forced to fall back on our one best bet—propaganda on the job. The authorities unwittingly have forced us to use the most effective tactics, the kind that makes more converts to the social revolution than any other. The job delegate system of the I. W. W. bids fair to do more for the organization and its ideals than the old enthusiasm meetings.

But it must be recognized that the possibilities of the job propaganda have merely been scratched. And that is because too many rebel workers think there is nothing for them to do in a shop but work for the boss. For one fellow worker who is turning the scissor-bills around him into wobs there are half a dozen who saw wood for the boss and are num for the revolution. Yet these same fellows will talk by the hour in a rebel group outside wasting good words like soldiers emptying their magazines in target shooting for sport. A rebel worker once gave me a much-needed lesson when I was pouring out a lot of industrial unionism talk to him. "For God's sake," he said, "I know this already. Why don't you wake up those scissors on your side of the shop?"

I've got all the boys around me talking industrial unionism and the six-hour day. Do the same with your crowd."

Talk to a worker on the street corner and he'll laugh at you and turn back to the account of the Willard-Dempsey fight or hurry on home to see his wife and kiddies very likely, but talk to him on the job and you'll get his attention—that is, if you use some common sense in making your approach. And in talking on the job don't force your ideas on him. Ease them into him. Wait till he is ready for them. Wait till he starts the conversation or till something turns up in the job that brings the question of wage work uppermost. Then you can get results in a few minutes.

The shorter workday, overtime, the boss, and unionism are always easy entering wedges for something more. Take the shorter workday, for instance. The man who you are working with, say the man at the next lathe or the cook alongside you, begins complaining about the long hours; says that after working ten hours or eight hours he has hardly any time at home because he loses three hours going and coming from work and washing up. Point out to him that if we were working for ourselves instead of for profiteers we wouldn't need to work more than four hours a day, and that even under the profit system we won't need to work more than six hours if we will get together into one big union, so that we can tell the boss what to do instead of the boss telling us what to do.

If your working partner asks whether you'll work overtime that night say, "Fellow worker, I got wise to overtime two years ago. I couldn't get a job because the overtime boys were hogging all the work. Working overtime is scabbing on the man out of a job, and it hits back, because the boss uses the man out of a job to beat down our wages." "That's right," the scissor will say, "I never thought of it that way before."

If the boss is unpopular and the boys are kicking about him, just ask them if they would rather elect their foreman than the President of the United States. "How can we do that?" they will ask. Tell them.

When the scissorbill wakes up with these preliminaries go a little stronger, especially if he is a young fellow. Follow the talk up with literature a day or two later after another conversation. Use some of the leaflets you can get at the hall of the industrial unionism, class-war prisoners, and other subjects. And pass on a copy of the Rebel Worker or any other I. W. W. paper. In this connection it would be well to subscribe monthly for a bundle order of the Rebel Worker to distribute to the slaves that you have waked up in your place of work.

Remember, less social revolution over the coffee and more in the ships. Talk for results.

A. R. T.

What do you know about marine transportation?—Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union, No. 8, is going to public a pamphlet for marine transport workers. It will be an I. W. W. propaganda pamphlet covering marine transportation and its relation to other industry.

We want to initiate a new idea in compiling data for this pamphlet. We want to make it complete and yet brief, covering every phase of the industry from our point of view. Realizing that this is no one man's job we are asking for the cooperation of every interested member of the organization. We want to publish a pamphlet written by the membership of the I. W. W.

We are submitting a number of pertinent questions and ask you to carefully consider each one and answer them to the best of your ability. The questions do not cover the entire situation, so we ask you to write freely upon any phase not hinted at in the questions. In answering the questions use a separate sheet of paper for each one and write plainly and on one side of the paper only.

First, we want a brief historical sketch of marine transportation from the dugout to the trans-Atlantic line. What do you know about the history of marine transportation? What are the names of the different kinds of vessels on the seas and what are they used for?

When and where was the first seamen's union organized and what was its name? You will have to dig into history to answer this question.

How many marine unions are there to-day, what are they, and where is the headquarters of each located? Are they conservative or radical and how do they function for the workers?

How many so-called crafts are represented among the marine transport workers? What is the percentage of skilled workers? What is the percentage of unskilled workers?

What conditions do the men work under? What are the wages paid? What are the most objectional conditions?

Why have the craft unions failed to get lasting results for the marine workers? What are the main objections to craft unions?

What is the advantage of having just one marine transport workers' industrial union for the whole world? What is the best methods for organizing the marine transport workers? How could a job delegate function in the marine transportation industry?

What is the importance of marine transportation? What is the relation of marine transportation to other industry? To what extent does mining, milling, and other basic industries depend on marine transportation?

What is the "seamen's act" and how does it affect the marine workers?

What effect did steam marine transportation have on the industry?

What important strikes have the marine workers been involved in and what was the outcome of each?

Why should the dock workers belong to the same union with the seafaring workers?

Why should the marine transport workers' industrial union be affiliated with other industrial unions, forming one big union of all wage workers?

Have the marine transport workers anything to gain by playing politics? What has been their experience with politics and politicians?

Draw an outline of how a one big union of all marine transport workers could function for the world. Is such an organization possible or desirable? What location would you suggest for a central headquarters?

What should be the ultimate aim of such a union? Is it possible for the marine transport workers to run the industry without the aid of its present owners?

Show your interest in this democratic way of writing a pamphlet. This is a rank-and-file method. Send us your copy as soon as possible and we will do the rest.

L. S. Chumley, 27 East 4th St., New York City.

NEW ENGLAND SECRETARIES' NOTICE.

All secretaries of branches, R. U., propaganda locals and job delegates of the I. W. W. within a radius of fifty miles of Boston are requested to communicate with the undersigned for the purpose of furthering and centralizing the propaganda and organization of industrial unionism. This is very important.

I. CARMEN, *Chairman Committee.*

BROWNSVILLE HAS TEXTILE BRANCH.

The new branch of the Textile Workers Industrial Union held a successful picnic at Liberty Park, Brooklyn, on July 13th. Fellow workers George Speed, Friedkin, and others spoke for the defense and for the movement in general. A collection was taken up for the defense and a goodly sum realized for the class-war prisoners.

The Brownsville headquarters are located at the corner of Sackman Street and Pitkin Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y. The textile workers invite all workers to visit them. Hall is open every night.

M. KUBINSKY, *Secretary.*

The referendum ballots of the Seattle District C. W. I. U. were counted the 7th of July and the count show A. L. Emerson elected Secretary-Treasurer. The organization committee is Joe Weight, Lawrence Gross, Joe Kennedy, Fred Bohn, and J. Brady. The next highest five Dick French, C. Elliott, Frank Ryan, Harry Shannon, and Robert Beck stand as alternates.

All communications and remittances for Seattle district C. W. I. U. should be addressed to A. L. Emerson, box 365, Seattle, Wash.

HOLYOKE HAS NEW SECRETARY.

The Holyoke, Mass., Branch of the Textile Workers Industrial Union, No. 1000, has launched an intensive campaign to organize the textile industry in that vicinity. A new secretary has been elected, and he requests that all interested rebels get in touch with him as soon as possible. Address: Vincent Thomey, secretary, Box 263, Holyoke, Mass.

HOTEL, WORKERS NEED NEW PROPAGANDA LITERATURE.

Getting a worker lined up in the organization is important, but it is not enough. If we do not educate the members when we take them in, we are going to place the control of the organization in the hands of card carriers not understanding the principles or purposes of the organization.

What we need is industrial-union pamphlets. We should have a pamphlet for each industry. A pamphlet dealing with a particular industry exclusively. The hotel and restaurant workers have had such a pamphlet. Not as good as it should have been 'tis true; however, it has been a great help in building up the organization. This pamphlet has been sold out, and it is the intention of the organization to republish it.

Now, we want to revise and correct the present matter and add new material. In fact, we want to make this pamphlet worthy of the organization of which it proposes to disseminate the principles of. We know of no better way of getting material for this pamphlet than to appeal to the membership.

Now, get the idea, fellow worker, it is not only your privilege but your duty to help make the I. W. W. literature what it should be. Many of you know a great deal about hotels and restaurants. Many of you are acquainted with the abuses and conditions imposed upon domestic workers. Send us your story to-day about the waiter, the cook, and the chambermaids. Tell us what you know about the domestic workers.

It has been said by some that hotel and restaurant workers were unimportant; that domestic workers were not industrial workers at all. Well, what's your idea?

Personally I feel that the men and women who prepare and cook the food and furnish the sleeping accommodations for those who live in hotels hold an important place in industry.

The time is not far distant when the hotel and restaurant workers may be called upon to control and manage their industry. Have you ever thought about this seriously? Here is a chance to write your answer. How are you going to take over and run the hotels and restaurants? The workers of Seattle and Winnipeg have recently been confronted with such a situation.

Give up your idea about the job delegate and his function in this industry. What are the things that hotel and restaurant workers complain most of?

Do craft unions function in this industry? Can you tell us of specific instances of craft-union scabbing in hotels or restaurants? What is the best method of promoting solidarity? What is your opinion of the tipping system?

The I. W. W. has reached a stage where it must intensify its propaganda campaign. The workers are doing more actual thinking now than they have for ages. It is up to us to reach them with our philosophy. Get your think box busy and help us with this hotel workers' pamphlet. Write some articles on this subject and you will be contributing your bit toward I. W. W. literature. Address, L. S. Chumley, 27 East 4th St., New York City.

WOMEN WAGE WORKERS; JOIN THE ONE BIG UNION.

If the workingmen of the world are to be fully successful in their fight for better conditions, their mothers, wives, and daughters must learn how to help them in their struggles.

How can the woman assist in the class struggle?

First step: She must understand that when father, son, or brother joins the union he is attempting to get more of the good things of life for his family or for those dependent upon him.

Understanding his motive, she should give him encouragement to keep up his dues in spite of the fact that she may have to darn Mary's stockings again or patch Johnnie's waist.

Second step: She should try to acquaint herself with the best plan of organization for the working class to-day, because hers is the worry and the work of making the wage earner's pay meet the bills, and in spite of her numerous duties she still has more time to read and study than the boy on the job.

Third step: There are two plans of organizations held out to the workers to-day. The old plans organize the workers into groups or crafts, each group or craft signed up with contracts ending at different times. Thus when one group or craft is forced into a strike or is locked out the other groups can not strike with them because their contracts are unexpired. This causes long drawn-out strikes, during which you and the kiddies have to suffer and starve.

Those most favorable to this plan of organization are the rich masters of industry and powerful officials at the head of the organization and who draw big pay and want to keep their jobs at any cost.

The new plan of organization has a star of hope for the future! It organizes all the workers in any one industry into one union and all of the industries into one big union. This form of organization is successful in fighting the daily battles, because all of the workers go out when any part of the industry is affected with strike or lockout. Thus the strike is made short and decisive.

This new plan is meeting with much abuse from the kept press, because it is bound to bring success to the workers, while the old plan keeps the workers submissive to employers and officials of the organization.

In addition the new plan is building the structure of the new society within the shell of the old so that when capitalism crumbles and falls the workers may take over and operate the industries for the benefit of all instead of for the profit of the few. Thus the new unionism plans constructively to gain the whole world and all the wealth therein for the workers, who shall receive the full product of their toil in reward for their labor instead of only a small part. This is the star of hope for the future.

Fourth step: If you happen to be one of the many women doing hotel, restaurant, or domestic work, join the union. Get into the one big union with your father, husband, and brother, so that you can be effective in an organized fight to make the world a decent place for the working class. Your union is the Hotel, Restaurant, and Domestic Workers Industrial Union, No. 1100. Initiation fee is \$2.00; dues are 50 cents a month.

"Join the union, fellow workers,
Men and women side by side."

For information about the Hotel, Restaurant, and Domestic Workers Industrial Union write to:

Ernest Holemen, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill. For other industrial unions, such as mining, railroading, agriculture, etc., write to Thos. Whitehead, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

MINERS, BLACKLIST JEROME.

JEROME, ARIZ., July, 1919.

The copper companies are busy sending out lying reports throughout Arizona and the adjoining States to the effect that there is plenty of work in Jerome with good pay and fine working conditions. The truth is that more men are leaving every day than there are coming in, some of their own accord, because they are disgusted with the conditions; others "by request" of the companies. The truth is that the mining corporations are practicing a blacklisting system, one of the companies even taking the fingerprints of those who seek to serve them at a meager wage. The system is of the most complete kind, the blacklist containing more than 2,000 names of miners gathered from the different camps of the State. Another means of keeping track of the slaves is the very strict physical examination to which all men are subjected who apply for work at the United Verde and the U. V. Extension mines. There are two dozens of spotters watching the stages come in from the depot, and every newcomer is checked up and reported. If they suspect a stranger of being infected by radicalism, the doctor, without fail, will discover some physical defect which will prevent the man from finding employment here.

Miners' wages are \$4.90 a day, with the usual deductions for hospital fee, etc.; other labor from \$3.00 to \$3.25. As the sliding scale does not apply to the cost of living the men are really worse off than before the war. Their wages represent a 20% increase over prewar times, while the cost of living has increased over 50% in Jerome. Board and room cost the men from \$75.00 to \$85.00 a month.

The companies are complaining of the inefficiency of the men and claim that production per man has fallen off considerably. The trouble is that all the mines are chuck full of muckers, 80% of them Mexicans, with only a few experienced miners among them. There was quite a number of accidents here during the month of June, not less than six men being killed at U. V. mine. The very same U. V. Mining Co. requires every man to sign a contract with the object of defrauding him of the rights he has under the employers' liability law. The first part of this contract states, "And I further expressly waive

all and any claim for any injury or injuries whatever resulting directly or indirectly from any physical defect," etc.

While the corporations are spreading their lies the I. W. W. papers, too, do their part in misrepresenting the conditions prevailing here. Not long ago there were two articles in the Rebel Worker and in the Official Butte Bulletin stating that the 800 were very active up here, the men all talking the six-hour day and advising all rebels to get on the job here. Such overoptimistic statements are liable to keep the organization from pursuing the right policy with regard to this camp.

The company gunmen run the town with utter disregard of law and justice, and the city officers, the marshal, and the deputy sheriffs do the dirty work for them. They are aided by a large force of spotters and stools. The "city of whispers" they call Jerome. Everybody is afraid of speaking to his neighbor. Upon the mere suspicion that they were I. W. W. scores of miners were fired last month and many "requested" to leave town. One of our organizers got 90 days on a framed-up charge, another one is being held for investigation by the Federals in the dirty, sweltering hole of the Jerome jail for nearly a month. That is what one gets for trying to line up the boys. Fellow workers who were wise enough to keep their mouths shut were spotted, nevertheless, put in jail, their rooms searched, papers and supplies taken away from them, and they themselves driven out of the town.

What are we going to do about it? Somebody said the other day, Let the slaves get a good dose; when time is ripe we will come back and take the camp at one fell swoop. Well and good! Fight the companies with their own weapons! Blacklist the camp! Tell every miner to stay away from Jerome. The companies will soon learn that they can not run the mines with scabs. Even now they are in a bad fix. When they stopped production of copper at Tyrone last month they made their usual howl about the present cost of labor and supplies having reached a point where the making of profit had long since been made impossible. And that with copper nearing the 20c. mark! That there are vast stocks of copper piled up at the smelters is another lie. They are trying hard to keep one of the furnaces in Clarkdale going. But they can not get the ore, because they have no miners. Of course some of the scissorbills take this specter of the threatened shutdown for real, get scared, and stick to their jobs no matter how they are treated. But we, seeing through their game, had better keep away from Jerome. Some day we will come back.

It wasn't the saving of daylight but the saving of capitalism that the A. F. of L. convention was interested in. And it wasn't the workers' booze but the brewers' boodle that influenced its antiprohibition activities.

The Fourth of July celebration was not as enthusiastic as was expected. The day of independence has gone, not only in traditional feeling but in actual fact.

Senator Johnson's statement that the League of Nations is an attempt to put progress in a strait-jacket, applies equally as well to capitalism which is responsible for the monstrous caricature of internationalism which the Senator so well condemns.

THE FAILURE OF PROHIBITION.

Prohibition may have been placed on the statute books but it doesn't seem to prevail in the thirst parlors of the country. A more open violation of "the law of the land" and a more general one never was so apparent before. The popular opposition to the law and the powerful whisky, wine, and beer interests involved, are responsible for this lawlessness. The I. W. W. hasn't been blamed for it yet. Nor has Gompers denounced it as the bolshevism which he feared would come as a result of prohibition.

Anyway it's amazing how "law and order" are maintained against the I. W. W. by those who overthrow it when their booze and boodle (interests) are concerned. And this does not even except that staunch upholder of "our institutions," Mr. Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, by the grace of Wilson and the capitalist class, to the disgrace of the working class.

SOME STUDIES IN GOVERNMENT.

A couple of events at Washington, D. C., recently, should serve to give some inkling into what constitutes real government. Chairman Graham, of the House Committee on War Department Expenditures, declares there was a secret

Government established at Washington even before the United States went into the war. The advisory committee of the Council of Defense, consisting of seven capitalists and Wall Street bankers, constituted this third House, fixed prices, arranged for the censorship and food control, held secret meetings four months before the war entrance of the United States, and planned legislation for Congress to ratify. They even relegated six members of the Cabinet that were to be the executive heads of the Council of National Defense to the rear. They were all-powerful, with the consent of the President, according to Graham.

The other instance is that relating to the report of the Federal commission on the "big five" meat packers' combination. According to this report, Armour, Morris, Wilson, Swift, and Cudahy, will soon control the food of the world. These five concerns rule 574 companies, have an interest in 188 others, and deal in 775 commodities. They have a meat monopoly and exploit beef raising in South America, tea raising in the Orient, and the manufacture of grape juice in New York State. Europe is dotted with their branches. All attempts to regulate them have failed, and the Government has recently been charged with collusion with them to maintain the high cost of food the world over. Their power is local, national, and international.

Why say more? Does government inhere in the ballot or in the possession of capital and finance and their combination against "the people"?

HOLLAND'S ENCOURAGING LITTLE LIST.

What's the use of getting excited over "Jimmey" Holland's "testimony" before the Lusk committee? Holland is doing a good work for labor, though his intentions are just the other way. As James J. Bagley, president of Franklin Union No. 23, one of the men attacked by Holland, says: "It is the labor leaders of Holland's type who make the workers lose faith in leadership and make bolshevists out of them."

Besides, the list of local labor organizations which Holland told the Luskers were "affected with bolshevism," makes encouraging reading. In addition to Bagley's organization, there is the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Women's Trade Union League, and "several locals of machinists, needle trades, hotel and restaurant workers, painters, furriers, and boot and shoe workers were denounced as bolsheviks." Holland's list of radical A. F. of L. unions was not made public; nor were the names of radical labor leaders. It may be that Holland feared the good impression in favor of "bolshevism" that the public disclosure of such lists would make.

One thing is certain, namely, that Holland has unwittingly given evidence of the fact that the tendency of the rank and file of the American labor movement is away from the domination of the reactionary A. F. of L. machine. The latter can no longer stamp out development in behalf of the capitalist interests that it serves, as it did but a few short years ago. "The world do move," and labor moves with it, despite all attempts to compel it to remain either stationary or go backwards.

For making this plainly evident, and for offering the great encouragement which the fact contains, we herewith thank "Jimmey" Holland, president of the State federation of labor and witness for the Lusk committee.

AN INSIGHT INTO CAPITALISM.

Henry Ford, on the witness stand in his million-dollar libel suit against the Chicago Tribune the other day let drop an invaluable bit of testimony. It furnishes an insight into how capitalists do the things that make them so enormously wealthy.

The lawyer for the Tribune asked Ford:

"Did you discourage men going into the service?"

"I did not."

"But you started an educational campaign to keep your men from going into the service?"

"No. The only way I can do anything is by hiring a good expert; I thought I had a good one in Delevigue." (His peace secretary and publicity man.)

Here we have a verification of I. W. W. teaching, which claims that it is hired labor of all kinds, acting cooperatively, that produces the wealth of the capitalist class. Ford found that the only way he could do things was to hire somebody else to do it for him. And all the other capitalists do precisely the same thing; they hire workmen to do things for them; and without these

workingmen nothing is done, as notice, for instance, the tie-up of coastwise commerce due to the seamen's strike.

In other words, what Henry Ford helps to make apparent once more is the uselessness of himself and his class, except as parasites, fit only to point an economic moral and adorn a sociological tale.

How long must the Henry Fords waste the lessons they teach on the desert air of working-class stupidity? Get wise, Scissorbill, get wise!

CHAOS AND THE I. W. W.

We read in a newspaper this startling headline: "Chicago faces chaos; 200,000 builders quit."

This headline is impressive. It foreshadows, on a small local scale, what is likely to take place on a vast social scale. As a result of the conflicting interests of capital and labor, we are likely to witness chaos in society everywhere in the not very distant future—say, another decade or two.

How, to avert this chaos, how to supplant it, under the pressure of social necessity, by a better and saner system, is a problem that has long engaged the attention of social students and lovers of mankind. That it must be solved the growing intensity of the conflict of interests makes imperative. But how? That's the question.

The I. W. W. has a plan, a plan that was formulated in 1905, almost 15 years ago, before the present intensification of the class struggle was known. The I. W. W. teaches the workers, while battling for better conditions, shorter hours, and higher wages, to build for the future, and it trains them to be ready to take charge of industry when capitalism collapses. In the words of the I. W. W. preamble, "By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."

The I. W. W. is the greatest constructive force in existence to-day. Its conclusions are based on the development of capitalism, which makes industry overshadow every other institution. This development compels the industrial workers to see the necessity not only for improvement but emancipation, also, by way of industrial organization such as the I. W. W. aims to form and such as the workers everywhere are being compelled to form whether their leaders like it or not. The I. W. W. will some day save the world from disorder, chaos, and destruction by its preparedness and understanding of capitalist tendencies.

The capitalists, of course, do not want any social salvation that means their elimination. They, despite all their preachments to the contrary, prefer the waste—the loss of material wealth, life, and idealism—which their system and its class conflicts entail. For this reason they fight the I. W. W. tooth and nail. For this reason, however, they will go down in defeat; for a society that tolerates chaos and inhumanity solely in order to make a handful of billionaires is unthinkable. Such a society can not last; it is self-destructive, and its doom is already foreshadowed in contemporaneous history.

THE STRIKE EPIDEMIC.

Where is the alert capitalist press nowadays? Is it asleep at a time when it is most essential to capitalists' safety that it be wide awake? An epidemic of strikes is sweeping the country, and strange to say, except in a few instances like the Toledo and the seamen's strike, the I. W. W. has not been blamed for it. What's the matter with the press, eh?

Maybe the capitalist press is beginning to see that the effects of social and economic causes can not be lulled to rest by lying about labor organizations and "agitators" and putting the blame on them. Postwar conditions, the high cost of living, the low purchasing power of wages, and the desire to achieve the release of political prisoners and the better life that was promised as a result of "the war for democracy"—all combine to give impetus to labor unrest and to make strikes unavoidable, nay, inevitable and necessary to a modification and remedy of conditions.

Many of these strikes are having a very beneficial result. They are the direct and indirect cause of reduced hours and increased wages. The 44-hour week, the five-day week, the \$1 an hour wage, and wage increases ranging from 20 to 30 per cent are traceable to them, both in industries where strikes have occurred and in industries free from strikes.

On the other hand, some of these strikes have met with determined resistance and "indefinite shut down," i. e., lockouts. This has been particularly the

case in strikes against big corporations and in highly centralized industries. The superintendent of the McCormick Harvester Works (harvester trust) in South Chicago, answered a demand for the closed shops by shutting down, saying, "They want the closed shop; well, we'll give it to them. We'll close the shops down indefinitely." And so in this typical case, 10,000 workers are affected. Where shutdowns have either failed or not been applied, strike-breaking agencies have been resorted to; much bitterness of feeling has resulted. The class war appears to be on in earnest where the uppermost layers of capitalism are concerned.

When will this strike epidemic end? Has it, like the flu epidemic in its early stages last year, only begun? It looks like it. There is talk of a nation wide steel strike. And Basil Manly, joint chairman of the National War Labor Board, has warned the capitalists against these strikes, which, though apparently small when compared with European events, are liable to burst forth into a magnitude overshadowing anything now taking place in Europe. These strikes may grow in numbers and blend into a general strike of unequaled proportions in this country. At least, that appears to be the tendency and the only logical outcome when the development of American industrialism is considered.

Who knows what the morrow may bring?

E. E. McDONALD RELEASED FROM ELLIS ISLAND.

After fourteen months in jails and detention stations Fellow Worker E. E. McDonald was released from Ellis Island on \$1,000 bail.

Fellow Worker McDonald was arrested in Spokane, Wash., in May, 1918, and was shipped to Ellis Island in February on the "red special." A short time ago he was ordered released on a writ of habeas corpus by Judge A. N. Hand, of the New York Federal court, the judge deciding that the evidence upon which he was held was insufficient, but he was rearrested by the immigration authorities without being permitted to leave Ellis Island.

When asked what he thought of this action, he said: "This is the third time that the immigration authorities have framed up on me to prevent my release; so in view of two previous frame ups, I expected this one."

"The Roy sisters," he continued, "held on Ellis Island for deportation to Scotland for being members of the I. W. W., had their baggage taken away from them and shipped to Liverpool, England, about a week ago, and are now almost without any other clothes except those which they are wearing. That is a fair example of the things which have been done to deportees by the immigration authorities."

When asked about conditions on the island, he stated that the food was bad; sleeping quarters full of bedbugs, and not enough fresh air, but added that they were generally better than when he arrived.

There still 14 members of the I. W. W. held for deportation on Ellis Island. Three of these are women—the Roy sisters and Mrs. Merta. Several of these fellow workers may not be deported for a long time, as they are Russians, and no one is being deported to Russia at present.

An attempt was made to deport the Roy sisters a few days ago, without passports, to England, on a cattle boat having no accommodations for women.

It is the opinion of the deportees that this action was prompted by malice. If the immigration authorities had succeeded, the Roy sisters would probably have been denied admission to England and sent back to the United States on the same ship and then denied admission here. What the final result of this might have been is a matter of conjecture, but likely they would have been forced to sail the high seas indefinitely.

Owing to the lack of accommodation on the ship they were scheduled to sail on, the captain refused them passage, and so saved them from the fate of the old Irish woman who, it is said, sailed the Atlantic for three years without being permitted to land. The British consul is reported to be investigating the matter now, because their original passports from Scotland to the United States was confiscated in violation of law by the immigration authorities, but it is not expected that much will come of this investigation, as those who administer the laws of this country are in most instances above the law, as has been proven by their many unlawful deeds which have gone unpunished in the past.

I know a scab
He has no brain,
I sometimes think
He's hardly sane.

And then again
I really feel,
That any fink
Is born to squeal.

A guy like that
Makes me so sore,
I thank my stars
That there's no more.

The master class
Should treat him well,
But just the same
He lives in hell.

The working class
Should organize
And put a kibosh
On such guys.

—Sigismund.

HERE'S ANOTHER LAW.

Another law that will take its place beside the infamous espionage and criminal syndicalism laws has been passed in Kansas, the home of that charming bandit, Mr. Fred Robertson, Esq., district attorney. This law provides that any person found to be engaged in an unlawful pursuit shall be held as a vagrant. And so, by a very simple interpretation, anyone who is employed by the I. W. W., such as branch secretaries, are unlawfully engaged. Being unlawfully engaged, he belongs in the "can." Simple, isn't it? That is why we have so many members of No. 400 lying in jail to-day, and more being added as fast as the authorities can get them. A number of test cases on this new law are now being held in Kansas, but whichever way the verdict is rendered, little hope can be held that the wobblies will ever receive a square deal until they are strong enough to make their own laws and back them up with organized power.

An article in one of our noosepapers stated that there are sinister influences at work in modern society, and that when young people study radical literature they are likely to go off at unwholesome tangents. Perhaps it would be more definite to say that there is a juvenile tendency toward homogeneous convergency.

WHY NOT TRY "TREAT 'EM ROUGH"?—HAS CITATIONS BUT IS IN NEED OF JOB.

First Sergt. Benjamin Kauffman, of 2113 Pitkin Avenue, is much in need of a job. As he put it this week, he has citations but no job. He is anxious to get something to do and in a hurry.

In a letter he says:

"I am one of the few Brooklyn boys who have won the congressional medal of honor and the French croix de guerre with palm. However, I do not want any special consideration on that account. All that I want is a job, so that I can earn a living wage for my wife and myself.

"I was offered my prewar position upon my discharge, but the salary can not even support me, let alone two of us. Previous to my enlistment I was a salesman for a firm in a little town in New Jersey. I am not at all particular as to what I shall or shall not do.

"I am a graduate of Newtown high school and have attended Syracuse University for one year. If there is nothing you can do for me, please give your readers a chance to read this, and perhaps they will know of something."—Brooklyn Chat.

INTERNATIONAL INDUSTRIAL WORKERS, AUSTRALIA—OBJECTIVE.

The systematic organization of propaganda among wage workers, on the necessity of industrial organization, on the following basis:

All workers in a given district and a given industry to constitute a local industrial union.

All local industrial unions of the same industry to constitute a national industrial union.

National industrial unions of closely allied industries to constitute an industrial department.

The following six industrial departments to form the general organization, to be affiliated with a like international organization: Department of Agriculture, land and water products, department of mining, department of transportation and communication, department of manufacture and general production, department of building and construction, department of public service.

Statement of principles.—The wage system has divided society into two classes—the capitalist class and the working class. The interests of these two classes are directly opposed to each other.

It is the interest of the capitalist class to rob the workers of as much of their product as possible and the interest of the workers to prevent this robbery as far as they can.

Arising from this clash of economic interests, a struggle constantly goes on between these opposing classes and can only end when the workers organize as a class, take possession of the industries, and abolish the wage system.

The capitalists, being the dominant class of society, have shaped the whole of its institutions with a view to keeping the working class in subjection. The freedom of the working class must therefore be gained through their own efforts and directly against those of the capitalists.

Modern industrial development has brought about a state of affairs wherein whole industries are now owned and controlled by small groups of capitalists of ever-growing power, while the advance of machine production is rapidly breaking down craft skill and throwing thousands into the ranks of the unemployed.

The trade-unions, being based upon obsolete craft distinctions which divide the workers into sections, are powerless to meet these changed conditions, and are continually suffering defeat after defeat.

To avoid these defeats and promote industrial solidarity, it is necessary for all workers engaged in a given industry to organize into an industrial union, and further, to combine such unions into one big industrial union, thereby enabling the entire working class to act as one unit whenever necessary.

Thus organized, the workers, in addition to winning better conditions, will prepare themselves for the control and management of industry. By industrial unionism the workers will build within the shell of capitalism the structure of the new society which will finally break the fetters of wage slavery and establish industrial democracy.

WHEN JOHN FARMER PAYS YOU OFF, REMEMBER THE BOYS IN JAIL.

During the past few months all the unions have had their hands full preparing for a spring drive in their respective industries, and as a result there has been very little money raised for the defense and relief of the class-war prisoners who are in jails all over this country. Lawyers have been on the pay roll continuously and though they have not been in court much, still they have been drawing wages for other work in connection with the different cases.

With no money coming in, this has been an awful drain on the general office, and it has reached the point where it is very necessary to call upon the members of the organization to dig up now heavier than ever before.

Within the next six weeks \$3,000 is necessary for legal work on the Sacramento case and \$5,000 is needed for the Chicago case. The latter will be used for printing of briefs, etc., on the appeal, as the Government refused to accept a paupers' oath from the men in Leavenworth who are not citizens.

The Wichita case is slated to come up some time next September for the third time. Lawyers are now busy on the preliminary work and will be until the case is called. Every possible effort has been put forth to raise money from outside sources, but that has been practically exhausted, and now it is up to our own members solely to come to defense and relief of the men in jail.

Wages in the harvest fields are now double what they have been in former years. You will admit that much of this is due to the great agitation that has been carried on by members of the A. W. I. U. since its inception. Many of the men who have taken an active part in this agitation are now behind prison walls, and they are going to stay there unless the members of the A. W. I. U., as well as those of the other unions, come through with some of their wages.

Day's pay stamps were called in because we had too many different kinds of stamps in the fields, but this year we are appealing to each and every member of the A. W. I. U. to donate one day's wages to the class-war relief and defense fund. It is not absolutely necessary to give your donation to a delegate; get a money order and send it into this office and a return receipt card will be sent

to you; and then your name and the amount donated will be published in the A. W. I. U. monthly statement.

Fellow workers the time is short and we must have money at once, otherwise the men awaiting an appeal will not have an opportunity to have the verdict reversed, and the men now awaiting trial will be unable to get lawyers. Within the next six weeks—if we all pull together—members of the A. W. I. U. can raise at least half the amount needed. Let's got to it!

With best wishes, we are,

Yours for the O. B. U.,

MAT. K. FOX,

Sec'y-Treas. A. W. I. U., No. 400, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

D. N. SIMPSON,

Chairman Gen. Org. Comm.

ORGANIZE, WORKERS!

(Tune: Dip the Oar; Spirited.)

By Harold R. Johnson.

There's Freedom right in reach, boys,
The masters can't stay long;
Our ship draws near the beach, boys,
For we are getting strong.

Chorus:

Come, boys, organize;
Sound our might to the very skies!
Solidarity
Is the means from mastery.

The despots tremble now, boys,
For we are joining hands;
Together we'll show how, boys,
They've done in other lands.

Our power grows each day, boys,
For fear they taught is gone;
We'll end the pirates' sway, boys,
For Freedom's nearing dawn.

LEDEBOUR ACQUITTED.

The working class of Germany have forced the German courts to release fellow worker Georg Ledebour, the veteran social revolutionist. This uncompromising class-war fighter worked side by side with Leibknecht, Rosa Luxembough, Franz Maering, and the other Communists who took part in the rebellion against the sham socialist government of Scheidemann and Ebert, those office boys for the Rothschilds, Morgans, and the whole banditti of international imperialism.

For a time it appeared that Ledebour would be sent before a firing squad like the other German social revolutionists who were seized by the Ebert government. But the sham socialists acted too late. In the last two months the working class of Germany have regained their revolutionary vigor and by great mass strikes and numerous uprisings have terrified the government. One of their demands was the release of Ledebour. The Ebert government, skating on thin ice all the time, was afraid to antagonize the workers unduly, so the courts found Ledebour not guilty of the January disturbances.

The workers are not deceived by the courts timidity. They know that the evidence had nothing to do with Ledebour's release. They know that Ledebour was freed because the government was afraid. However, this concession will not stop the revolutionary march of the German workers. All the reliable news shows that Germany is headed for a true-blue working class régime.

A WORD TO THE WOBBLES.

[By John L. Jones.]

I have been asked by fellow worker L. S. Chumley to write a few lines in the "Rebel Worker" for the benefit of (or otherwise) of the Wobblies. Well, I don't exactly know the correct definition of a Wobbly, but if he is a reader of the Rebel Worker or a member of the I. W. W. I am positively certain that he is not the average spineless jellyfish with the normal intelligence of a fully developed shrimp of the A. F. of L. type.

When a stranger, like myself, enters this "gloriously free United States" his first impression is what mammoth hypocrisy is practiced in the name of liberty. What daily libels are uttered in the name of freedom. What "dope" is handed out as mental food to the American wage slave by those intellectual assassins and purveyors of moral filth—the daily press.

According to the journalistic slaves of capitalism, members of the I. W. W. are the most depraved and lawless savages on earth, and the unthinking stranger receives the impression that no act of oppression is too severe to rid society of these pests. But if the same stranger wishes to investigate these savages for himself what a change in his attitude and impression. When he enters their meeting room instead of depraved mental weaklings he finds intellectual giants with a scientific conception of what human society has been what it is and what it must be in the future. Having scientific knowledge and foreseeing the inevitable collapse of capitalist production for profit, they are working in the present to build up an organization that will take over production and so prevent a state of chaos and confusion. He enters for the first time into a homelike atmosphere where everyone is kind and considerate of a stranger's comfort.

Judging by my own experience I only wish that the slanderers of the I. W. W. would go into their meeting rooms and chat with some of the members so as to have an insight into their mental makeup. My best and happiest hours in the States have been spent in such places as 27 East 4th Street, New York City, and in other I. W. W. headquarters in various parts of the country.

As a member of the British industrial labor movement I wish to pay a tribute to the fellow members of the I. W. W. for their kindness and most hospital treatment to a stranger. "It suits, today, the weak and base whose minds are fixed on pelf and place" to give the lying impression to the unthinking public that members of the I. W. W. are terrorists and bomb throwers "who did hide their faces even from darkness when evils are most free." It may be needless for me to state that I have traveled every part of the country and have met and conversed with great numbers of I. W. W.'s, but have never come in contact with any bomb plot, on the contrary every member that I have met have condemned such practices, I have investigated from the inside and have failed to find any trace of a bomb plot and am convinced that it is either a police frame-up or done by an organization distinctly alien to the I. W. W.

It is disgusting to find one of the A. F. of L. State organizers "giving aid and comfort to the enemy" by the carefully prepared but willful and deliberate falsehoods he uttered when giving evidence before the Lusk Committee. It was a cowardly and despicable part to play by a so-called labor leader whose chief function, in the past, has been to supply "scabs" to the master class. The I. W. W. is well able to take care of itself but if Mr. Hugh Fayne desires to know what syndicalism is I shall be pleased to teach him in a public debate before any audience he chooses. But these labor fakers cannot debate; they can only read typewritten answers to questions that have been supplied for them, and from their coward's castle slander movements that will uplift the working classes and save them from the present industrial hell.

If a belief in "the one big union" is a crime then it is time for the Lusk committee to investigate our great banking system who have organized (and they advertise the fact) the one big union so successfully that they now control the currency of the world. The food trust has so successfully organized the one big union idea that, according to the press of July 12th, they now control the food of all the earth. The fact of the matter is that the capitalist class believe in and practice the one big union idea in every phase of commerce but when the working classes use the same weapon it is unlawful and a crime against our glorious free institutions.

The A. F. of L. in their preamble and principles affirm the existence of the class war and state that that war will be intensified year by year, but in their method of organization and practice they repudiate that idea. They believe that more can be gained by organizing into several craft unions embracing the one single industry. They believe that "divided we stand; united we fall."

Now if it is logical for a number of individuals to unite and form a trade union it is far more logical for a number of unions, in a single industry, to unite into the one big union. The effectiveness of this method of organization is to be seen in the bitterness of the attack upon the I. W. W.. The capitalist realizes that the industrial method of organization is the most powerful weapon ever used by the workers, not only to win immediate concessions but also at some future date to take over the industries.

The exploiters of society choose to deny by their lips the existence of a class war but their acts belie their lips. The class war grows more intensified as witness the jailing of all radicals, the denial of meeting places, the framing of new restrictive laws, the kidnaping and deporting of real labor agitators. The murdering of Frank Little and others, and above all the false patriotic warning against aliens. Let us away with all sham and hypocrisy. Let us recognize the class war and the powers of the State that will be used against the friends of labor.

The long and dreary path of the toiler is the same throughout the ages. Its periods are marked and its miles are spaced by the whipping post, the prison, and the gibbet. Whenever labor has turned at bay the result is always the same. The weapon of industrial action may differ. We have used the strike, the picket, and the boycott, but all have proved useless. But the weapons of the modern trade union is the most useless. They injure more friends than foes, their recoil is more damaging than their fire, but we have learned from the lessons of history. We have improved our organization. Our "betters" may use whatever force they may, but they cannot retard the day of industrial freedom. Capitalism is crumbling from within. Have courage. Fellow-workers, the day is near. Be prepared.

Now beneath the rule of robbers the world grows sad and old,
The people bound and fettered by a chain of glittering gold,
But when the trumpet soundeth the world shall see a sight—
The golden chain is broken at the coming of the light.

JOHN L. JONES,
British Triple Alliance.

ACTIVITIES OF THE DISTRICT OF NEW YORK.

The organization as a whole is hitting the high places in this district. Because of the rapid growth of the membership we are compelled to seek new headquarters. We have several new industrial union branches and the interest shown is so great that our headquarters is crowded at all times. Prospects were never brighter for the I. W. W. in New York than at present.

Our literature sales are outdoing our fondest hopes. However, there is a demand for new literature and if the G. E. B. does not take action soon to build up the publishing bureau we are going to find out the reason why.

Many western wobblies are making our village this summer and we welcome them heartily. We wish that more of our western fellow workers would come this way, and we also believe that it would be a good idea if some of our eastern members would make a trip to the west. It would have a tendency to create a better understanding in the organization and would make for solidarity.

The Marine Transport Workers Industrial Union has its headquarters in New York City well organized and in shipshape. James Scott, the secretary, is one of the busiest members of the I. W. W.. He is getting many delegates on the job and they are beginning to make splendid reports.

The newly organized Stable and Garage Workers' Union is keeping Fellow Worker Bilinkus, who is acting as their secretary, working day and night. This union has more than two hundred members and is taking in new members daily.

The metal and machinery workers have a number of job delegates out and their reports are encouraging. Fellow Worker Axelrod has been elected to take the place of Secretary Barton.

The Textile Workers' Industrial Union is the real job union of this district. The garment workers here are joining in numbers. The A. F. of L. and other garment workers' unions of this district seem to be interested only in furnishing good slaves to the masters and pie cards to their officials. The textile workers meet every Thursday night. At present the meetings are crowded. However, do not let that keep you away. We hope to have new and larger quarters soon.

Strange as it may seem, we have, in this city of moneybags and bright lights, a branch of the Construction Workers' Industrial Union. They are as fine a bunch of union men as ever carried a red card. Judging from the heated arguments heard at their regular meetings they are soon going to drive a few nails in the coffin of capitalism.

While the printing and publishing workers are not doing as well as we hoped with their new union their membership is growing. This union meets every Friday night and to attend their meetings is a treat. The meetings are almost wholly propaganda in character and the discussions on the one big union is the cause of many visitors being in our hall on Friday nights.

I just stopped writing to play a game of checkers and a stiff beat me. There's too damn much checker playing going on around here anyway. I hope our checkers are confiscated the next time the police raid us.

Speaking of raids reminds me that about the only results noticeable from the last one conducted by the Lusk committee is a lot of new members, and two or three new branches, and a bunch of subscribers for The Rebel Worker. Of course, the Lusk committee still has our books, files, etc., taken from us in true Jessie James style. However, we wouldn't let a little thing like that bother us. We're mighty busy here in New York getting ready to take control of industry and believe us, fellow workers, when that happens cheap politicians like the Luskers are going to have to do more than muss up the property of working people. We're going to put them to work. I know I may get ten years for writing such stuff; its criminal, sure its criminal to talk about New York senators working.

I'll bet I beat that stiff the next time we play checkers.

Now the story of our New York activities would not be complete without mentioning the recruiting union. Not that we want to brag about a big recruiting union; we haven't got it. We don't keep members in the recruiting union that belong in existing industrial unions. What I wanted to say was the recruiting union pays the rent of the hall. The secretarial work is done by Lanky Slim Sigismund, the I. W. W. poet. You know, he sweeps the hall, sells the literature, says yes and no to the police and not yet I don't think so to stool pigeons, tells the reporters there's nothing to report and, then sweeps the hall again. Yes, he's the Sigismund that poets poetry in The Rebel Worker occasionally. Look for it; Slim is a good poet, and if you could see our hall you would say that he was also a good porter.

The left wing of the Socialist Party conference, recently held in New York City, was a remarkable one in many ways. According to the "New Revolutionary Age," its acts were such that it "stands alone in the history of American socialism. We feel sorry for the left wing when reading this, for there is another organization that "stands alone" in the history of American socialism, very much alone, so much so as to be positively lonely, namely the S. L. P. Is the left wing another S. L. P.?

We fear that, if it isn't already S. L. P., it will soon be. For the left wing assumes that same toplofty attitude of intellectual superiority and presumptuousness generally that characterized the once powerful S. L. P. when dealing with other organizations, especially economic organizations like the I. W. W.

Many of the foremost left wingers are former S. L. P. members. They find it impossible to get away from De Leon's idea of "the elite of the working class" and the dictatorship of the working class by the elite among them, which, of course, means themselves. This is what is to a great extent back of much of their support of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They want to boss the whole show, to use a vernacular expression.

A remarkable decision.—The left wing conference came to a remarkable decision. Did it decide to use its control of a large part of the Socialist party, its press and machinery generally, to inaugurate the mass action against capitalism in the United States, which left wingers talk so much of? No. Did they decide to perfect in any way those mass organizations which in "their closest relations to the process of production," would make the proletarian

dictatorship possible? Again, No. Did it proclaim the near approach of the breakdown of imperialism—the revolution—in this country and the necessity for economic preparation on the part of the working class to avert reaction and disaster? For the third time, no! Did it favor the formation of a Communist party in this country, on the lines of the Communist party of Europe? Not so that you could notice it. What then did the left wing conference do?

The left wing conference decided to spend two months, 15,000 and more dollars, as occasion requires, and a whole lot of paper, ink, and energy, on the capture of that sink of iniquitous, social-patriotic, centristic, moderate, Wilsonian socialism, to use their own language, known as the Socialist party of the United States! What an anticlimax, what a fall was there my countrymen! Then you fell down and I fell down—all of us fell down, including the left wingers, mostly.

Praise and blame for the I. W. W.—Is it such acts as this that causes the left wing conference to "stand alone in the history of American socialism?"

Not at all. There was something more interesting done! The conference handed the I. W. W. some left-handed, or should we say, left winger?—compliments. It generously praised the heroic part that the I. W. W. plays in the class struggle, but condemned the theoretical presentations of what it pleases to call its spokesmen and its failure to appreciate "the political nature of the class struggle."

Of course, the I. W. W. feels alternately puffed up and cast down as the twofold nature of the left wing action requires. That we have made Lenin one of our spokesmen, that we reecho again and again Lenin's trenchant declaration, "industrial unionism is the basic thing"—that we should do this and then get spanked for our theoretical shortcomings, despite our practical efforts in realizing the Lenin declaration, is indeed humiliating. That, further, we should agree with Max Eastman, a left winger of the best kind, who in the *July Liberator*, in writing on "The New International," the international of Lenin, says: "In most of the cities in the United States the task is mainly agitation and organization of the industrial unions which will constitute the bony structure of the revolutionary society, even the soviets move it and bring it into life"—that, next to Lenin, we should speak through Eastman, his best American disciple and expounder, and then have Dr. Maximum Cohen, Jim Minimum Larkin, and others take a kick at our theoretical presentations is, in the language of Artemus Ward, "two mutch." It makes us weep indeed!

The economic nature of politics.—And then there's the I. W. W. failure to appreciate "the political nature of the class struggle." We might retort, "You're another, in that you do not appreciate the fundamental economic nature of politics, as did Lenin when he cried, "All power to the soviets," after the soviets had seized the land for the peasants and the factories for the workers."

In this country, the left wingers would create soviets without land and factories; and they call the contrary action a failure to appreciate "the political nature of the class struggle." Is this a joke, or is it left-handed socialism?

Now, this has been the basic defense of political socialism; it has attempted the creation of the socialist state on capitalist property, when what is needed for the basis of the socialist state is socialist property. They have stood terminism on its head, with the result that when political socialism gained political office and control, it was caught in the meshes of its topsyturvydom and was compelled to defend capitalist property, profit, and imperialism, at an awful cost to the proletariat.

Carney to the rescue.—Now comes Jack Carney, to read us a lecture. He in true left wing style says the I. W. W. are sent to jail by the hundreds and yet they fail to grasp the political nature of the class struggle and fail to vote the capitalist state into their possession. Carney knows more about Irish nationalism (as does Larkin) than he knows about communist socialism. He should remember that the second international was based on his fallacious conception of politics and that that fallacy cost us, the workers, millions of lives in the World War. Carney, what do the handful of I. W. W. in jail in pursuit of basic principles amount to, when compared to the numerous proletarian dead on the battlefields of Europe, sacrifices to imperialism because of basically unsound Socialist political principles, such as you are trying to promote in this country?

Left wing same as right.—But to get back to that left wing conference. George Speed, one of the 93 I. W. W. men sent to Leavenworth prison for a year in the Chicago trials, is with us once more. We asked George, "Say, Speed, what do you think of the left wing?" Speed answered, "They're the same as the right wing." Essentially and substantially so, in their faulty conceptions of politics and the State. Which explains why the left wing aims to capture the Socialist party.

For years the right wingers combated the attempts of sounder socialists to put the socialist movement on an economic basis, that is, form a socialist unionism. What is the result? The A. F. of L. is now dominating the working class in behalf of a "democratic" administration and imperialistic capitalism; while the right wing is bemoaning the situation that they helped to create.

Has the left wing learned the lesson? Do they appreciate the economic nature of politics as Wilson does, when he captures the A. F. of L. in support of his policies? It appears not; for if the left wingers had learned this lesson, they'd join the I. W. W. or at least keep their tongues and pens off of it. (Take a tip from Max Eastman. His policy is whole-heartedly acceptable to the I. W. W. It is sound and tactful.)

What is political power?—Political power rests with the possessors and controllers of economic power. In this country, "the invisible government," disclosed by President Wilson in his book "The New Freedom"—the government of the financial oligarchy, described in the manifest of the Moscow Communist International—has advanced so far in the creation of extragovernmental and extralegal means that utilization of political democracy for the organization of the working class against capitalism, is becoming increasingly difficult, if not well-nigh impossible.

In Russia, it was war and the collapse of capitalist imperialism, combined with working class unionism, not the ballot, that made Soviet Russia possible, despite Czardom and Kerensky. America is traveling the same imperialistic road and it too seems headed for a similar collapse. Lord help the working class, and all society, if industrial unionism,—“the basic thing,” in the words of Lenin,—is not sufficiently developed to save them.

J. E.

A VOICE FROM MEXICO.

“When the Revolution comes”

Great God, don't you know that the revolution is here? It has completely engulfed some countries and its waves are lapping up vast stretches of territory in the others. A few months more and, mayhap, it will have covered the globe. If not in a few months, a few years at the longest. And just now months is a better guess than years.

Is the ocean nonexistent because the worm wriggles comfortably on a stalk of sea-weed not yet washed under by the leaping waves? Yet the worm has as much reason to deny the existence of the ocean as have the blind thinkers of this mighty moment of history to deny the presence of the social revolution in the world!

It is here. It did not come as some radicals, with their doctrinaire, cut-and-dried predictions, expected. It did not come as we wanted it to come. But the fact remains that it did come and is still coming; that it has only just begun; and that our task is not to prepare for a future cataclysm, but to bring order and organization out of the existing chaos.

If the best way to teach a man to use the ballot box is to put the ballot box in his hands, the best way to teach the workers of the world to run industry is to put industry in their hands. Yet it will be better for the workers and world at large, if they prepare themselves intelligently to manage industry before the capitalists collapse and rulership is thrust upon them. The workers do not need to help in tearing down the old structure. It is already crumbling into tiny pieces. What the workers do need is immediate preparation for the constructive responsibilities that will devolve upon them quicker than they think. The capitalists by their stubborn, stupid sordidness, have made and are making ruins of their own edifice. The toilers must begin rebuilding it in fitting form for the future.

The I. W. W. preamble is right: “The army of production must be organized not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.”—From a Mexico City Magazine.

IS IT WORTH IT?

The new society will not elect to lead a proletarian existence. It will demand the existence of a highly civilized people for all its members from the first to the last. It will not only satisfy the material requirements; it will also grant all ample opportunity and time for the study of science and art, and for recreation.—August Bebe.

THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY.

For August will be out earlier than usual. As before, it will be 64 pages of highly interesting reading matter and illustrations. This is the time of the year when we have reason to expect good work from all the fellow workers. There is no better way of spreading the I. W. W. propaganda than selling our literature. Subscriptions are \$1.50 a year, bundle orders 10 cents per copy, single copy 15 cents. Address all communications and remittances to The One Big Union Monthly, 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

A leading socialist paper regrets that the Senate committee on bolshevism does not realize that "legislation drawn to protect the interests of the worker would be the best bulwark America can have against bolshevism." What Lenin calls the "moderate socialist" is the same the world over, always willing to join with the enemy in heading off the social revolution by drugging the workers with bourgeois reforms.

EXHIBIT No. 35.

To the working people of America:

The war is over. Your exploiters have quickly placed their profits in safety.

You, the working slaves, will soon find yourselves on the streets, facing a hard winter, looking for work, for it is your only means to supply yourselves with the necessities of life, because you lack the courage to use other methods.

You have tolerated all the moral and physical slaveries during this war.

When you dared open your mouths in protest you were quickly railroaded to jail.

What were your profits out of this war? You lost all the little of liberty you had, and you gave your sons, brothers, and fathers away, to be shot down like dogs and left to rot in the fields of France.

For what?

For the glory of the American flag.

So that your masters may have bigger markets to sell their merchandises and exploit other people like you.

The workers of Russia, Germany, Austria, and other countries have risen and have overthrown their rulers.

Not by ballots, but by arming themselves, as it is your only means. You alone do not budge. Are you afraid to follow their example. Are you afraid to take by force what rightly belongs to you?

Will you be meek and slavish? Will you wallow under the iron heel of your masters?

Or will you tear your way by the revolution to a better and happier life? Which will you choose?

A GROUP OF WORKINGMEN.

EXHIBIT No. 36.

WHY THE A. F. OF L. CAN NOT BECOME AN INDUSTRIAL UNION.

[By Vincent St. John.]

Will the American Federation of Labor become a revolutionary industrial union?

Can the American Federation of Labor become a revolutionary industrial union?

It is the purpose of this article to prove that the answer to both the above questions is no!

Let us consider the reasons advanced by those who argue that the American Federation of Labor will evolve into an industrial union on a revolutionary base. They hold:

1. "That economic pressure will force the members of the craft unions to see the weakness of the craft plan of organization."

Economic pressure has been pointing out the weakness of craft unionism in every struggle of any size for the past 20 years: Homestead in 1892, McKeesport in 1902, stockyards in 1904, garment workers and teamsters in 1905, telegraphers and machinists in Portland and San Francisco in 1907, commercial telegraphers in 1907, coast seamen in 1908, and the lake seamen in 1907. The fact remains that none of the above parts of the American Federation of Labor have, as an organization, given any evidence of profiting by the lessons taught in the struggles mentioned. Nor has the American Federation of Labor paid any attention to the lesson or made any attempt to remove the causes for these defeats. These are but a few of the cases in point that could be cited. So much for what the American Federation of Labor, or its constituents parts, are learning from economic development.

2. "The material interest of the craft-union members will force them to align their organization to overcome its weakness and make it capable of coping with present-day conditions in industry."

Will material interest compel members of the American Federation of Labor to pay dues into an organization that denies them the right to organize on proper lines to protect their interests? Or will that material interest compel organization on right lines without affiliation with the American Federation of Labor?

In determining the policy of the American Federation of Labor, or any of its constituent bodies, the interest of the membership cuts very little figure. For proof of this statement study the internal struggle that is going on at this time in the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and the official attitude and actions of the American Federation of Labor.

3. "Within the American Federation of Labor to-day there is more than one organization that is industrial in form and revolutionary in aim, to wit: Bakery workers, United Mine Workers, the boot and shoe workers and the United Brewery Workers, etc."

The claim that they are industrial in form and revolutionary in aim is but half true, to say the most we can for the organization referred to. As a matter of fact, the craft lines are drawn more strictly now than they were 20 years ago, and all of the development in the American Federation of Labor is in that direction. Such industrial jurisdiction as any organization has that is a part of the American Federation of Labor is in all cases in spite of the American Federation of Labor and is gradually being lessened; the brewery workers are being compelled to give up engineers and teamsters, and the bakery workers do not include clerks and drivers of the bakeshops. The United Mine Workers have practically given up jurisdiction over electricians, engineers, and pumpmen, by allowing them to remain at work in cases of strike. These are a few cases in point.

4. "That development is along the line of industrial unionism is proven by the recently formed 'departments' in the American Federation of Labor—metal trades, building trades, and railroad departments."

The "trades departments," recently organized by the American Federation of Labor, is not an evolution toward industrial organization is proven in the recent strike at New Castle, Pa. The A. A., that was involved in the strike, is a part of the metal trades department, yet we see in the plants that were struck the engineers, blacksmiths, and machinists were at work, helping to operate the plants for the employers. The constituent parts of all these so-called departments have full craft autonomy fight the employer in detail as before, and uphold the sacredness of the contract with the employers that forces one craft to scab upon another in the same industry. Any attempt on the part of these "departments" to violate the rule of craft autonomy will be met by the American Federation of Labor, compelling them to adhere to the principle. To one familiar with the tactics of the American Federation of Labor the only reasons for the formation of these departments are to create more officials, and therefore strengthen the present machine in control, and to stave off the sentiment that is growing amongst the members for revolutionary industrial organization.

5. "The revolutionary development within the American Federation of Labor is proven by the passage of "Socialist resolution," by several constituent parts

of the American Federation of Labor. The passage of Socialist resolutions by constituent parts of the American Federation of Labor means nothing, even were they not so worded, as they always are, to make them acceptable to anti-socialists as well as socialists. The recognition of the class struggle on the part of the American Federation of Labor or any of its constituent bodies is mostly "lip service."

6. "Craft organizations working in the same industries are entering into agreements with each other for mutual support in the struggles against the common employer."

Working agreements are always local and are always set aside by the international officials whenever the "interest of the craft" is endangered, i. e., whenever the employer offers concession to one craft involved, in order to get them back in the shop to help defeat the balance of the workers on strike. The strike of the coal miners in Colorado in 1904-1905, where the miners in the northern fields were forced back to work by the general officers of their own union. Forced back to work to dig the coal that the mine operators had to have in order to defeat the workers in the southern fields and in the end, the northern fields also.

So much for the hopes of the "revolutionists" and what they base those hopes upon.

From the standpoint of the industrial unionist it can be said:

1. The fundamental basis of the American Federation of Labor absolutely does away with any probability of the transformation being accomplished.

The basis of the American Federation of Labor is craft autonomy. Harmony of interest and arbitration and conciliation with the employers.

Any part of the organization that attempts to change this basis will be immediately expelled from the organization. Harmony of interest officials will always have the support of the employers in keeping control of the machinery of the organization, and they will work together to victimize and make tramps out of any members that try to revolutionize the American Federation of Labor. A jobless worker can not help the cause of evolution in an organization in which his membership depends on his having a job at his craft. Any time a majority of a union become real industrialists and attempt to expand on those lines they will be expelled from the international as disrupters, etc. If it did so happen that a majority of the union in an international become industrialists the international would be forced out of the American Federation of Labor as disrupters, etc.

This is demonstrated by the actions of the old officials in the I. B. E. W. and the support they are getting from the American Federation of Labor official family. In the present case nothing is involved except the handling of funds of the organization. The difficulties would be multiplied were it a question of revolutionizing the organization. Having the funds and the machinery in their control, the officials can always compel the revolutionist to:

1. Apply to the courts. (The bosses own the courts and the harmony of interest officials as well.)

2. Form a new organization.

There is no case in history where any society has ever been changed by the adherents of the old system. There is no case in the history of by-gone organizations in the labor movement where existing organizations have changed to meet new conditions.

The above points cover the main ground upon which is based the idea that the American Federation of Labor will involve into a revolutionary industrial union. If they will not stand the test of investigation we will be safe in concluding that the evolution of the American Federation of Labor into a revolutionary industrial organization is not possible. (I. W. W. Publishing Bureau.)

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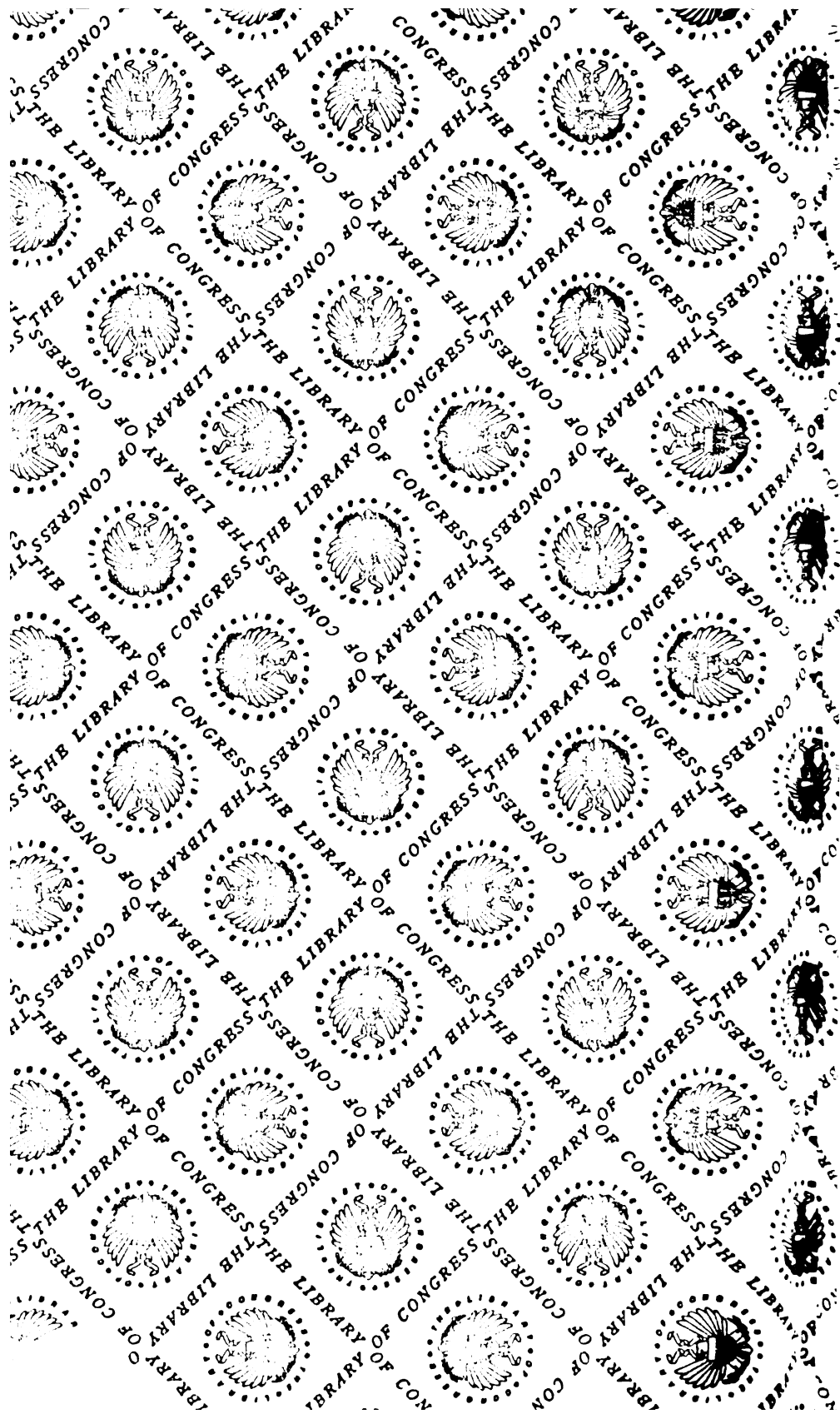
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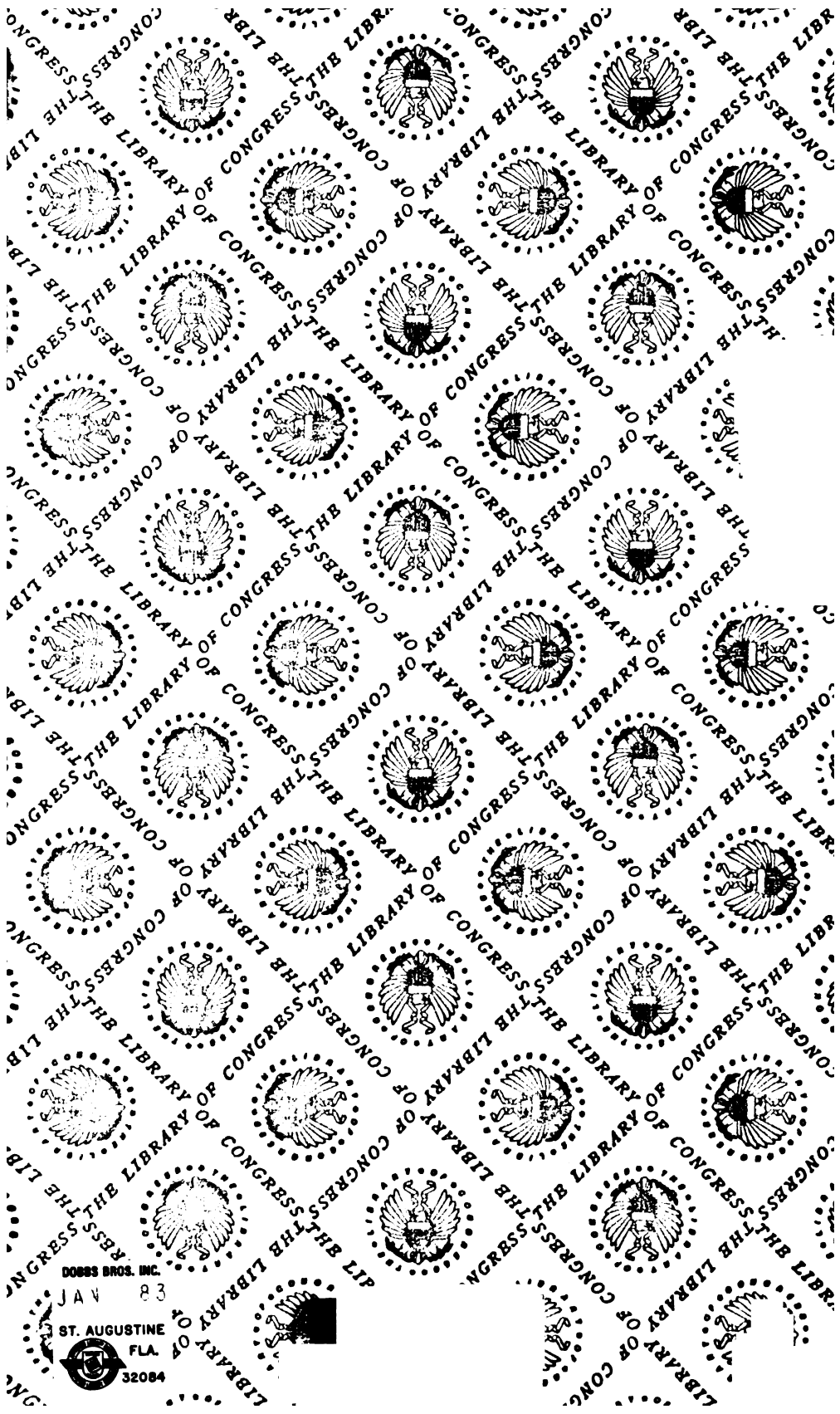
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